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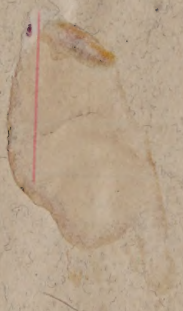

Eighty-ninth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 177: No. 1.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.

July, 1903.

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The Servian Tragedy . . . . . CHARLES JOHNSTON
American Manufactures in the World's Markets, O. P. AUSTIN
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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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JULY, 1903.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S SCHEME.

BY HAROLD COX.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, as an astute electioneerer, has very wisely declared that he will abstain from giving any details of his scheme of preferential tariffs until he has received a mandate from the country. He is thus saved from a good many difficulties; but a good many others remain. And the first difficulty is this: that no scheme of preferential tariffs can be made to fit into the general free trade policy of the United Kingdom. A protectionist country can easily adopt any number of preferential tariffs, and when England was protectionist she maintained differential duties both for foreign countries and for different portions of her own empire. Such differentiation is the logical result of the principle of protection, the essence of which is, that advantages are to be given to particular producers at the expense of the general body of consumers, and therefore, necessarily, at the expense of all other producers. If once this principle of state favoritism to particular producers be accepted, it is a mere matter of detail whether the favoritism be limited to home producers or extended to such colonial producers as are able to catch the eye of the Colonial Secretary for the time being. If, however, the principle of free trade be adopted, favoritism to colonial producers is as much barred as favoritism to home producers.

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In the case of Great Britain, the colonial favoritism which Mr. Chamberlain advocates ought, on grounds of equity, to be even more barred than the protection for British farmers of which Mr. Henry Chaplin is the most prominent advocate. The British wheat grower and his landlord would, at any rate, give something to the nation in return for the boons which Mr. Chaplin is anxious to confer upon them. As their incomes rose with the increased price of grain, so would the amount of their income tax also rise. In the case of Mr. Chamberlain's colonies, however, there would be no return at all. The colonial producers whom he wishes to favor pay no income tax to the Imperial Exchequer; and nothing is more certain than that the self-governing colonies will refuse absolutely to make any serious contribution to the general cost of defending the British Empire.

If, then, it is the policy of Great Britain to refuse to give any kind of tariff favoritism to her home producers, *a fortiori* is she compelled to refuse such favors to colonial producers. Mr. Chamberlain only meets this argument with a rhetorical appeal to Imperial sentiment. His scheme is to bind the Empire together, even at the cost of some sacrifice to the Mother Country. How great that sacrifice would be from a commercial point of view I shall presently show; but the point on which I wish now to insist is that the primary sacrifice involved is a sacrifice of common justice. Canada has just about the same population as Scotland. It is impossible that even Mr. Chamberlain can bind Canada more closely to the Empire than Scotland already is bound. Yet Scotland has no preferential tariff; but she pays heavily for the general defence of the Empire, while Canada pays not one cent.

The truth is that Mr. Chamberlain appears to have fallen into confusion, by talking of the German Zollverein and of the American Union, without troubling first to examine what are the essential features of those great federations. The Constitution itself forbids the creation of tariff boundaries between the different States of the Union. The German Zollverein, in exactly the same way, is founded upon the abolition of all internal customs lines. It is difficult to exaggerate the advantages which Germany and the United States have derived from this establishment of absolute free trade over a wide area of territory. Mr. Chamberlain appears to be dreaming of similar advantages for the British Empire; but he has overlooked the important fact that

a Zollverein or Customs Union necessitates a common exchequer or treasury. If the duties levied at Boston Harbor were paid into the Massachusetts State treasury instead of into the Federal Treasury, there would be an end of the commercial union of the United States. In the same way, the commercial union of the German Empire would come to an end if the separate frontier States were allowed to collect the duties on goods from foreign countries, and thus appropriate to themselves entirely revenue which partly belonged to their neighbors in the interior. The only possible way of working a customs union is by means of a Federal customs service and a Federal treasury, and these imply some sort of Federal parliament or council to control them.

Either Mr. Chamberlain has failed to grasp these essential characteristics of the German Zollverein and of the American Customs Union, or he is living in a fool's paradise with regard to colonial sentiment. The idea that Canada, or Australia or New Zealand would ever consent to have their customs duties fixed by the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, collected by Imperial customs officers and paid into an Imperial treasury is mere midsummer madness.

It is, however, conceivable that the British Colonies, while refusing to have their revenues swept up by Imperial tax-gatherers, might yet be willing to exempt from all protective duties goods coming from the Mother Country. Not only is this conceivable, but so far as the greater part of the British Empire is concerned, the thing is already done. England's greatest possession—the Empire of India—is governed on free trade principles; and, though small duties are levied for purposes of revenue, they give no effective protection to Indian producers as against British producers. Similar conditions prevail in the important colonies of Ceylon, Singapore, and Hongkong, which do a very large business with the United Kingdom on the basis of absolute or approximate free trade. The other tropical or semi-tropical colonies are in much the same position. Cape Colony and Natal have a protectionist bias; but that does not yet hurt the Mother Country, because those colonies have not yet developed a manufacturing industry of their own. It is, in fact, only in Canada, Australia and New Zealand that any real protection against British goods is to be found. So the pompous phrase "Free Trade within the Empire," means only that Canada, Aus-

tralia, and New Zealand should abandon the protective duties they now maintain against the goods of the rest of the Empire, and specially against the goods of the Mother Country. These Colonies take less than 14 per cent. of the exports of British and Irish goods from the United Kingdom. On the other hand, Great Britain buys about 60 per cent. of all they have to sell.

Plain business men would probably contend that the favors already given by Great Britain to these three colonies ought to be sufficient to induce them to treat her goods with the same liberality with which she treats theirs. In the first place, she provides for their defence, and thus saves them from an expense of many millions, sterling, a year which they would incur if they were independent nations. She also provides them with consular and diplomatic agents in all parts of the world, whose services are at the disposal of all British subjects, although the inhabitants of the United Kingdom alone pay for them. She further throws open to all her colonial subjects posts in the civil and military services of the United Kingdom and the great civil service of India. Finally, she provides an open market which the colonies mentioned find so convenient that they send there the greater portion of their exports. If these favors do not avail to induce the self-governing colonies to give fair play to the goods of the Mother Country, it may well be asked, What more do they want?

The answer given by the Canadians is, that they want the Mother Country to tax other people's goods in order that theirs may have an advantage. But, supposing that this cool demand were conceded, would the colonies treat the Mother Country as well as she treats them? Not a bit of it! They would merely treat her slightly better than they treat foreign countries. Whatever the Australians may do, the Canadians have made it clear that they have not the slightest intention of abandoning the effective protection which they now maintain against British goods.

It is sometimes said in defence of the cynically selfish attitude adopted by the Canadians, that they cannot afford to give free trade to British goods, because they must, owing to their scattered population, raise the principal part of their revenue by customs duties. Mr. Chamberlain dealt fully with this argument at the Colonial Conference last summer, pointing out that the difficulty

could be surmounted either by confining the customs duties to goods not produced in the colonies, or by balancing every customs duty on British goods by an excise duty on colonial goods. Either system would give effective free trade, and would diminish the burdens on the Canadian taxpayer without diminishing the Canadian revenues. By way of concrete illustration of this important financial principle, which is the foundation of the English fiscal system, it may be mentioned that, if there were a duty on tea in Canada equal to the duty paid on tea by people of the United Kingdom, this single duty would yield a revenue largely in excess of the total revenue now yielded by the following thirty or forty separate heads in the tariff: Adzes and axes; anvils and vises; boots, shoes and bootlaces; braces; brooms and brushes; buttons; aluminum, brass, copper, lead, tin, zinc, and manufactures thereof; candles; carpet-sweepers, cordage and twine; collars and cuffs; corsets; files and rasps; glass; glue; grease; ink; needles; paints and colors; pocket-knives; table-knives and other cutlery; salt; sewing-machines; soap; saws and other tools.

But that tea duty will not be imposed; and these protective duties will not be swept away, because the persons who profit by them have a commanding influence in the councils of the Canadian government. As long as that influence continues, so long will Canada refuse to give free trade to the United Kingdom.

Is there, then, any immediate prospect of the protectionists in Canada losing their power? So far as can be gathered, the tendency is the other way. It was as a free-trader that Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into power. It was in the name of free trade that he introduced his British preferential tariff in 1897. Conclusive evidence on this point is furnished by his speech to the Cobden Club deputation which presented him with a gold medal on August 16th, 1897, for the services which they believed that he had rendered to free trade. He then explicitly declared that Canada had adopted the principle of free trade, and was moving towards a practical realization of that principle by steps as rapid as possible. After referring to the success which England had achieved by her so-called "one-sided free trade," he concluded:

"In Canada, we can do no better than follow the example thus set us. There are parties who hope to maintain the British Empire on lines of restricted trade. If the British Empire is to be maintained, it can only be upon the most absolute freedom, political and commercial. In build-

ing up this great Empire, to deviate from the principle of freedom will be to so much weaken the ties and the bonds which now bind it together."

Those were the views held by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1897, but he had already shown that he was powerless to carry them into practice. The Laurier tariff of 1897 was undoubtedly inspired by free trade aspirations, but it was dominated throughout by protectionist influences. Its main feature was a reduction in the duties on certain food-products and raw materials. This measure was certainly of great advantage to Canada as a whole, but it was specially of advantage to the manufacturing interest. The only step taken against that interest was the concession of a rebate off the general tariff to all goods coming from Great Britain. This concession served a double purpose. In the first place, it was a reply to the United States protectionists who had just refused to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with Canada. In the second place, it enlisted patriotic sentiment on behalf of the tariff, and so enabled Sir Wilfrid Laurier to surmount the interested opposition of the Canadian manufacturers. Even with this double lever, however, he did not feel strong enough to defy all the manufacturers, and therefore took steps to appease an important section of that body by raising the duties on cotton manufactures—a measure which neutralized very largely, so far as cotton was concerned, the rebate on British goods.

The Canadian premier, fresh from a free trade victory at the polls, was unable to defy the protectionist manufacturers. Their power has continued to grow, while his free trade declarations have become rarer and rarer. Whether he is still a convinced free-trader, he alone knows; but he certainly takes care to avoid saying so in public. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that the protectionist manufacturers are the dominating influence in Canadian politics. They have made their views with regard to preferential trade perfectly clear. At a meeting of the Manufacturers' Association held in August last, a resolution was unanimously passed, asking for the immediate revision of the Canadian tariff upon lines which would more effectually transfer to the workshops of the Dominion the manufacture of goods now imported from other countries. They added that they were willing to give a substantial preference to the Mother Country, provided that "the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers."

A preference on such terms as these is clearly delusive. In Mr. Chamberlain's own language less than a year ago:

"So long as a preferential tariff, even a munificent preference, is still sufficiently protective to exclude us altogether, or nearly so, from your markets, it is no satisfaction to us that you have imposed even greater disability upon the same goods if they come from foreign markets, especially if the articles in which foreigners are interested come in under more favorable conditions."

The sting of the last phrase in the above quotation lies in the fact that, under the so-called British preferential tariff, the average duty on the sum total of American goods entering Canada is less than the average duty on British goods. The reason is very simple. A large part of the goods sent by America to Canada consists of raw material admitted free or at very low duties, whereas practically the whole of the goods sent from the United Kingdom to Canada consist of fully manufactured articles on which high duties are charged. Consequently, the general effect of the Canadian tariff is rather to encourage American than British trade. The results may be seen in the following striking fact: During the five years preceding 1897, the British imports into Canada represented one-third of Canada's total imports; during the five years that have since elapsed, the proportion of British imports has sunk to a quarter.

This delusive preference Mr. Chamberlain proposes to buy. What is the price that the people of the United Kingdom will have to pay for the purchase? The answer to that question is admirably stated in the resolution passed by the Congress of Co-operators held at Doncaster on June 1st, 1903:

"That this Congress, representing two millions of working-class consumers, takes the earliest opportunity of entering its emphatic protest against any tampering with the Free Trade policy of the country by any system of preferential tariffs, believing that the same would increase the cost of food to the poorest, diminish remuneration and the area of employment, promote international ill-will and consequent growth of militarism; further, it strongly condemns the proposal to exploit the poverty and patriotism of the people in a cause which, in addition to promoting strife between the great nations of the world, will tend to crush the growing policy of friendship between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race."

It is most gratifying to see that this body, representing what has well been called the aristocracy of the English working

classes, laid stress, not merely on the injury Mr. Chamberlain's scheme would inflict on their class interests, but also on the even wider mischief that would be done by the stimulation of international strife, and in particular by the creation of ill-feeling between England and the United States. England, in adopting a policy of protection, whether for the benefit of her colonies or of favored classes at home, would only be doing what France and Germany and the United States already do. These countries would, therefore, have no right to resent her action. But, in matters of trade relations, it is unsafe to argue as if nations were individuals. A trading nation is an aggregate of individuals, with divergent and often opposite interests. The individuals in the United States who are responsible for the heavy tariff against British goods, are the manufacturers. They would not be hurt if England were to impose a heavy duty on American wheat for the benefit of Canadian wheat growers. The man who would be hurt would be the American farmer, with whom England has no cause of quarrel. If he saw his business ruined by Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, his bitterness against the authors of that ruin would not be mitigated by the reflection that his own countrymen had for years been acting unfairly to British industries. He would probably also reflect that these same countrymen of his had, during the same period, been acting with equal unfairness to himself, by depriving him of the opportunity of buying what he wanted where he could get it best. So far as Mr. Chamberlain's scheme was effective, it is certain that a great wave of distress would pass over the wheat-growing sections of the United States, and the consequent hostility against England would be deplored, I believe, not less sincerely by Americans than by Englishmen.

As regards Germany, the position presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour was grotesque in its inaccuracy. Both ministers spoke as if Germany had been guilty of some kind of high treason against the British Empire, because she applied her maximum tariff to Canadian goods, when Canada applied her maximum tariff to German goods. "Germany refuses to recognize Canada as part of our Empire." So stated both these ministers; and the House of Commons expressed its indignation with an angry murmur. The real fact is that Germany was only carrying out the doctrine laid down by Lord Salisbury, when, at the request of Canada, he denounced

in 1897 the Anglo-German commercial treaty of 1865. Under that treaty, it was not possible either for Canada to favor England as compared with Germany, or for Germany to favor England as compared with Canada. Lord Salisbury in denouncing this treaty said: "For many years, the British self-governing colonies have enjoyed complete tariff autonomy, and, in all recent commercial treaties concluded by Great Britain, it has been customary to insert an article empowering the self-governing colonies to adhere or not at will."

The Anglo-German treaty of 1865 limited this "complete tariff autonomy" so far as Germany was concerned. Therefore it was denounced. After the denunciation, Canada was free to enter into any arrangements she pleased with Germany or with England. The Germans were, therefore, not merely authorized, but were compelled, to treat Canada as a separate fiscal unit. Negotiations for a treaty of commerce between Canada and Germany were at once commenced, but hitherto have failed. It is surely not the first time in the history of the world that two countries, each actuated by a strong protectionist bias, have failed to arrive at a mutually satisfactory treaty of commerce. Where the blame lies for the failure need not be considered. In this case, as in others, it is probably divided equally. The important point, however, is that Germany has taken no step whatever that can fairly be called aggressive. Pending the negotiation of a treaty of commerce, she has merely placed Canada on the list of non-treaty countries. What else could she have done?

As a matter of fact, this "insult" does not appear greatly to have affected the growth of trade between Canada and Germany; for, according to Mr. Fielding, the Canadian Minister of Finance, exports from Canada to Germany increased from $1,045,000 in 1897 to $2,142,000 in 1901. They further rose to $2,693,000 in 1902. In these circumstances, the action of Canada in imposing a special surtax upon German goods, as an avowed act of commercial war, is more worthy of a petulant child than of a grown nation. Yet this is the quarrel in which the 42,000,000 people of the United Kingdom are invited to take a hand.

And at what a cost! Ever since England adopted free trade, she has enjoyed the enormous advantage of most-favored-nation treatment in all the markets of the world. Other countries worry about the details of commercial treaties; England reaps the bene-

fit. That is a primary advantage of her free trade position, which would disappear instantly if she embarked upon a tariff war for the benefit of a colony which itself maintains a heavy tariff against her goods. The other and greater advantage which she would lose would be the enormous boon of cheap food and cheap raw materials. Mr. Balfour, in trying to minimize Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, said that there was no intention of taxing raw materials, and Mr. Chamberlain repeated this with the important safeguard that he would not commit himself for all time. At present, all he asked for was a tax on food. He was wise thus to guard himself, for in practice the distinction between food and raw materials cannot be maintained. Dr. Johnson remarked that oats are a food of men in Scotland and of horses in England. In the same way, maize is a food for men in the West of Ireland and for cattle in England and Scotland. Even wheat is sometimes used as a feeding stuff when poor in quality, and the offal obtained in grinding wheat is always so used. Therefore, a tax on any one of these staples is a tax, not merely on the food of the people who have to pay for running the British Empire, but also a tax on the raw materials of important British industries. Again, a tax on foreign cattle or sheep would tend to raise the price, not only of beef and mutton, but also of hides and skins, horns and hoofs, the raw materials of a number of important industries.

The question has a still wider aspect; for, from the point of view of the manufacturer, the food of the workman is one of the raw materials of the industry. If the price of the workman's food is raised, one of two things must happen, either wages will rise or they will not. Evidently, it is the former alternative which Mr. Chamberlain contemplates. But if the manufacturer has to pay higher wages his cost of production is increased, and he is less able to compete in the markets of the world, including the colonial markets. Thus Canada stands to get a double gain, on Mr. Chamberlain's own hypothesis, out of Great Britain's loss. Her farmers will benefit by the rise in prices of their food exports, and her manufacturers will benefit by the increased disability under which their British rivals will be placed.

Let us now take the other alternative, that the wages paid to British workmen do not rise in consequence of Mr. Chamberlain's tax on food. As a matter of fact, there is no reason why they should so rise. Wages are not fixed by the cost of the laborer's

food, but by the law of supply and demand as applied to labor. The supply could not be suddenly altered, and therefore wages would not rise unless there was an increased demand for labor. Where is that increased demand to come from? What Mr. Chamberlain proposes to do is to sacrifice the major portion of Great Britain's trade in order to encourage the minor portion. That hardly seems likely to lead to an increased demand for labor. So that Mr. Chamberlain's taxes would either cause a diminished consumption of food in working-class households, or would leave less margin for other forms of expenditure. In the former case, the physique of the nation would suffer; in the latter case, there would be a diminished popular demand for manufactured goods and a consequent injury to the great industries of the country, to be probably followed in turn by a further fall in wages.

This silly Zollverein craze, surely, could never have obtained even the partial support which has been accorded to it, if English statesmen had troubled to think out the principles upon which the wealth of nations is based, or had taken the pains to investigate the facts which are essential to the controversy. Even the Prime Minister did not hesitate to repeat in his place in the House of Commons the monstrous mis-statement, put about by protectionists, that Great Britain's foreign trade is declining. As a matter of fact, Great Britain's trade is more prosperous than ever it was; her capital is increasing year by year, and her people are better fed and clothed and housed than ever before. No more striking proof could be given of the marvellous prosperity of Great Britain than the fact that this little island was able to bear without serious strain the cost of a three years' war, while her big protectionist neighbors on the Continent are faced with successive deficits upon their peace expenditure. This same little island maintains, at an enormous annual cost, military and naval forces that defend not herself alone but her colonies as well. Yet it is lightheartedly proposed to break up the system upon which this marvellous prosperity has been reared, and to sacrifice the people who bear the whole burden of the Empire for the benefit of a small body of colonials, who make no return for the advantages they already receive, and who maintain towards the trade of the Mother Country an attitude of determined hostility, veiled by delusive preferences.

HAROLD COX.

THE SERVIAN TRAGEDY.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE, RETIRED.

> "But in these cases
> We still have judgment here; that we but teach
> Bloody instructions, which being taught, return
> To plague th' inventor."—MACBETH.

THERE is a mediæval largeness and ferocity about the Servian assassinations, a grim, red realism sufficiently startling in these later days. The sudden and final catastrophe, which swept the Obrenovitch dynasty to irremediable ruin, was not less dire and appalling than the closing act of the great tragedy above quoted. There was much, also, to remind us of the atmosphere of Macbeth, in the low moral sense, or absolute lack of moral sense, which accompanied the killing at Belgrade, where murders were worked out as a matter of cold speculation and expediency; not merely the King and his consort being put to death, but also the Queen's brothers and friends, and, to make the thing thorough, the ministers and adherents of the dying dynasty. We are told that both King and Queen were hacked with sabres before they were shot; that their bodies were then tossed from a balcony into the garden, where the last spark of life lingered in them for an hour or more, while the details of the new government were being arranged by their assassins. It was the sense of the tremendous dramatic force of it all that held the whole Western world enthralled by the details of the tragedy, far more than any feeling of the dynastic or political import of the change in sovereignty of one of the least known and least important European states.

The full force of the catastrophe in Macbeth cannot be gained from the last act alone. We must know what has gone before; we must watch the first stirrings of ambition, be present at the death of Duncan, and witness the progressive moral ruin of the

new King and Queen, before we grasp the full significance of the combat under Dunsinane. In like manner, we must follow the early history of the great feud which has hung like a thunder-cloud over Servia for nearly a century, before we can rightly appreciate the horrible retribution to the house of Obrenovitch, that for the third time brings the rival race of Kara Georgé to supreme power in the Servian realm.

Contrary to the general view, it was not the oppression of the Sultan which led to the great Servian insurrection a century ago, that brought to the surface the two potent personalities whose descendants have ever since contended for the Servian crown. It was rather the military despotism and unbridled license of the Turkish Janissaries, who, like another Pretorian Guard, directed their insolence and tyranny even against the throne. For years the Servian patriots and the Sultan Selim were firm and faithful allies in the struggle against the Janissaries, and it was only the attempt of the Servians to overreach and browbeat the Sultan which finally dissolved the alliance, and turned what had been in a sense a reform movement and an agitation of tenant against landlord, into an armed revolution.

Just a hundred years ago the tyranny of the Janissaries was at its height. In the early spring of 1804 they organized and carried out a wholesale massacre of the Servian leaders, whom the Sultan was preparing to employ against them. In that massacre nearly every considerable man in the province fell, one of the few who escaped, fleeing to the mountains, being the great Kara Georgé, or Black George, whose grandson has just been elected King. Like all the Servians of Christian faith, Georgé Petrovitch belonged to the peasant class, the semi-feudal nobility being wholly Mussulman, whether of Turkish race or converts to Islam. The native Servians were practically serfs, and their position is indicated by their lack of surnames, the name of the father with a patronymic termination being the only form of distinction, as Georgé, son of Peter, or Petrovitch, and Milosh, the son of Obren, or Obrenovitch. In the same way, Karageorgévitch means son or descendant of Kara Georgé, or Black George, the son of Peter. Black George and his family, like all the peasants among the oak forests of the Balkans, owned great herds of swine that were fed on the mast in the oak woods. Black George had his first taste of fighting in the Austrian invasion of the Emperor

Joseph II., but soon broke away from the irksome discipline of the army and entered the great school of brigandage, from which so many Balkan heroes have graduated. The rugged rocks and dense forests of oak and beech which cover the Balkans are splendid hiding-places for these modern knights errant, and no more ideally qualified brigand than Kara Georgé ever took to the hills and woods. Of huge stature and gigantic strength, dark-browed and dark-haired, Black George was gloomy, impetuous, passionate, falling into fits of silence that lasted for days, then breaking out into some wild deed of valor or wilder atrocity. Nothing really aroused him but the sound of battle. Withal, the man was an essential savage. He shot his own father, hanged his brother, and tortured his mother, in a fit of blind fury.

When Black George fled from the massacre of the Janissaries he took refuge in the forest depths of Shumadia, the ancient poetical name of Servia, signifying the "Land of the Forests," already familiar from brigand days. The peasants and his old followers began to rally round him, many of them armed with pitchforks and scythes. They hailed Kara Georgé as their Commander and Supreme Chief, and went forth to do battle against the Janissaries. They came to close quarters under the fortress of Shabats on the Danube, in the northwestern corner of the country, and their first victory there, with the capture of the fort, turned the Servian band into an army. From Shabats they marched down the river towards the "White City," Belgrade; like the knights of our Middle Ages, they wore the clothes and armor of the defeated Turks, many of the swords and guns being adorned with gold and silver and jewels, in the gorgeous fashion of the East.

Up to this time they were faithful subjects of the Sultan Selim, who even went so far as to order the Pasha of Bosnia to come to their assistance against the tyranny of the landlords and Janissaries. The Pretorian Guard saw that the game was lost, and laid down their arms before the conquerors. Then came the first rift. The Sultan requested his faithful Servians to disband and return to the ways of peace. Black George retorted by sending envoys to demand impossible concessions from Selim. The result was war. The Pasha of Nish, the chief city of southern Servia, was ordered to scatter the fractious peasants, and advanced with a light heart to carry out his task. He was as-

tounded to find himself face to face with ten thousand men, with the ferocious giant, Black George, at their head. The Pasha fled in dismay, and presently killed himself in remorse for his cowardice.

Two armies were now closing on the Servians, thirty thousand troops from Bosnia on the west, and an even larger force of Turks from the east. Black George fought a fight in the plain of Mishar, close to Shabats, that recalls the exploits of the Homeric heroes. Achilles-like, he raged against the foe, hacking men to pieces, and roaring at the enemy and at his own flagging troops. The fight was a triumph of personal valor, and the Bosnian army was scattered in flight. The fierce guerilla warfare, for which that land of mountains and forests is so preeminently suited, was carried on unwearyingly against the Turkish army from the east, and by the end of 1806, two years and a half after Black George's first flight to the hills, the Sultan Selim was willing to make Servia a semi-independent, self-governing province. At the last moment he hesitated and revoked his promise, and Black George marched against Belgrade. He took the city, made and broke promises of safe-conduct for the surrendering garrison, and signalized his victory by a general massacre of the Moslem inhabitants, sacking and destroying a great part of the city in a fashion truly mediæval.

Within a few months Servia had made some progress towards self-government. A Skupshtina, or parliament, was summoned, with a Senate as an upper chamber. But Kara Georgé unconsciously repeated an exploit of Oliver Cromwell's, bidding his soldiers point their guns through the windows of the parliament house, and assuming sole power as a dictator. He soon began to cherish ambitions for extending his rule by conquering Bosnia and Herzegovina, and establishing once more the empire of Dushan over a vast region speaking everywhere the same or almost identical Slavonic tongues. Then came the murder of Sultan Selim by the Janissaries, and the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war. In this war, for the first time in history, the armies of Russia, Servia and Montenegro, three typical Slavonic nations, fought side by side. Russia's victory secured the freedom of Servia, but alarmed Kara Georgé, who felt his despotic power endangered, and took extraordinary means to concentrate all the resources of the nation in his own hands.

Amongst other opponents, Kara Georgé had to reckon with the sturdy independence of one Milosh, who took the name of Obrenovitch, or son of Obren, from a half-brother whose estates and herds of swine he inherited. In his younger days Milosh had himself herded the swine under the oak-trees; and, like Black George, he first made his mark in the fight against the Janissaries, which began with the massacre of 1804. Kara Georgé, however, won Milosh Obrenovitch over to his side, and established himself as practically despotic ruler of the Servians, reaching the summit of his power in 1811.

The Napoleonic invasion of 1812 which led Russia to make peace with Turkey, in return for a part of Bessarabia, strengthened the hands of the Turks, and Servia was once more overshadowed by the might of the Sultan. In the threatened conflict, Black George utterly lost his nerve, deserting his friends in a way that was shameful and unpardonable, and fleeing across the Danube to Austria, with whatever money and treasure he was able to seize. The date of his disgraceful flight is October 3, 1813. Milosh Obrenovitch stood in the breach, and soon gathered the nucleus of a new Servian army about him. The Turks, however, preferred peace to the sword, and Milosh assisted them in restoring order among his fellow countrymen. He even went so far as to fight against such of the Servians as resisted the new order of things, and was rewarded by gifts and honors from the hand of the Pasha. He soon betrayed his Turkish patrons, however, and once more joined the Servian bandits among the mountains. Under an oak-tree in Takovo village he made his declaration of independence, on Palm Sunday, 1815, within a few weeks of a momentous battle, fought out on the Belgian plains. His forces grew rapidly, bandits appearing from behind every rock and tree, as though by magic, in answer to his call to arms. His first great victory was fought on the bank of the river Kolubara, which flows into the Danube some twenty miles west of Belgrade. Further victories followed, and Milosh astonished the Turks by his humanity towards their wounded, even more than by his military skill. Armies closed in on him from Rumelia, Bosnia, and Albania, on the west and south; but Milosh signally defeated the Bosnian general, and greatly astonished him by returning his surrendered sword and loading him with gifts. In this, as in many other things, his policy, as much as his hu-

manity, was in contrast with the impetuous savagery of Black George.

Russia now came to Servia's assistance, bringing pressure to bear on the Sultan, who straightway saw the advisability of making peace with the politic Milosh. Milosh willingly met the Sultan half-way, made protests of loyalty, and declared that his quarrel had been with the Pasha of Belgrade, as a local tyrant, and not at all with the central power at Stamboul. Home rule was once more granted to Servia, and Milosh began to concentrate his power, incidentally hiring a bandit to cut the throat of an archbishop who had conflicting ambitions in his own interest. With the returning sunshine the exiled giant, Black George, felt his courage revive, and he announced his determination to return to Servia, once more to take up arms against the Turks, and seek to liberate his country from the last vestige of foreign rule. Milosh Obrenovitch sent a messenger to dissuade the old bandit prince from his expedition; the messenger, failing in argument, resorted to first principles, and cut off Black George's head.

Milosh soon began to improve on the lesson of absolutism set him by Black George. He ruled despotically, with the armed hand, and reduced the popular parliament to complete insignificance. Like another Nero, he burned a suburb of Belgrade, to improve the appearance of the city. Though he had shown some humanity in dealing with the Turks, the old savage instincts now came back to him. When his power was disputed, and attempts were made to upset his throne, he had the hands and tongues of the foreign conspirators cut off before his eyes, while his enemies of Servian blood were tortured on the rack, after the fashion of the Spanish Inquisition. Matters went on in this way until 1830, when Milosh Obrenovitch made a final bargain with the Sultan, taking advantage of the powerful support of Russia, and receiving the title of Prince in return for an acknowledgment of the Sultan as Emperor and overlord of Servia. But conspiracies grew thick around his throne; and, after nine years of incessant struggle, he was compelled to abdicate, in June, 1839.

He was succeeded by a son, Milan, who died within four weeks; and a second son, Michael, who was only sixteen, took his place as head of the Obrenovitch family, and ruler of Servia. Vigor-

ously struggling against the restraints of a regency, he finally got control of the state, only to bring himself and his family to disaster, and to find himself compelled to flee for refuge to Austria. A brief period of turmoil was ended in 1842 by the election of Alexander Karageorgévitch; that is, "the son of Kara Georgé," as Prince, the family of Black George thus coming, for the second time, to the highest power in Servia. The son of the fierce and fiery old bandit chief was a mild-mannered, politic person, very much ruled by a manly wife. On the accusation that he filled all offices of state with her relations, a movement was initiated against him, ending in an abortive conspiracy in 1857. As showing the continuity of things in Servia, it is interesting to learn that torture was resorted to in the trial of the conspirators, who were, however, finally released at the instance of the Sultan. Soon afterwards, Alexander Karageorgévitch was compelled to summon a parliament or Skupshtina, which promptly demanded his abdication. This was at the close of 1858, and a movement for the recall of Milosh Obrenovitch was promptly set on foot and immediately carried out.

Milosh returned, laden with years and enriched by experience; exile and suffering had taught him something also, for the two following years, which crowned and closed his life, are the brightest period of modern Servian history. Wonderful to tell, he died peacefully, an old man of eighty, in the autumn of 1860, and his son Michael, eclipsed by the Karageorgévitch interregnum, once more came forward, and reigned over the Servian nation.

He maintained, as far as possible, the principle of absolutism which his father had so steadfastly adhered to, allowing the Senate and Skupshtina to take no real part in affairs of state. He made some headway against the Turks, working for a removal of the Moslem garrisons which still remained to assert the power of the Sultan over Servia. He had reached a great measure of success in 1868, when he was murdered in the forest of Topchider by the party of his rival, the exiled Karageorgévitch, aided by the revolutionary Socialists, and, it is said, countenanced by Austria. This murder, however, did not prevent the accession of his second cousin, Milan Obrenovitch, then a boy of fourteen. This is the worthy prince whose escapades are too fresh in all memories to be worth recounting. He married, for her large

fortune, Natalie Keshko, the daughter of a colonel, of Rumanian blood, in the Russian army; and his spouse had the painful experience of discovering in her hero a gambler and a roué, who concealed the inclinations of a sharper under a courtly and fascinating exterior.

The Belgian economist, Emile de Laveleye, who visited Servia in the early eighties, and who had known Milan Obrenovitch in Paris in his student days, speaks of him as "a superb cavalier, very tall and strong," and gives a charming picture of Queen Natalie: "tall, slight, with the mien of a goddess upon clouds, a warm, dazzling complexion, and large, velvet Wallachian eyes." It is somewhat pathetic, in view of the present tragedy, to find him continuing: "The only child, Prince Alexander, who came in before we went to table, was seven years old. He is full of life, and resembles his parents, in which he has no cause of complaint. What will be his destiny? Will he become the new Dushan of the Servian empire? Is it at Constantinople that he will one day put on his head the crown of the ancient emperors? In these countries of fermentation and transformation, the most audacious dreams occur naturally to the mind." One wonders what the great economist thinks of the fulfilment of his dream.

With Milan and Alexander, the story of Servia, hitherto Homeric in its force and ferocity, degenerates into a French novel of coarse intrigue. Of Milan nothing can be said that is worth saying. Perhaps the worst act of a bad life was his violent separation of Queen Natalie from her son, which opened the door for the demoralization of the latter. He left the throne to his son, then a boy of thirteen, for whom the fairest hopes were held, apparently justified by a gentle and studious nature, with a certain firmness and self-reliance. But Alexander found his evil genius in Madame Draga Maschin, daughter of a Belgrade cattle-dealer named Lunyevitza, and attached to the person of Queen Natalie as lady-in-waiting. Her husband had been a colonel in the Servian army, and some of his relations took part in the recent conspiracy at Belgrade.

The young King fell completely under her influence, and was guided by her in all his public acts, as he was dominated by her in his private life. In his seventeenth year, under her inspiration, he invited the three regents to dinner, only to have them treacherously arrested on a charge of treason, and thrown into

prison, while he seized the reins of government and proclaimed himself ruler of Servia.

Madame Maschin finally fought her way to the throne, as a modern writer says, "by a series of sacrifices and intrigues more sensational than have ever occurred outside of fictional literature," only to find herself confronted by dangers, and met with slights, antagonisms, and hostilities. Her assumed royalty was useless to her, since no European court would consent to receive her, although her intrigues to this end were ingenious and incessant. She even went so far as to promise that her husband would recognize as heir apparent to the Servian throne a prince of the Montenegrin family allied by close friendship to the Russian court, if the royal family of Russia would only consent to receive her.

When this project met with the failure which was inevitable, Queen Draga formed a daring plan, which was to bring calamity to all concerned in it, including herself. She determined to put on the throne her own brother, Nicodemus Lunyevitza, a lieutenant in the Servian army; a project which evoked an indignant and determined protest from the Ministry, with Minister Vintch at their head. The prime minister and his colleagues called at the palace to deliver their protest, and, after an interval, were received by Alexander in the uniform of the commander-in-chief of the Servian army, and with his ill-fated Queen on his arm. Queen Draga was evidently unwilling to trust him to face the indignant Ministry without her help, and, in spite of their request, insisted on taking part in the interview. "The Queen of Servia," said Alexander, "is as much interested as I am in all affairs of state."

The premier saw that a private interview with Alexander was impracticable, and, with great reluctance, decided to carry out his mission in the Queen's presence. He spoke of the disquieting rumors which had reached the Ministry, of the Queen's intention to proclaim Lieutenant Lunyevitza heir apparent, and said that it was his duty to warn the King that neither the parliament nor the people would for a moment submit to this wholly unconstitutional act. He therefore begged that the King would consult his parliament before going any farther in the matter. Prompted by the Queen, Alexander excitedly affirmed that he would in this matter follow his own will. The minister replied

that the will of the people must also be consulted. The Queen then put an end to this futile war of words by exclaiming that the will of the sovereign was paramount, and dragged her husband from the room. Shortly after this came the suspension of the constitution, at the Queen's instigation, an act of violence by which she made herself absolute ruler of the King and of Servia, and provoked the terrible retribution in which the latent savagery of the Balkans came once more to the surface. Thus perished the family of Milosh, the swineherd, and, by recent vote of the Senate and Skupshtina, the grandson of Black George, the bandit-warrior, reigns in their stead.

It is an element of security in his position that his sister-in-law is Queen of Italy, her children, including the heir apparent to the throne of Italy, being first cousins to the two sons of the new King Peter, and also grandchildren of the old Prince of Montenegro. The Montenegrin royal family, as we saw, is bound by close ties of friendship with the Russian court, the late Czar having more than once declared that Prince Nicholas was his only sincere friend in Europe. The two sons of the new Servian King are at present in Russia, the language of which is almost identical with their own, and to which they are further bound by community of faith.

Such, then, is the record of Servia for the last hundred years: a record full of murders, torturings, battles, intrigues, conspiracies. Yet we should not thoughtlessly condemn the Servian nation for all this savagery and ferocity. These are but the growing-pains of a nascent race. Through the same welter of blood and death the older peoples of western Europe emerged into conscious national life, nations, some of which are falling now into the sear, the yellow leaf, while the younger Slavonic peoples, full of fierce power and combative ambition, are only entering on the path of nationality. Even in this red record of the Balkans there are abundant qualities of valor and devotion, which, when refined and transmuted to a riper culture, will add to the permanent treasures of the human race.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

OUR MANUFACTURES IN THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD.

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

EXPORTATION of manufactures forms the subject of one of the most interesting chapters in the wonderful story of the development of American production and commerce. The growth of our general exports from seventy million dollars in 1800 to fourteen hundred millions in 1900, is sufficient to excite the surprise and admiration of the observing world and to justify the pride of the American citizen; but the expansion of our exports of manufactures from two millions in 1800 to four hundred and thirty-three millions in 1900 seems a still greater commercial triumph, especially when we find that this growth occurs largely in European markets.

Until recently, we have had no definite information regarding the distribution of our exported manufactures. We have known, in a general way, that large purchases of certain manufactured articles were going to certain European countries; but it is only as the results of recent and careful analyses that we have learned that half of the manufactures exported by this young and newly developed country go to that old and well-developed section of the world, where manufacturing is the chief industry, Europe. But this is true. Of the $400,000,000 worth of manufactures exported last year, practically $200,000,000 went to Europe; of the nearly three billion dollars' worth exported in the last decade, more than a billion and a half dollars' worth was sent to European countries.

Even more astonishing, if possible, is the fact that one-fourth of the exports of manufactures go to that great manufacturing country, the United Kingdom, and that fully one-half of the

total goes to British territory. Of the $400,000,000 worth of manufactures exported last year $100,000,000 worth went to the United Kingdom, and another $100,000,000 worth to her colonial possessions.

Considering the distribution by grand divisions and the relation of manufactures to our total exports to these divisions, it may be said, still speaking in round terms, that of the $400,000,000 worth of manufactures exported last year, $200,000,000 or one-half of the total, went to Europe; $100,000,000, or one-fourth of the total, to North America; $43,000,000, or about eleven per cent. of the total, to Asia; $27,000,000, or about seven per cent. of the total, to Oceania; $23,000,000, or about six per cent. of the total, to South America; and $11,000,000, or nearly three per cent., to Africa. Manufactures formed practically twenty per cent. of the total exports to Europe, thirty-three per cent. of those to Africa, fifty-two per cent. of those to North America, sixty-two per cent. of those to South America, sixty-eight per cent. of those to Asia, and eighty per cent. of those to Oceania. To Europe the exports of manufactures from the United States have grown from $76,000,000 in 1892 to practically $200,000,000 in 1902; and to North America, from $33,000,000 in 1892 to $100,000,000 in 1902; to Asia they have increased in the same time from $15,000,000 to $43,000,000; to Oceania, from $11,000,000 to $27,000,000; to South America, from $17,000,000 to $23,000,000, and to Africa from $4,000,000 to $11,000,000.

The share which manufactures form of the total exports has steadily increased while our general exports have been so rapidly growing. The total exports have doubled since 1879, but those of manufactures have practically quadrupled meantime. Products of agriculture have of course always formed the largest share of our exports. In 1880, they formed eighty-five per cent. of the total exports, and manufactures formed but twelve per cent. of the total. In 1900, agricultural products formed but sixty-one per cent. of the total, while manufactures had so increased that they formed thirty-one per cent. of the total. The exportation of agricultural products has increased less than forty per cent. since 1880, while that of manufactures has increased three hundred per cent. in that time. The actual increase in the exportation of agricultural products from 1880 to 1901, the year of the largest exports of agricultural products, was but $258,000,000; while the

increase in the exports of manufactures in that same period was $308,000,000. Thus, in the past twenty years, manufactures have not only outrun agricultural products in the percentage of increase, but in the actual increase in the number of dollars' worth exported. In 1880 the agricultural exports were $686,000,000, and those of manufactures, $102,000,000; in 1902 those of agriculture were $851,000,000, and those of manufactures $403,000,000. Thus, comparing 1902 with 1880, the gain in agricultural exports was $165,000,000, and in exports of manufactures $301,000,000.

Still another evidence of the remarkable growth in exports of manufactures is found by a comparison of the growth of exports with that of production. The Census reports show that the production of manufactures has grown from one billion dollars, still speaking in round terms, in 1850 to four billions in 1870, five billions in 1880, nine billions in 1890, and thirteen billions in 1900. This is a rapid growth, but the percentage of growth in exportation of manufactures is even larger than that of production in that period. The exportation of manufactures in 1850 amounted to only $17,000,000, and in 1900 was $433,000,000, or about twenty-five times as much as in 1850; while the production of manufactures was only thirteen times as much in 1900 as in 1850.

There is one other opportunity to measure the growth of our progress in manufacturing, and that is to compare our increase in production with that of other great manufacturing nations. The four great manufacturing nations of the world are the United States, Great Britain, Germany and France. While the other nations do not take a census of manufacturing, as does the United States, there are certain methods by which their production may be closely estimated. The late Mr. Mulhall made careful estimates of the value of the manufactures of these four nations, and they show that the growth of the United States has been much more rapid than that of any of the others, and that the United States in the short period from 1860 to 1888, passed from the foot of the list to its head. He estimated that the value of the manufactures of these four countries stood in 1860, as follows: United States, $1,907,000,000; Germany, $1,995,000,000; France, $2,092,000,000, and the United Kingdom, $2,808,000,000. Thus, the United States was then at the bottom of the list.

In 1888 his figures stood: France, $2,360,000,000; Germany, $2,837,000,000; the United Kingdom, $3,990,000,000; and the United States, $7,022,000,000. Thus, the United States, in the short period from 1860 to 1888, passed from the bottom to the top of the list of the world's greatest manufacturing countries. The period from 1888 to 1894 gave the United States, however, much greater predominance, Mr. Mulhall's figures for that year being: France, $2,900,000,000; Germany, $3,357,000,000; the United Kingdom, $4,263,000,000; and the United States $9,498,000,000. The actual increase in the value of manufactures produced in these four countries from 1860 to 1894 was, according to these figures, France $808,000,000, Germany, $1,362,000,000, United Kingdom $1,455,000,000, United States $7,591,000,000.

Thus, if we compare the growth of production of manufactures in the United States with that in other great manufacturing countries of the world, we find that the United States has far surpassed them; if we compare exportation of manufactures with total exportation, or with agricultural exportation alone, we find that the increase in manufactures has been more rapid than in any other class, and, if we compare exportation of manufactures with production of manufactures, we also find that exportation has made greater development than production.

The causes of this growth in production and exportation are not difficult to find. In the first half of the last century, the United States was accumulating population and area, and learning the productive capacity of its soil and climate, the capacity of its varied population for diverse occupations and discovering its limitless possibilities of production. In the next quarter of a century, it occupied itself in building railroads, which opened up its great productive interior and showed that its wealth was not only in the productive soil but in the great mass of minerals beneath the surface. In the closing quarter of the century, its people learned the art of bringing products of the mine and forest and field together for manufacturing. During the century twenty million people, most of them industrious and orderly, came from other countries to make homes in the United States and aid in the development of its industries. In 1850, we had but 9,000 miles of railroad; in 1875, we had 75,000 miles;

and in 1902, we had 200,000 miles, with which to assemble the cotton of the South, the wool of the West, the timber of the North, the iron and copper of the Northwest, and the coal of the great Central section. The cotton product increased from a little over two million bales in 1850 to nearly four millions in 1875, and eleven millions in 1902. The wool production increased from 52,000,000 pounds in 1850, to 181,000,000 in 1875, and 316,000,000 in 1902. The copper product grew from 650 tons in 1850 to 18,000 in 1875, and 268,000 in 1902. The pig-iron production developed from a half million tons in 1850 to about two millions in 1875, and seventeen millions in 1902. Coal, which furnished the power for assembling these great articles, and heat and power for manufacturing them after they were assembled, grew in production from 3,000,000 tons in 1850 to 46,000,000 in 1875, and 261,000,000 in 1902. Meantime, the population grew from 23,000,000 in 1850 to 44,000,000 in 1875, and 79,000,000 in 1902. Thus, population in 1902 is three and a half times as much as in 1850, while the production of the great articles for manufacturing is in most cases from five to fifty times as great, production of manufactures thirteen times as great, and the facilities of transportation twenty times as great. Then, at the last moment, when we fancied that the summit in our productive powers had been reached, a new element in production and transportation made its appearance, in the form of electricity, which, generated by streams which were formerly considered valueless, and transported on a simple piece of wire, furnishes power and heat and light to aid further in the development we had already made in that century of wonderful growth.

Meantime, the facilities of distribution to other parts of the world had also multiplied. Steam took the place of sail; iron, and then steel, took the place of wood; and the screw propeller took the place of the paddle-wheel, in ocean transportation. The thousand-ton steamer has been replaced by vessels of eighteen or twenty thousand tons capacity. The railroad-car will carry as much as twenty teams of horses could haul, and the great ocean steamer will transport as much as four hundred railway-cars can carry. At the same time, facilities of communication have so developed that the manufacturer can communicate across the continent or under the ocean, or even around the world, in a moment of time, and not only communicate but transmit or receive re-

mittances of money in the same instantaneous fashion. Meantime, our supply of circulating medium with which to perform these great business transactions has equally increased, the money in circulation in the United States having grown from $278,000,000 in 1850 to $754,000,000 in 1875, and $2,374,000,000 in 1903, while the increase in banking facilities has multiplied many times the business power of the dollar.

Now let us see what are the principal articles which form this great and rapidly growing mass of exports. Two questions which naturally present themselves to the mind are, first, whether they are of a class which the world will continue to require as a part of its daily life, and, second, whether they are composed of a class of material of which we have plentiful supplies. To both of these questions the response is affirmative. The exports of last year were, presenting them in the order of magnitude: manufactures of iron and steel, about $100,000,000, or one-fourth of the grand total; mineral oil, $66,000,000; copper manufactures, $41,000,000; cotton manufactures, $32,000,000; leather and its manufactures, $29,000,000; agricultural implements, $16,000,000; chemicals, $12,000,000; wood manufactures, $11,000,000; cars and carriages, $10,000,000, and paraffin, $8,000,000. These ten articles or groups of articles made up more than three-fourths of our total manufactures exported; and every one of them is of a class for which the world's demands are permanent and constantly increasing.

Let us run over the list of these articles, keeping in mind the question of their relations to the daily requirements of man. They are, in the order of their magnitude as an export, iron and steel, mineral oil, copper, cotton goods, leather and its manufactures, agricultural implements, chemicals, wood manufactures, cars and carriages, and paraffin. All of these the world must have for its daily life. It can get along, in case of financial stringency, without silks and satins and laces and wines, and perhaps even tobacco; but all of those articles which form our chief exports of manufactures it must have. Therefore, we may expect a permanent demand for them; and if we can furnish them as cheaply as anybody else, or a little more cheaply than others, we may expect that the demand upon us will continue. An analysis of our power of production of these articles, as compared with that of other parts of the world, shows that we can produce them more readily

and at less cost than any of our rivals. Take iron and steel, the greatest of this class of great exports. We now produce more iron ore, by far, than any other country, and more pig-iron. The four principal pig-iron producing countries of the world are the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, and the United States. A few years ago, the United States and Germany were about equal producers of pig-iron, and the United Kingdom exceeded us by far in the production of that article. To-day, with our greatly increased area of iron production and greatly increased facility for its manufacture, we are not only manufacturing more pig-iron than Germany or the United Kingdom, but actually more than Germany, the United Kingdom, and Belgium combined. Mineral oil is the next in the list of our great exports of manufactures, and of this we produce more in the refined form, fit for lighting, than any other country. A few years ago, the United States, Spain, and one or two other countries divided in about equal proportions the world's production of copper; now we produce as much as all the other countries of the world combined. Cotton is the world's largest requirement for clothing, and the proportion which it forms of the world's necessary stock of clothing is constantly increasing; and the United States produces three-fourths of the cotton of the world. Of leather, our facilities of production are equal to those of any part of the world, though we are still compelled to import a part of the raw material from which it is manufactured. Our supply of suitable woods for the manufacture of the agricultural implements, cars and carriages, and other manufactures of wood, which form important factors in our exports, are sufficient to justify the belief that we shall continue to meet the demands of other countries, and that there is little fear from rivalry in these lines.

It must not be supposed, however, because prosaic iron and steel manufactures and those of cotton or copper and mineral oil are the chief factors in our exportation of manufactures, that we are unsuccessful in the finer grades. Such high grade manufactures as watches, clocks, sewing-machines, cash-registers, electrical machinery, telegraph instruments, telephones, typewriters, scientific instruments, and many other manufactures of this character, are sent out in great quantities, and find a ready market in the most distant parts of the globe. It seems rather curious to find the people of South Africa purchasing our typewriters and

cash-registers, with a calm confidence that they can be relied upon for durability and accuracy in such remote places that they cannot be returned to the maker for adjustment or turned over to skilled workmen for repairs. Our sewing-machines go to India, Asia, and the most remote islands of the Pacific, and are accepted with confidence that they will perform the work to which they are assigned. Our telegraph instruments click in the wilds of Siberia, and our telephones transmit the "hello!" of the Chinaman, or the East Indian, or the Egyptian, as readily and faithfully as though they were being operated within the shadow of the factory where every feature of their construction is understood and the most approved machinery for their repair is at hand. The exportation of scientific instruments, including those for telegraphic and telephonic purposes, has grown from a little more than $1,000,000 in 1892 to $7,000,000 in 1901; sewing-machines, from $2,000,000 in 1895 to $4,500,000 in 1900; locomotives, from less than $2,000,000 in 1892 to $5,500,000 in 1900; cash-registers, from $2,000,000 in 1898 to $5,500,000 in 1902; and typewriters, from $1,500,000 in 1897 to $3,500,000 in 1902. The value of scientific instruments, typewriters, engines, cash-registers, sewing-machines, shoe-machinery, and electrical and metal-working machinery exported in 1900 amounted to over $32,000,000. More than $30,000,000 worth of clocks and watches have been exported in the last twenty years, and they have gone to literally every part of the world—to Europe, to Asia, to Africa, to Oceania, to Central and South America, and to the most remote parts of the continents and islands.

But, there are still other worlds to conquer. While we have more than quadrupled our exportation of manufactures since 1880 and outgrown all other nations of the world in their production during that same period, we are still supplying but ten per cent. of the manufactures which enter into the international commerce of the world. The value of manufactures exported from all the countries of production, and in turn imported by some other country or countries, amounts to about $4,000,000,000 annually, the share which we supply of this grand total being only about $400,000,000 annually. Of this $4,000,000,000 worth of manufactures which enter into international commerce, the United Kingdom furnishes about one-fourth; Germany, one-fifth; France, one-eighth; and the United States, one-tenth. About

three-fourths of this great mass of manufactures which enter into international commerce are composed of iron and steel, copper and cotton, of which we are the world's largest producers, and for the manufacture of which we have facilities at least equal to those of any other country; while in other classes of manufactures, our productive powers are developing at a rate which promises that we may with confidence enter the field of international competition.

The manufacturers of the United States have a fine field at home, and their first duty to themselves and to the people of the country is to take care of it, and to supply its wants from their own workshops, as far as possible. And they are doing this. Manufactures formed seventy per cent. of the imports in 1820, and sixty per cent. in 1860; but by 1900 the manufacturers of the country had so proven their ability to supply home demands that manufactures formed only thirty-seven per cent of the total imports of that year. The value of the manufactures consumed in the United States amounts to about $8,000,000,000 a year, and of this American manufacturers furnish ninety-five and foreign manufacturers about five per cent.; while the amount which American manufacturers export just about equals that which foreign manufacturers send into this country. The value of the total production of manufactures in the United States, after excluding the duplications necessarily included in the Census reports, and omitting the products of the slaughtering and canning industries which it classes with manufactures, amounts to a little more than $7,500,000,000, and the value of all manufactures imported is nearly $400,000,000, making the value of the manufactures consumed in the United States about $8,000,000,000, or twice as much as that of the entire international commerce of the world in manufactured products. It is not surprising, therefore, that the manufacturers are desirous of giving their first attention to the home field, and that the foreign market is with them a matter of minor consideration. But the fact that they are now able to supply practically all of that great market and build up an export trade from $158,000,000 in 1892 to $403,000,000 in 1902, shows that they still have great possibilities before them in that field, after taking care of the home market.

O. P. AUSTIN.

A NEW VIEW OF THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY EMIL REICH, LL.D.

THE history of the Revolutionary War suffers from a combination of circumstances, all making for oblivion or neglect of the true causes and real trend of its momentous events. The Americans themselves, with few exceptions, have related it in the manner in which, from the Hellenes downwards, all great nations have arranged rather than stated the beginnings of their ultimate grandeur. The vanity of nations, growing apace with their real greatness, nay, constantly outmarching it, has done, in this case, what it never fails to do in cases of even much smaller dimensions: vanity has been fighting its clever and deceptive rearguard-fights, in order to hide or let escape the really important corps of combatants. In the States the name of Lafayette is seen and heard in each town, in each county, in each State. Innumerable streets, very numerous towns and institutions, parks, etc., are named after the young French marquis, who, in reality, performed none of the decisive or important acts or measures leading to the independence of the thirteen colonies. Of Vergennes or Beaumarchais, on the other hand, few, if any, Americans have ever heard a word of praise or appreciation. But, in fact, the influence of Beaumarchais was incomparably, one may boldly say, immeasurably, greater than that of Lafayette. Flattery to Lafayette does not imply the serious reduction of American merit which recognition of Beaumarchais would unmistakably entail.

As with Lafayette, so with the decisive military movements of the war. The Americans who, single-handed, won only one important battle, that of Saratoga, have naturally enough no strong interest whatever to dwell on the decisive and clinching naval

manœuvres of the summer of 1781, which were conducted solely by the French. As in the case of the contemporary Italians, who won their unity at the hands of the same nation that drove the English from the American colonies, the new nation feels only a cold gratitude towards its savior friend, and would wax very indignant were it to be told that it was, one in the period from 1775 to 1783, the other from 1859 to 1866, the godfather rather than the father of its own liberty and independence.

As to English narrators of the great war, it is needless to prove that they have never been over-eager to admit that in 1781 they met, at the hands of the French, with a Waterloo far more destructive of British interests than was the last battle of Napoleon to the interests of France. Moreover, the documents in the Record Office in London are, as a rule, not accessible after the date of October 20th, 1760.

Finally, the French, the real victors in that great struggle, have never cared to go into the details of an "*affaire,*" all the actors and events of which were soon obscured and overshadowed by the gigantic tragedy of the French Revolution. It is only some thirteen years ago, that the French have, in H. Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats-Unis,* received many of the official documents bearing on the interference of France in America; and to be quite correct, Doniol's great work was terminated only five years ago. As to the then allies of the French, the Spanish and the Dutch, their important interference has as yet not been written up in a satisfactory historical work.

These are the peculiar circumstances rendering a fair view of all the factors in the War of American Independence a matter of great difficulty. On the other hand, the historian must necessarily look for consolation to the just remark, that the larger, the more comprehensive, the waves of historical events, the smaller is the number of their controlling causes.

It will accordingly not be impossible to discover, in the immense maze of persons, events and measures filling the canvas of time from 1775 to 1783, a few of the causes shaping events, directing their currents and covering their undercurrents.

The War of American Independence is held to be, more particularly with the English-speaking nations, a matter preeminently of English or American history.

It is in reality and *par excellence* a European, an international event. It happened in a period when, for almost exactly two hundred years, all the great wars were European wars. From 1618 to 1815 Europe was ravaged, with few important exceptions, by international, or inter-European wars only. In strong contrast to this broad fact we note, that Europe has, since 1815, carefully avoided such international wars, and always succeeded in localizing combats that threatened to set ablaze the whole of Europe, such as the Crimean war, or the Franco-German war. This desistance from international wars has, it may be advanced, little or nothing to do with the progress of ethical ideals, the realization of which has not yet left the precincts of pious hopes. It is due to the fact that since 1815 each of the Great Powers of Europe has long secured its territorial self-contentedness. Unless, therefore, one of these countries is attacked directly, it has no serious interest in meddling with the affairs of the other nations.

In the eighteenth century the case was quite different. The war of the Spanish Succession, 1701-1713; the war of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748; the great war ("Seven Years' War") of Frederick the Great, 1756-1763; the wars of the French Revolution, 1792-1815: all of them were international wars proper. In all of them substantial, *i.e.*, territorial, interests of all the Great Powers of Europe were engaged, and all of them were settled by international treaties of peace, such as the peace of Utrecht and Rastadt, 1713 and 1714; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748; the treaties of Hubertsburg and Paris, 1763; and the treaties of Basle, 1795, Campo Formio, 1797, Lunéville, 1801, Amiens, 1802, Pressburg, 1805, Tilsit, 1807, Vienna (or Schönbrunn), 1809, and the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815.

The American War of Independence is one of those international, or inter-European events of the eighteenth century, terminated by the (second) treaty of Paris, 1783. As in the case of Italy, in the second half of the nineteenth century, France and Prussia and England had strong political interests to promote the unity of Italy, so it was in the sixties and seventies of the eighteenth century a vital interest of some of the Great Powers of Europe outside England to wrest the American colonies from the British. This is the essence of the whole struggle extending over eight years, and fought in all the seas of the four continents.

But while this inter-European interest is undoubtedly the chief motor and cause of the ultimate success of the colonists in America, we must, on careful investigation of the facts, take into consideration the interests of those colonists themselves. Much as France, Spain and Holland desired to weaken and humiliate England, their combined efforts would have proved inefficient, had the colonists not been induced to persevere in the attempt at severance from the mother-country in the teeth of all the misery and despair that a struggle with mighty England could not but entail. In order, therefore, to seize adequately the home or American cause of the Revolt and its ultimate success, we must, before going into the details of inter-European policy, study the *vera causa* of that powerful discontent that urged the colonists first into adverse reflections, then into threatening petitions, riotous acts, half disloyal conventions and congresses, overt acts of rebellion, and finally into open war against England.

The current view of the causes of discontent is centred on the indignation of the colonists at the various measures of unconstitutional, or, at any rate, unwise taxation of the American colonies proposed, in turn, by Grenville, Townshend, North, and, chief of all, by George III. The Stamp Act of 1765, the taxes on various commodities in 1770, 1772, and 1774—these and similar measures, although in no way financially oppressive to the colonists (the taxes never yielded more, or could yield more, than a paltry sum), are said to have, in addition to single and isolated acts of high-handed autocracy, so exasperated the fine moral or legal fibre of the colonists as to drive them into rebellion. This explanation has the advantage of being pleasing both to the British and the Americans. The British, with a smile of parental pride enjoy the spectacle of their own kin rushing into revolt for ideal motives of Right and Law that animated the breasts, it is held, of the barons on the field of Runnymede in King John's time (1215), or in the clouded age of the Oxford Provisions (1258), let alone in the classic period of the "Nineteen Propositions" (June, 1642), or the "Bill of Rights" (1688). Or, as Tennyson says:

> "O thou, that sendest out the man
> To rule by land and sea,
> Strong mother of a Lion-line,
> Be proud of those strong sons of thine
> Who wrenched their rights from thee!"

The Americans again, with a distinctly British passion for ethical beating of the breast, delight and thus believe in the deep moral indignation of the men and women of the colonies as the main cause of the deep-seated discontent that broke out in 1775.

Without in the least trying to minimize the value and theoretical beauty of moral indignation, it may be intimated that such ethical shivers do not, as a rule, prove of long duration, unless supported by abiding considerations of material profit. Ideal motives are no doubt at work, stealthily or openly, in all the greater historic achievements of white humanity; but from their very intensity it must be inferred that their power of extension in time and space is always somewhat limited. The profound wisdom of the Christian Religion has manifested itself in few things to a greater advantage than in the firm, if not original, establishment of one ideal day in seven, this being about the true ratio of the force of ideal motives to motives savoring more of terrestrial and mundane sources. In historical investigations, at any rate, it will be wiser, if not nobler, to search, in any long and wearisome struggle, for causes less ethereal and more compact and concrete.

Nor is it a matter of inordinate difficulty to point out that compact and concrete cause which, in all human probability, did infinitely more in stiffening the hearts and minds of the colonials, than could ever be done by the abstract reasonings or constitutional questions of James Otis and Bland, or by the moral uprising of the Puritans of New England. History, in Europe, and still more outside Europe, is written largely, if not wholly, in characters of that geography, or, as we prefer to call it, geopolitics, that has, as the true base of the harmonic and enharmonic melodies of history determined the trend and tenor of decisive events. Undoubtedly history is not a mere game of chess, in which man figures only as an insignificant pawn. Yet, with all due recognition of the influence of men, and especially of historic personalities, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that man is inclined, precipitated, or retarded, by that Great Constant, the Earth and its physiographic configuration. To use the language of the scientist: in history man represents the *ordinatae,* Earth the *abscissae.* It is evident that for a true construction of the curve of events, we must have the *abscissae* first, and then the *ordinatae.*

There can be little doubt that the abiding, material, and yet, prospectively at least, also ideal cause of the deep-seated antagonism of the colonials to the British Government was caused by the fatally wrong policy of the Court of St. James's with regard to the vast *Hinterland* of the colonies. It was for the possession of that vast *Hinterland,* theoretically stretching from the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi—practically, however, to the Pacific—that the colonials had cheerfully joined in the British war against the French from 1755 to 1762. It was already then well-known, from the writings of French Jesuits and other explorers, that the colonies were surrounded, or rather supplemented by the most fertile and at the same time the vastest *Hinterland* in history. Neither Central nor South America, neither modern Egypt, nor South Africa, let alone Canada or Australia, is endowed with a *Hinterland* at once so vast and so easily accessible or amenable to purposes of cultivation. In that *Hinterland,* fully described in the works of Jonathan Carver, Robert Rogers, James Adair, William Smith, and of other colonials long before the battle of Lexington, the colonials were conscious of having the possibility and the guarantee of indefinite progress and unlimited prosperity. As modern Russia, instead of wasting untold treasures of men and money in barren wars with Prussia or Austria, has consistently preferred to occupy and utilize its immense *Hinterland* from the Ural to Manchuria, even so the colonials in British America consciously or subconsciously felt that their real and great destiny was in their *Hinterland,* and not in their connection with Great Britain. So clear was this, the all-decisive factor to most thinking men of that time, that men as different in every other respect as were Montcalm, French governor of Canada; Turgot, philosopher and economist; and Vergennes, French ambassador at Constantinople,—all predicted the secession of the colonials as soon as the French were driven out from the Ohio valley and the Lakes district—that is, as soon as the question of the *Hinterland* was made a problem of actual politics.

King George III. had, however, no sooner concluded peace with the French in 1763, than he issued, on October 7th, 1763, a proclamation, in which the king's "loving subjects" in the colonies were forbidden to make purchases of land from the Indians, or to farm any settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains. Nor did this proclamation remain a dead letter. As late

as 1772 a colonial's petition for settlement on the Ohio River was categorically refused by the Lord-Commissioners for Trade; Lord Hillsborough holding that the proclamation of 1763 was too explicit to be interpreted in any other sense. This proclamation did not, of course, prevent numberless colonials from making repeated attempts at the occupation of the forbidden *Hinterland.* There are still numerous legal and administrative documents in the Record Office in London, referring to the incessant encroachment of the colonials upon the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains. It is in these documents that we can feel the real pulse of the time. Nations, like individuals, are as a rule not clearly conscious of the prime motive prompting their actions. We cannot, therefore, expect the pamphleteers or *mémoire* writers of that time to tell us in set terms what was at the bottom of all that curiously persistent ill-will shown by most of the colonials to any kind of measures that the British Government proposed or decreed. Any kind, we say. For it is now well known, that the British Government repeatedly, and after 1774 almost invariably, behaved with all the conciliation that a loyal colony can fairly expect from its metropolis. It was all in vain. Neither the moderation of Chatham, nor the wisdom of Burke; neither the cold imperiousness of King George or Lord North, nor the ingenious argumentativeness of Fox could alter matters. The colonials were, and had long been, but too well resolved to accept no other solution than that of a complete rupture. Once carried away, and justly too, by the great destiny awaiting them at the bidding of the powers of the very soil they occupied and legitimately desired to extend, they were naturally unable to listen to or accept any possible offer short of one securing for them, undisturbed and uncontrolled by British statutes or British capitalists, the vast expanse of fertile *Hinterland,* at once the inexhaustible source of their material, and the safe guarantee of their national, greatness.

It is customary to condemn George III., Lord North, Townshend and Grenville. But did Lord Chatham, Burke or Fox discern the true causes of the American revolt any more clearly? Did they seize the real, the ultimate cause of the colonials' discontent any better? In fact, harsh or strange as it may seem, if guilt there must be, there is little doubt that Lord Chatham had a greater share in the loss of the colonies than had either George

III. or Lord North. The colonials may have had, as they actually had, very potent motives to wish for a separation from England. From such a wish, ever so legitimate, to its realization there was, however, a very far cry. England had never been more powerful, more enterprising, more dreaded, than from 1763 to 1775. Her navy had had great and decisive successes in European, American and Asiatic waters; and her armies had shown great fighting powers in Germany, America, and India. For the first time in her history she found herself constituted as a real empire. Bengal, Behar and Orissa in India were hers, since 1764; the French were driven out of America, and their vast colonies conquered; in Europe her prestige was very great. Last, not least, together with that unprecedented expansion of power—political and military—England just then started on her imposing career as the first industrial power of the world. Inventions in technology, such as no other nation could boast, were made in Great Britain almost daily, and the resources of British industry and commerce created a national wealth that bade fair to outstrip that of all other nations put together. Under such circumstances it was by no means easy to start a revolt against England with any sound hopes of ultimate success. Had Lord Chatham, in 1766 or 1767, practised the wise moderation of Bismarck in 1866, he could have, by depriving the American colonials of French help, so isolated them as to render any decisive military success on their part practically impossible. Bismarck in 1866 suddenly, and in the midst of the most signal military triumph over Austria, abandoned the secular policy of Prussia towards Austria. He clearly perceived that that policy had, after Sadowa, no *raison d'être* any longer. Far from yielding to the Prussian military party, which loudly clamored for triumphal entry into Vienna, Bismarck threatened rather to commit suicide than to consent to any unnecessary humiliation of Austria, whose friendship he knew he would need later on, after having neutralized or paralyzed its hostility. Lord Chatham, after 1763, was placed in exactly the same position to France that Bismarck held towards Austria in August, 1866. Hitherto, *i.e.*, up to 1763, France had been in reality, for various reasons, the hereditary enemy of England. After 1763, that enmity, had, on the part of England, lost all its *raison d'être*. England had no more colonies to take from France; and no Continental possession (Hanover) to

dread from either Prussia or France. Scotland had definitely accepted its place within Great Britain since 1746, and Ireland was quiet; French intrigues could stir up neither.

It was, then, the evident policy of Chatham to irritate France as little as possible, in fact, to obtain her friendship. France, from her position in the very centre of all the Great Powers of the west, and also from her geographical configuration as both a sea-power and land-power, was almost more dangerous when on the defensive than when taking the offensive. In the latter case, France always roused (under Louis XIV. as well as under Napoleon) the hostility of the surrounding nations, and was obliged, even when unbeaten in the field, to give up her excessive ambition. When, however, France was on the defensive, she always could and will be one of the most formidable factors in war. She can strengthen both the naval and the land forces of her allies on the most considerable scale, and thus contribute decisively to the final result. From this evident lesson of French history, together with the consideration mentioned above, Chatham had all imaginable motives of good policy to abandon the secular idea of France as the hereditary enemy of England.

But Chatham, "the only man," to use Frederick's saying, to whom England had given birth at that time, before and after the treaty of 1763, invariably viewed France as *the* great enemy of England. He never tired of rousing the British national feeling against the "hereditary enemy." He could not but be aware that one single article of that treaty (Article XIII.) was alone sufficient to fill the French with an undying thirst for revenge. In that article France consented to the destruction of the fortifications of her harbor at Dunkirk, in the most humiliating fashion. It is said in that article: "*La Cunette* [at Dunkirk] *sera détruite immédiatement après l'échange des ratifications du présent traité, ainsi que les forts et batteries qui défendent l'entrée du côté de la mer; et il sera pourvu, en même temps, à la salubrité de l'air, et à la santé des habitants par quelque autre moyen à la satisfaction du Roi de la Grande Bretagne.*" A high-spirited nation will never accept such arrogant dealing with a harbor and place of arms on her immediate territory. And if one considers, that England, by the acquisition of Canada and the vast American *Hinterland*, had then acquired a territory more than sufficient for the widest imperial expansion

of the British nation for generations to come, and all that at the expense of France, it is rather difficult to comprehend why Chatham should still persist in the rancorous hatred of France, a country no longer in a condition to either hurt or thwart the most ambitious hopes of Great Britain.

Yet so he did. It may be that his grave bodily infirmities reduced the clearness of his mind. At any rate, instead of pacifying France by all possible means, he never ceased to widen and envenom the wound from which France and the French were smarting.

Under these circumstances it is only a matter of course that the French, a nation whose energy may be slackened but never suppressed, were eagerly on the lookout for an opportunity to avenge the treaty of 1763 on the English. Nor did that opportunity fail to turn up. It was, in the first place, one of a more academic character, but it soon transformed itself into a chance of resorting to the gravest military and political measures. The academic interference of the French with the immense American colonies of the English proceeded in the shape of the impression exercised by the French Encyclopædists on the colonials.

The influence of Diderot, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Holbach, Condorcet, d'Alembert, and the other great authors of the famous *Encyclopédie Méthodique,* on the whole mental attitude of Europe and America in the latter half of the eighteenth century, seems rather puzzling to the modern mind. On reading the articles of the *Encyclopédie* (articles, it must be admitted, artfully garbled by the timorous publisher) one cannot but be amazed both at the mildness and inaggressiveness of their tone, and at the relatively small originality of their ideas. In our times, we have seen articles and books propounding doctrines infinitely bolder and more radical. The novelty of the *Encyclopédie* was not in its doctrines; its historic position was determined by the marvellous effect it had on its contemporaries. Doctrines formerly discussed in Latin folios meant for recluse scholars, such as the political views of Spinoza, or of Althusius, were now for the first time placed before the general public in a form at once solid and attractive. To this the personality of the Encyclopædists contributed not a little. The brilliant men meeting in the salons or *bureaux d'esprit* of those famous female *virtuoses* of tact and charm, Madame Geoffrin, Mademoiselle de L'Espinasse,

Madame d'Epinay, and others, were one and all men of intense powers of personal fascination. Their conversations were listened to, reported, and read all over the civilized world, and it is probably understating the reality when we compare the influence of the conversations, letters, and pamphlets of the Encyclopædists to the moral and intellectual influence exerted nowadays by the "leaders" and articles of the great representatives of the press.

One of the most impressive of the works of the Encyclopædists was "*Le Contrat Social*" of Rousseau, published in 1762. Written in language the splendor and clearness of which have rarely been equalled, it contains a body of political teaching appealing with a passionate warmth to the deepest political cravings of the masses. It was inevitable that a political work by the author of "*La Nouvelle Héloïse*" and "*Emile,*" then the most famous novels of the day, should rapidly find their way into the colonies in America, where the latent and unavowed wishes of the people made them only too prone to views such as Rousseau propagated in language aglow with all the inspirations of passion and truth. It is certain, and can easily be proved in detail, that the political views of the wayward Genevese and of his colleagues of the *Encyclopédie* had a very considerable effect on the colonials, amongst whom they were eagerly read and discussed. The "imponderable" influence of these French ideas must not be undervalued, although it cannot be credited with a force of the first magnitude. Far greater was the second, or more material interference of France in the great struggle of the colonials against Great Britain.

That material influence was set in motion chiefly by a man whose entire moral and literary personality seemed to destine him for exploits of a totally different kind. We mean Beaumarchais. A Parisian *pur sang,* full of the inexhaustible verve and dash of his own immortal creation, "Figaro" in his "*Le Mariage de Figaro,*" Beaumarchais was watchmaker, inventor, harpist to the court, promoter of interminable and vast business enterprises, publisher of Voltaire's works, author of an immortal comedy, incomparable pamphleteer, involved in endless intrigues, duels, adventures, and political secret missions to England and Germany—in short, a man of the most astounding vitality and resourcefulness. His wit and superb literary gift irradiated the most commonplace of his actions, and his fundamentally honest and generous nature

ennobled his life with the glory of true manliness. Bold, intrepid, a battler and fighter of a thousand combats legal or political, he was all through his life a warm-hearted, true man.

It was this "frivolous Frenchman" who had long made up his mind to avenge his country on England, and to wipe out the shame of the treaty of 1763 in the most terrible loss ever caused to Great Britain. He clearly foresaw the war long before it actually broke out, and by means of incessant memorializing the French, and later on the Spanish Government too, he inspired Vergennes, the great foreign minister of France, and likewise Aranda, Vergennes' colleague in Spain, and prevailed upon them to join his vast plans. At first two, then more, million francs were placed at the disposal of the author of "Figaro" by the two Bourbon Governments, and Beaumarchais, almost two years before France and Spain openly declared war against England, established his headquarters at Le Havre, under the name of *Rodrigue Hortalès et Cie.* It was from Havre that Beaumarchais sent to the Americans vast stores of tents, provisions, and equipments of all kinds, amongst others, 30,000 rifles, over 200 cannon, etc., in 1776 and 1777. "His fleets," as he called them, were in constant connection with the colonials, and his lieutenants, more particularly de Kalb and the indispensable Steuben, were organizing the army of the colonials. His correspondence with his captains, officers, and his home government; his dealings, frequently far from pleasant, with Arthur Lee, Silas Deane, and the stately and prudent Franklin in Paris, were numberless. He never was at a loss how to meet the countless emergencies of financial or military embarrassment, and it is only the sober truth to say, that without his genius and energy the Americans could not have carried on the war in the first two years. With all the stanch vigor and honesty of Washington, the American army, as is now well-known, suffered very severely from desertion, treachery, indifference, pusillanimity. It was France, it was, previous to the summer of 1778, Beaumarchais, who never flagged, never despaired, never failed to send help where help was most needed. His merit was never recognized by the government of the Republic, and when, many years later, reduced almost to indigence, he asked for partial reimbursement of his undoubted personal losses in the service of the United States, he and his children met with the coldest and, let us confess it, most unjustified ingratitude.

No statue to his honor has ever been erected in any public place in America; to most Americans he is either quite unknown, or known only as a clever playwright. The Americans have, very late it is true, but at last, raised a statue to Rochambeau, one of the two Frenchmen to whom the clinching victories in 1781 are due. One would like to entertain the hope that they will see their way to raise several similar monuments to the man who, more than any other single non-military man, helped them to raise the noble fabric of their national independence.

The war itself, although its extent both in time and space was one of the most considerable dimensions, is in reality a very simple event. It lasted for eight years, and was carried on in the eastern territory of the United States, and in nearly all the seas. The strategic problem was reduced to the question of sea-power. As long as the British were able to hold the Atlantic, they could easily pour over new armies (if mostly hired ones) into the colonies. Once the British lost the command of the sea, their hold on the American colonies was practically lost. The colonials, by their victory at Saratoga in October, 1777, where less than 4,000 British soldiers, under Burgoyne, were forced to surrender to 14,000 colonials, under Gates, had practically secured the possession of the northern colonies before the third year of the war was over; but New York, the central, and the southern colonies were still controlled by Clinton, Cornwallis, and other British commanders. However, in August and September, 1781, the French, under the Comte de Grasse, baffled all the attempts of the British admirals, Hood and Graves, to enter Chesapeake Bay for the purpose of relieving Cornwallis, who was besieged in Yorktown by a Franco-American army consisting of about 7,000 men each under Rochambeau and Washington. The naval engagements of de Grasse lasted for five days, and were fought off Cape Henry. This all-important battle, or series of battles, which definitely deprived the British of the command of the sea in the middle Atlantic, and which sealed the fate of Cornwallis—this naval Waterloo of the British—is one of the least noticed military events of modern times. Not one Englishman or American in ten thousand has ever heard the name of the battle of Cape Henry. The details of that clinching victory have never been published, and in books on the American War the battle is, as a rule, given neither its precise name, nor placed in the right his-

toric perspective. It was, in reality, not a very dramatic affair. This, however, need not deceive any one into a false construction of its fundamental importance. Battles, like men, are important, not for their dramatic splendor, but for their efficiency and consequences. The battle off Cape Henry had ultimate effects infinitely more important than those of Waterloo. Even the naval victories won by Le Bailli de Suffren in the seas between Madras and Ceylon over the British fleet in 1782 and 1783, cannot, in point of effect, compare with the decisive advantage obtained by de Grasse off Cape Henry. Suffren's victories remained barren; de Grasse's action entailed upon the British the final loss of the thirteen colonies in America. What the French Encyclopædists had done by suggestion, and what Beaumarchais had set in movement by ingenious personal exertion, de Grasse had brought to a final termination by a successful naval engagement.

It is customary to accuse Napoleon of having foolishly overreached himself. It is likewise a commonplace to blame Louis XIV. for an ambition striving for the absurd idea of subjugating Europe. It is less known that George III. failed in his attempt of retaining the thirteen colonies within the British Empire chiefly because of an ambition essentially identical with that of either Napoleon or Louis XIV. King George did not, it is true, try to dominate Europe, he only attempted to defy the leading Powers of Europe. While fighting the Americans, he had the boldness to fight the French, the Spanish, and the Dutch too, at the same time rousing the hostility of the Baltic Powers. As Louis XIV., for a similar defiance, suffered the defeats of Blenheim, Turin, and Malplaquet; and as Napoleon, for the same crime of *lèse-Europe,* was crushed at Leipsic and at Waterloo; so King George, committing the same fatal error, lost England's principal force, her sea-power, and thus the vastest and most fertile colonies ever possessed by an empire. Europe, the heir of Hellenic intellect and Roman military strength, can be defied neither by any one or two European Powers, nor by the rest of the non-European countries put together. Persia fell for defying Hellas; Carthage sank for opposing Rome; the United States arose mainly owing to England's unwise defiance of Europe in the eighteenth century.

EMIL REICH.

THE TRUTH ABOUT HAYTI.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY J. N. LÉGER, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM HAYTI TO THE UNITED STATES.

Now and then, sensational stories about Hayti appear in the newspapers. Sometimes, people who are ignorant even of the correct geographical position of the island think they can talk with competency about the Haytians and their country; and, indeed, statements from such a source are unworthy of attention. But, unfortunately, it seems that the strange inventions concerning voodoo, "*papa-loi*," etc., are beginning to be taken in earnest by the best men in the United States. I have just read in the May number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW what Mr. Colquhoun, writing on the future of the negro, says about Hayti. I am not at liberty to discuss the negro problem. That problem is for the American people a question of political and social interest; and it would not be proper for me to interfere in such a controversy, nor have I any desire to do so.

However, I cannot help noticing that many a time Hayti is made a scape-goat by men and newspapers who have a purpose of their own to serve: hence all the persistent and grotesque misrepresentations about a country which is struggling hard for progress and liberty. Mr. Colquhoun, whose good faith is certainly beyond question, must have been misled by these misrepresentations when he wrote that "Hayti has become a byword among the nations, and it is incontrovertible that, with the removal of white control, the negroes have reverted to a condition almost of savagery." In different words, this is the story about Hayti which is told over and over by sensational newspapers, viz.: "Hayti is less civilized than it was a hundred years ago; it is lapsing into barbarism."

All lovers of truth would prefer substantial facts to such asseverations. Nations, like individuals, have their honor, their dignity to maintain; they must have the right to ask their accusers for proofs, when an attempt is made upon their good name.

To be a byword among the nations, Hayti must be, indeed, the worst country in the world. Whereas, any impartial observer, any one who will take the trouble of thoroughly studying the people, their customs and their government, will reach but one conclusion: Hayti is no worse than the other Central and South-American Republics, and it is very far from relapsing into barbarism.

To revert to a condition almost of savagery, to relapse into barbarism, a nation must be, at the time when the charge is made, in a state of civilization less advanced than formerly, it must be going backward instead of forward. So, to ascertain whether, since the removal of the white control, the Haytian negroes have or have not "reverted to a condition almost of savagery," one must necessarily compare their condition to-day with their condition before the "removal of the white control." What was the condition of the Haytian negroes a hundred years ago? They were slaves. They were treated like beasts. They were compelled to work like machines in the fields. They could not read. They could not write. They were not even good artisans, because they were not allowed to learn anything. The sanctity of their homes was held at naught and profaned; their daughters, their wives were mere pastime for their white masters. Their degradation was complete.

Such was the condition of the Haytian negroes under the white control; a condition which will be found minutely described in the many books written on Santo-Domingo at the end of the eighteenth century or in the early days of the nineteenth century.

It is needless to say that the condition of the Haytian negroes is quite different now. When the Haytians proclaimed their independence, all the Frenchmen were expelled from the country. The factories, the rich plantations, had been all destroyed during the war. The Haytians found themselves in possession of a devastated land. Besides, they agreed, in the first years of their independence, while the country was still in ashes, to pay a heavy indemnity to France. Hayti, being the first country to abolish slavery, met at the very beginning of its existence with the ill-

will of all the powerful nations which were then slave-owners. These nations did their best to strangle in its cradle the young people whose entrance into political life was the most energetic refutation of absurd prejudices; the new State was, in their opinion, a bad example for their subjects in Jamaica, Cuba, Guadeloupe.

So Hayti could not rely on any outside help in building up its government and educating its citizens, the majority of whom were men who had just emerged from slavery. The Haytians had then to create all instrumentalities of government and administration, from statesmen to policemen. Their detractors do not seem to have ever thought of the difficulties they had to overcome. On the contrary, they affect to believe that my fellow-countrymen, to show their ability to govern themselves, ought to behave like saints and to be perfect models of virtue; forgetting intentionally that some nations of the Old World are still struggling to reach the best form of government and are from time to time subject to appalling scandals. However, from the outset, the responsibility of the Haytians was great; their recognition of this responsibility helped them to work out their destiny. Their cities and towns have been rebuilt. They cultivate, nowadays, their own properties, for almost every inhabitant of the island is a landowner. Now every man is a man. The sons of the former slaves are to-day lawyers, doctors, physicians, architects, engineers, sculptors, chemists, skilled artisans, shrewd business men, good laborers; some of them, without being multi-millionaires, live on large incomes. The Haytians operate their own telegraph system; they control their own telephone system. They build their railroads without external help. Under the white control, there was not even a decent primary school in the island; to-day, Hayti devotes almost a sixth of its revenues to education. All the schools are free, from the elementary ones to the highest. There are Law Schools, a Medicine and Pharmacy School, a School for Electrical Sciences, even a Painting School; and these are open to all. Not satisfied with the knowledge acquired at home, many Haytians go to France to obtain still higher or special instruction; they achieve success in the French Schools of Mines, of Agriculture, of Moral and Political Sciences, etc.

Religion and education combine their efforts for the moral advancement of the mass of the people. Since 1860, there has been

a Concordat with the Holy See. The Pope has a diplomatic representative in Hayti, a Legate; and Hayti sends a Minister to the Vatican, to say nothing of its other Legations abroad. There is at least one Catholic priest in every commune of the republic. Almost all the priests are European; and, after living in the closest intimacy with people of all classes on the island, they return to Europe in their old age. Is it not strange that not one of them has ever mentioned voodoo or cannibalism as existing in Hayti? The same remark can be made concerning the clergymen of the Protestant faith. They must know the country better than the traveller who spends but a few days in Port-au-Prince in quest of sensational news for a book or a credulous newspaper. Yet none of them has until now given an account of personal observation of voodoo or cannibalism there. And, as Mr. Bassett, a former United States Minister to Hayti, properly said in an article on the subject: "How is it that the story is in general left to be told by fleeting visitors, who never, or at any rate very rarely, go among the country people, and who know little or nothing of their language?" The truth is that voodoo and cannibalism do not exist any more in Hayti than the "night doctor" in Washington.

Personal safety is everywhere assured; one can travel from one end of the island to the other without trouble or danger. In the remotest mountains, a foreigner will find peaceful, kind-hearted and hospitable men. There is no race prejudice or hatred. Frenchmen and Germans marry Haytian girls, and many Haytians have white wives; all of them have very happy homes.

In the light of these facts and conditions, which may be easily verified, Haytians may confidently appeal to the fair-minded and intelligent reader to decide whether the assertions so frequently made, that they are relapsing into barbarism and reverting to a condition almost of savagery, are worthy of credence, or are merely unjust and unsupported aspersions upon a people who, since their emancipation from white control, have been striving, with success commensurate with their opportunities, to attain the practical ideals of modern civilization.

J. N. LÈGER.

JEWISH MASSACRES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA.

BY ABRAHAM CAHAN.

ABOUT three weeks after the Kishineff massacre, the governor of the province of Ufa, M. Bogdanovitch, was assassinated by two Russian revolutionists as a result of a scene of carnage which had taken place in the town of Zlatoust, of that province, where forty persons, including children, were killed and 200 were wounded less than two months before the anti-Semitic outbreak in the capital of Bessarabia. Ufa lies outside the "Pale of Jewish Settlement," and the victims of the slaughter for which Governor Bogdanovitch was held responsible were all Gentiles; nevertheless, the two massacres are linked by ties of logical affinity. This becomes apparent when the Kishineff atrocities are considered in the light of recent developments in the progress of the revolutionary movement in Russia, on the one hand, and of the situation surrounding the epidemic of anti-Jewish riots which followed the assassination of Alexander II. in 1881, on the other. Indeed, at the time of those riots, M. von Plehvé, the present Minister of the Interior, was at the head of the police of the Empire, and we shall see that a series of important circumstances which accompanied or immediately preceded that crusade has been paralleled, with striking similarity, but in a greatly aggravated form, at the present time.

It is a little over a year since M. von Plehve assumed charge of the Interior Department, having succeeded M. Sipiagin, who had been shot by a revolutionist shortly after the celebrated student riots in Kieff and St. Petersburg. Despatches which were published in well-informed foreign newspapers about that time represented the present Czar, Nicholas II., as showing a strong tendency in the direction of constitutional reform, it being speci-

fied with much persistency that the innovations contemplated were to be modelled after the provisions contained in what is known as the constitution of Loris Melikoff. It was soon stated, however, that the ultra-conservative element among the Czar's advisers, led by M. Pobyedonostzeff and supported by the new Minister of the Interior, M. von Plehve, had opposed the project, and that their counsel had prevailed. This circumstance forms a most interesting connecting link between the present situation and the situation of 1881.

Loris Melikoff was one of the leading heroes of the Turkish war. During the last two years of the reign of Alexander II., when the "Terrorists" of the *Narodnaya Volya* (Party of the Will of the People) were making attack after attack upon the life of the Emperor, building gigantic mines under the railroad tracks over which he was expected to pass, Melikoff was made Minister of the Interior. In February, 1881, there was an explosion in the dining-hall of the Winter Palace. The Czar then had a narrow escape. A few days later, Melikoff became the head of a "Supreme Commission" organized with a view to "pacifying the population."

It was then that Count Melikoff drew up his celebrated constitution. It called for the convocation of a sort of semi-representative commission, to examine into the general state of affairs and consider questions of reform. The project was framed in the most guarded terms, and great care was taken to keep out everything that might be construed as a direct allusion to a constitution. Still, it is quite possible that Loris Melikoff chose this "under-sized constitution," as it is usually termed, as a sort of entering wedge. At all events, it seems reasonable to believe that, if the Party of "The Will of the People" had been aware of the existence of the project, the life of Alexander II. would have been spared. Indeed, they had declared repeatedly in their pronunciamentos, as well as in the speeches of their leaders at the big political trials, that they were pledged to abandon the "Terror" as soon as the Czar had granted the country free speech. And, although the project of Loris Melikoff did not contain the remotest allusion to any reform in that direction, certain privileges along these lines might have followed, as a matter of course.

The draft was returned to Loris Melikoff with the approval of the Czar at twelve o'clock, on March 13, 1881, for further con-

sideration by the Cabinet, after which it was to be published in the *Government Messenger*. Two hours later, the Czar was killed.

The death of Alexander II. was followed by a general state of unrest,—by famine in the rural districts and disturbances in some of the industrial centres. Such were the conditions under which Alexander III. ascended the throne. He was in anything but a peaceful frame of mind when he took up the document which his father had expected to sign; and we are informed by Count Loris Melikoff, in his posthumous Memoirs, that the perusal of the project put the new monarch in good spirits, and that he wrote on the margin of the paper "Very good!" fixing a day for its final discussion by the ministers.

Meanwhile, an anti-Jewish riot broke out in Elisavetgrad, a city in the neighborhood of Odessa and Kishineff. The attack had been organized by local anti-Semites and had nothing to do with the general situation, except in so far as it had given rise to a vague feeling that the country was on the brink of a revolution, and that the foundation of law and order was shaken. When, at a Cabinet meeting held soon after this, the conservatives took a firm stand against the measure, Loris Melikoff was easily defeated. He was removed from office, his place being taken by General Ignatyeff, a man known for his devotion to the policy of blind suppression and anti-Semitism.

The anti-Jewish riots spread from district to district until they covered some 150 towns and villages. Then, as in the case of the recent outbreak, the streets were in almost every instance full of police and troops, who, instead of protecting the Jews, encouraged their assailants, and in numerous cases even joined them in the work of pillage, destruction, rapine and murder. Wherever Jews made an attempt at self-defence, they were dispersed by the police, arrested or driven indoors to await the coming of the drink-crazed rioters. Indeed, the story of the Kishineff pandemonium, barring the number of persons killed and wounded—in which respect it far exceeds any of the riots of 1881-1882—reads like a chapter from the history of that savage campaign. "Easy, boys!" said the governor of Kieff, with an amused smile, driving around among the riffraff and their refined allies, while they were busily engaged in their barbarous work. The governors of other riot-ridden places acted similarly. In many instances, when a Jew implored an officer to rescue his wife or daughter, he was

asked, by way of reply, whether he was sure that his passports were in proper shape.

The natural upshot was an impression which rapidly gained ground among the blind illiterate peasantry, that the crusade had been ordered by the Czar, and that a document containing the imperial ukase to that effect would be sent to every town and village in which a single Jew was to be found. It was one of the characteristic incidents of the period for peasants to ask their village clerk when "that paper" was expected to reach his office; or for the residents of some suburb to come to town with wagons, sacks and implements of devastation, and to ask the first policeman they met when their services would be required. Sometimes, a moujik who lived on friendly terms with his Jewish neighbor would tell the latter with tears in his eyes that he wished he could leave his house undestroyed, but that by doing so he would make himself liable to imprisonment for failing to do the behest of the Czar; and there were cases in which Jews saved their property and the honor of their wives and daughters by signing a document assuming all responsibility before the law for the failure of neighborly Gentiles to destroy their household goods or the contents of their stores. The object of that "imperial ukase" was, in the belief of these ignorant people, to turn over "the ill-gotten wealth of the Christ-killers to the beloved children of the Czar, the peasants of orthodox Christian faith." These rumors spread like wildfire, through the efforts of the police as well as of special emissaries of the anti-Semites; and, as in the case of the Kishineff massacre, the ferocity of the mob invariably reached its highest point when their target was the population of the slums, poor hard-working mechanics, whose "ill-gotten wealth" consisted of their tools and the contents of their wretched hovels.

This went on from town to town and from month to month, extending to a period of nearly two years; and the Director of the Police Department under whom all this happened was no other than M. von Plehve, the present Minister of the Interior.

M. von Plehve denies having sent a letter to the governor of Bessarabia, shortly before the massacre, warning him against the use of drastic measures in case of an outbreak. He does not deny, however, that the Jews of Kishineff had applied to him for permission to publish a newspaper to counteract the incendiary agitation of the anti-Semitic "*Bessarabetz*," and that his answer was:

"The '*Bessarabetz*' is good enough for Kishineff." Nor, indeed, does he deny that the "*Bessarabetz*" had among its regular contributors the vice-governor and several other officials of the province, and that several of the members of its editorial staff acted at the massacre as the chief leaders of the mob.

The better to understand M. von Plehve's general policy, let us begin by epitomizing those conditions under which he came into his present office in April of last year.

He took charge of the Interior Department a day or two after the death of his predecessor, M. Sipiagin, who was shot by a young nobleman, named Stepan Balmasheff. Sipiagin's violent death had been preceded by the assassination of Bogolyepoff, then Minister of Public Instruction. About the same time, the life of M. Pobyedonostzeff, Procurator of the Holy Synod, had been attempted; then General Trepoff, the Chief of Police of Moscow, whom the revolutionists charge with the brutal treatment of political prisoners, was fired upon by a woman, under precisely the same circumstances as those under which his father, twenty-four years before, had been shot at by the celebrated Vera Zassulitch; and, three days later, the same official had a narrow escape from the dagger of another revolutionist.

Balmasheff was a member of the "Fighting Section" of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, one of the two secret societies disseminating revolutionary ideas in Russia. I have before me a copy of the proclamation which these "New Terrorists" issued from their "underground" printing office, on the day following the death of the Minister of the Interior, April 3, (16), 1902. It carries one back to the closing days of the reign of Alexander II., and is said to have produced a profound effect in higher government circles. There is, however, one important distinction between this pronunciamento and similar declarations of the Terrorists of the early eighties. While the latter made the Czar the chief target of all their proclamations and dynamite bombs, the leaflet issued by the organization to which Balmasheff had belonged carefully omits all mention of the present monarch, and speaks of his ministers and other high officials as those who alone are held responsible for the present state of affairs.

The killing of Minister Sipiagin was followed by peasant riots in several districts. In an interview granted to Gaston Leroux, of the Paris *Matin,* about that time, M. von Plehve did not deny

the portentous extent of the revolutionary movement in his country, though he promised its speedy suppression. "The strength of the revolutionary party," he is quoted by M. Leroux as saying, "lies in the present weakness of our police. In two months' time our police will become strong. I was once (in 1881) put in charge of the police under similar circumstances. Well, it took me a few days to discover the key to the whole revolutionary movement. The danger lay in a society made up of a dozen persons who soon fell into our hands." M. von Plehve here refers to the period immediately following the assassination of Alexander II. The arrest of revolutionary leaders was not all that took place while he was in charge of the police: the great anti-Jewish riots were in progress at that very time.

One of the measures by means of which Von Plehve hoped to stem the revolutionary tide was the revival of flogging. When his interviewer urged that "the Russian people is great enough to be free from the rod," the Minister answered:

"Some day corporal punishment will disappear, but that day has not yet come round."

And speaking of the riotous moujiks of the Poltava province, he said, with a laugh: "Before sending them to Siberia we gave them a sound birching."

The "reign of the rod" was inaugurated immediately after he succeeded to the office left vacant by the death of Sipiagin. Working-men were flogged in Wilna, Minsk, Kremenchug and other places for no graver offence than attempting to parade through the streets on May 1. And what was the result? In Wilna, where the flogging was done in a more brutal manner than anywhere else, and where it took place under the personal supervision of the governor of the province (Von Wahl), who mocked and abused the helpless victims while they were writhing and shrieking under the blows, this official was shot and wounded two weeks later by a member of the Social Democracy, a secret organization whose programme declares against terrorism.

After referring to the peaceful character of the May demonstration for which the working-men of Wilna had been flogged, and to the revolting details of that brutal scene, a leaflet issued by that organization proceeds as follows:

"This piece of barbarism has quickened our hatred for the government of Czars, arousing in us a thirst for sacred revenge. We struggle by

peaceful means; the shedding of human blood is not a part of our programme; but patience has its limits. Should the resentment of an exasperated public take the form of violence the fault will not be ours. It is Von Wahl himself who has pointed out such a course to the people."

It was a few days after the appearance of this leaflet that a Jewish shoemaker, named Hirshel Leckert, approached Von Wahl as he was leaving the circus, and fired at him three times, wounding him in the right arm and left leg.

Shortly after this, a young peasant named Thoma Kochur, a member of the other revolutionary organization, shot at the governor of Smolensk for a similar cause; and now we read of the killing of the governor of Ufa by two other revolutionists. According to German despatches, which agree with what has been published in the "underground" press of the Russian revolutionists about the disturbances in the Ufa province, this assassination grew out of the arrest of a committee of the employees in the government arms factory at Slatoust, Ufa, where the workingmen "were driven by their misery to send a deputation to make an effort to better their condition." The delegates were treated by the authorities as political criminals and were arrested on their way to the factory. The wives of the arrested men then left their children at police headquarters, declaring that with their husbands in prison they would be unable to support them. The children were thrown into the street. This caused great excitement, and when the governor arrived and the crowd refused to disperse, insisting upon the release of the deputation, several volleys were fired by the troops, killing forty, including many children, and wounding 200. "It is asserted," one despatch adds, "that the crowd on which the troops fired, although excited and indignant, was orderly.

The policy of unthinking, iron-handed repression has thus created an atmosphere of bitterness and revolutionary recklessness such as has not existed since 1887, and which calls to mind the birth of the Red Terror in the latter part of the seventies. Indeed, the people who killed Alexander II. and several of his officials had started out as peaceful propagandists. They had begun as innocent dreamers and apostles of a new era, which was to evolve from the survivals of primitive communism retained by the Russian village commune. The government sent them and their comrades to Siberia, and tortured them in damp cells where

scores of refined men and women went insane, committed suicide or died of scurvy. It was not until the authorities had shot or hanged several innocent men that the Nihilists inaugurated the "Terror," as "a means of self-defence as well as with a view to demoralizing the government and forcing the Czar to grant his subjects free speech. This is precisely what is going forward in Russia at the present time. Besides assassinating the Czar, after a series of gigantic plots, the old Terrorists killed, during the four years when their activity was at its height, a gendarme officer, a chief of the Gendarme Corps, a governor and a public prosecutor. All this was done by an organization which numbered scarcely more than fifty men and women, almost all of them from the educated classes. The revolutionists of to-day have a vast army of discontented working-men and representatives of the other strata of society to draw upon, and their terrorists have already killed two cabinet ministers and a governor and more political spies than the old dynamite party ever put out of the way. They have attacked two other governors, and made two attempts on a prefect of Moscow and one on the chief adviser of the Czar. All this has taken place during the last two years. Moreover, the gigantic conspiracies of the "Will of the People" absorbed all the resources of the party; and, as these schemes had of necessity to be kept from every one who was not directly connected with them, the handful of fearless men and women who participated in these bloody undertakings practically became the party. This is not the case now. The revolutionists of to-day are chiefly engaged in disseminating their ideas and organizing secret trade-unions, and have no dictatorial centre with elaborate terroristic schemes to paralyze their educational work.

Such a thing as an organized labor movement was utterly unknown at the time of Alexander II. It is a product of new conditions, the result of the continuous economic development which marks the history of Russia for the last twenty years; and this development is bound to find its reflection in the political sentiment of the people. Whether or no the Siberian railway was built primarily for military purposes, the forces which made the construction of such a road possible tend to bring the Russian people nearer to their political redemption.

At the period when M. von Plehve was put in charge of the police, in 1881, the universities alone were schools of revolution.

Since then, the factories have assumed the same character; and, while only one university has been added to the nine which were in existence twenty years ago, the number of factories has during the same period been increasing at a progressive rate. That the government is not unaware of all this is evident from numerous official reports, marked "secret," copies of which fall into the hands of the revolutionists, who publish them in their papers. In some of these, the factories are described as "hotbeds of revolution," whereupon it is suggested that the government take the labor question into its own hands.

At the time M. von Plehve was appointed head of the police department, there were never more than two "underground" printing offices at a time, and the appearance of every new number of a revolutionary paper or a leaflet was a memorable event. In the most active two years in the history of the "Will of the People," this organization managed to bring out its official organ no more than six times. Now there are from twenty to twenty-five secret printing establishments, each of which issues a paper every two or three weeks, while an army of revolutionary smugglers is at work importing and distributing the literature which the two parties print in Geneva, Stuttgart and London.

Street demonstrations took place on only two or three occasions during the entire period in question, and in each case they were begun and ended by college students re-enforced by a handful of converts from the lower classes. The general public remained stolidly irresponsive. Now, in processions in which working-men and representatives of the other classes mingle, shouts for liberty are the order of the day, and in almost every instance hundreds of passers-by join the paraders, or otherwise signify their sympathy with the object of the manifestation. In the winter of 1876, a small crowd gathered in front of the Kasan Cathedral in St. Petersburg. A revolutionary speech was delivered, and a red flag bearing the legend "Land and Liberty" was unfurled. There followed a conflict between the revolutionists present and the police, but the passers-by never interceded. A similar demonstration was held on the same square on March 17, 1901; but this time the revolutionary crowd was joined by almost every passer-by and kept swelling till, when the celebrated massacre of student girls by Cossacks took place, it was about fifty thousand strong.

Still larger was the procession which was held in the same neighborhood about twelve months later. But the most typical demonstration of to-day is one of purely spontaneous origin. Scores of cases have been reported in which theatre audiences have burst into cheers for liberty, or joined in singing revolutionary songs between the acts; or in which the sight of a passing policeman has brought similar exclamations from the pedestrians and resulted in an extemporaneous procession with red handkerchiefs for flags.

Perhaps the strongest evidence as to the stupendous growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia is to be found in the fact that the number of political prosecutions during the last eighteen months exceeds the sum total of similar cases during all the twenty-six years of the reign of Alexander II. If the government is slow to found new universities, it certainly has not been backward in building new prisons; yet every dungeon, jail or house of detention in the country is overcrowded. Formerly, the average political prisoner would be kept in his solitary cell from two to three years before his case was disposed of. Now, the authorities are compelled to "railroad" hundreds of cases through, so as to make room for new prisoners. As to Siberia, its remotest villages have so rapidly been growing in population, through the continual arrival of new exiles, that they are beginning to lose their horrors as places of banishment.

If "the key to the whole revolutionary movement" of twenty years ago was found by capturing the members of "a society of a dozen persons," it does not look as though the old key fitted the new lock. A year has passed since M. von Plehve promised to put an end to the revolutionary movement "in two months' time"; and, to judge from appearances, he will have to ask for an extension of time. If he killed "the revolution" twenty-two years ago, "the revolution" must possess gifts of "coming back" like those of the celebrated cat of the song. Indeed, the cat of 1881 was a mere midget compared with the creature which causes the Russian government so much worry in these days. The growing labor movement is the chief source of political education for the masses, but the working-men are not alone in the struggle for liberal institutions. People of the cultured classes, peasants and wage-workers make common cause in a campaign which forms one of the most important chapters in the history of the country.

The international holiday of labor, May 1st, has become the day of political processions, the great occasion for conflicts between police and Cossacks, on one hand, and working-men and college students, on the other. This accounts for the uneasiness which the government betrayed at the approach of that date; and, in view of all that we have seen, is it not a rather significant coincidence that it was shortly before May 1st, that M. von Plehve's subsidized favorite, the editor of the *Bessarabetz,* launched those rumors of a ritual murder by the Jews of Kishineff which brought about the terrible massacre?

Nor did the Kishineff slaughter come altogether unheralded. Indeed, as early as June 10th of last year, when M. von Plehve had been in charge of the Interior Department about two months, something happened in Vitebsk, a city hundreds of Russian miles from Kishineff, which was interpreted as foreshadowing events similar to the recent scenes of human butchery. At the conclusion of a military parade held in that city on the date referred to, the commander of the local troops, General Zizianoff, ordered all men of the Jewish faith to step out of their ranks and to form separately. He then addressed them on the revolutionary agitation:

"Soldiers!" he said, "I want you to tell your people to keep out of politics, or we shall grind them into powder. Should anything befall them, not a man will be sent to protect them."

The local Jews took alarm. They sent to the general a deputation submitting that his utterance was apt to be construed by their Gentile neighbors as an encouragement to anti-Semitic riots. To which General Zizianoff replied that what he had said was in compliance with a secret circular which he had received from his superiors, in which he was ordered "to show no mercy to Jews."

Similar threats were uttered elsewhere. The meaning of all this, according to the interpretation of the revolutionists, is that the authorities are determined to set the various elements of the population against each other as a means of demoralizing the movement for constitutional reform.

What General Zizianoff said to the Jews of Vitebsk the Chief of Police of Kishineff said to the Jews of his city when these applied to him for protection, on the eve of the fiendish outbreak. "It will serve you people right," he said. "Let the Jews not preach socialism." Two weeks later, this same official rode through the riot-ridden streets coolly smoking a cigarette.

The bulk of the revolutionary army is made up of Gentiles, not of Jews. The town of Zlatoust, for example, is a typically Great-Russian town, without a single Jew among its residents; and yet it is honeycombed with revolutionary sentiment; and the immense street demonstrations which have taken place in cities like St. Petersburg or Moscow have consisted almost entirely of the same element. But it is true that the Jews have more than their quota among the men and women who defy the isolated prison-cell and the gallows in their devotion to the cause of liberty; it is true that, enjoying, as they do, a much higher average of intelligence than any other element of the population, they take an exceptionally active part in the dissemination of Western ideas; and this is another reason why an anti-Jewish outbreak, on the eve of the proposed May demonstrations, would have been of advantage to the government in troublous times like these. When the news of the Kishineff horrors spread, and the panic-stricken Jews of other towns begged the authorities to protect them in case of an anti-Semitic attack, they were given to understand, through their "official" rabbis, that full protection would be guaranteed to them provided they undertook to prevail upon the revolutionists of their faith to stay away from the prospective demonstration. The result was that in several cities the May parade was abandoned.

Had the Kishineff rioters confined themselves to looting Jewish houses and stores, to destruction and rapine, with a few deaths "thrown in," as the case was with the typical riot of 1881-1882, it seems within bounds to suppose that the crusade would have been allowed to spread to other towns; for indeed, a thunder-storm is gathering in the empire, and the electric rod which had been used under similar conditions twenty-two years ago seemed to commend itself to M. von Plehve's taste once again. But, unfortunately for the anti-Semites and the powers behind their throne, the thugs of Kishineff had overdone it; a cry of horror went up from the civilized world, and the crusade had to be stopped. Thus the victims of the slaughter died the death of veritable martyrs, for it was their horrible fate which saved their brethren in other cities from the visitation of infuriated mobs. Still, in those places where the revolutionary agitation has gained a footing an anti-Jewish riot would scarcely be possible. There is every reason to expect that in case of an outburst of anti-

Semitic feeling among one part of the Gentile population, the would-be rioters would be checked by multitudes of their own coreligionists. Something of this sort happened recently in Poland, where an anti-Jewish riot was allayed by the interference of revolutionary working-men of the Catholic faith. The secret societies to which they belong include hundreds of Jews, and this has proved a potent factor in removing the race-prejudices which otherwise keep the two elements of the population apart.

In a report of the recent riot published in the "*Pravitelstvenny Viestnik*" ("Government Messenger"), allusion was made to economic relations between Jew and Gentile as the basic cause of the outbreak. This can be well-founded only in connection with the well-known fact that the leaders of the Kishineff massacre included merchants whose sole competitors in business happened to be Jews—another detail, by the way, which makes the Kishineff riot appear like a copy of the average riot of 1881-1882. In his official report made to the State Department in 1893, Dr. A. D. White, then United States Minister at St. Petersburg, says:

"The fact is that but a very small fraction of them (the Jews) in Russia are wealthy; few even in comfortable circumstances; the vast majority of them are in poverty and a very considerable part in misery—just on the border of starvation."

Touching upon the question of money-lending, Dr. White says:

"Sundry bankers and individuals in parts of Russia where no Jews are permitted have made loans at a much higher rate than Jews have ever ventured to do; while it is allowed that 100 per cent. a year has not infrequently been taken by the Israelites, there seems to be no doubt of the fact that from 300 to 800 per cent. and even more, sometimes, has been taken by Christians . . . . and a leading journal of St. Petersburg, published under strict censorship, has recently given cases with names, and dates, where a rate higher than the highest above-named was paid by Russian peasants to Christian money-lenders."

Dr. White further states that the number of Jewish artisans in Poland constitute "about one-half the entire adult male Israelite population." This was written ten years ago. To-day, fully three-fourths of all the Jews in the Empire are engaged in productive labor. As to the Jewish money-lenders, they form but an insignificant minority and are far surpassed in numbers as well as in rapacity by the "*Kulaks*" ("fists")—the characteristic Russian word for human sharks, "of the true Christian faith,"

who prey upon the Russian peasant. The best Russian literature of to-day is full of varieties of this type of "Christian usurer," and they are portrayed by the realists in colors even less attractive than their Jewish counterparts are in the anti-Semitic press.

M. von Plehve's talk of Jewish "exploitation" is borne out neither by his anxiety about the strength of the labor movement among the Jews, nor by what he knows of the Kishineff riot and of its predecessors of 1881, in which the wildest fury of the mob has invariably vented itself, as we have seen, on those Jews who work hard as mechanics or laborers, and live "just on the border of starvation." To be sure, M. von Plehve's report makes no mention of the fact that, while many of those who are known to have been among the wholesale murderers of the massacre are going about at large, some twenty young men and women who were arrested in Kishineff about the time of the outbreak for reading revolutionary publications, are about to be sent to Siberia. Nor, indeed, is there anything said in the report as to the fact that during the same three days when the Kishineff troops allowed Jews to be slaughtered and literally torn to pieces, the troops in several other cities were held in readiness with strict orders to disperse May processions at the muzzle of the rifle or by the lash of the lead-tipped Cossack whip. As a consequence of these orders, according to the latest reports of the revolutionary press, bloody conflicts took place during the May demonstrations in several cities on the Caucasus, fifty paraders having been severely wounded and several Cossacks killed in Baku alone.

Russia seems to be on the eve of important events, and the danger of the present situation does not lie "in a society made up of a handful of people," as M. von Plehve assured the correspondent of the Paris newspaper, but in a state of things under which, to borrow a phrase from an "underground" Russian leaflet, "Cossack whips are snapping and unsheathed sabres are gleaming at every turn"; in a state of things under which the white terror of the knout, the prison cell and the gallows gives birth to the red terror of the pistol and the dynamite bomb. It is one of those situations, in fact, to which apply the words of Emerson: "Of no use are the men who study to do exactly as was done before, who can never understand that to-day is a new day."

ABRAHAM CAHAN.

A COLOMBIAN VIEW OF THE PANAMA CANAL QUESTION.

BY RAÚL PÉREZ.

MUCH misapprehension prevails in the United States as to the reasons why Colombia hesitates with regard to the ratification of the Panama Canal treaty. There is a universal opinion here that Colombians can have no sane motive for reluctance in the matter, and that the delay must result either from cupidity or from vagaries inexplicable to the rational mind. The popular belief exists that no Colombian can advance a logical excuse for withholding consent to a transaction which is supposed in the United States to be of inestimable value to his country.

The facts as they should be understood may be stated thus:

First: Neither the Colombian Executive nor an ordinary Congress can constitutionally ratify a treaty that involves a cession of territory to a foreign Power;

Second: The canal will not be of as much benefit to Colombia as those who are unfamiliar with the situation assume;

Third: Colombians firmly believe that there are other solutions to the problem, which, besides being fair and legal, would permanently satisfy both the United States and Colombia.

The most important matter to be settled with regard to opening the canal is that of exactly defining the status of the party that will carry on the enterprise. It is evident at a glance that there is a wide difference between a private corporation, such as the *Compagnie Universelle du Canal de Panama,* and the powerful government of the United States of America. The Company has been doing and was to do business under the protection of the Colombian laws, subject to those laws in every detail; being considered simply as any other "juridical person"—that is, any Colombian citizen—in accordance with the fourteenth article of

the Constitution, which reads as follows: "Companies or corporations, registered in Colombia as juridical persons, will have no further rights than those granted to Colombian citizens."

If the substitution of the United States government for the *Compagnie Universelle* were once effected, and the consequent transference of rights carried out, would the United States submit to be considered merely a "juridical person," with no more rights than any other Colombian citizen carrying on business in Colombian territory, under protection of the Colombian laws and subject to those laws in every respect? Such is not the spirit of the Herran-Hay treaty; and, even if it were, Colombians would have plausible reasons for misgivings or apprehensions on that point. No one willing to consider the situation with absolute impartiality can criticise those who desire that the status of the Panama Canal builders should be most clearly defined, particularly in a case where a World Power is to be the builder.

Article 21, of the Salgar-Wyse contract (Colombian law 28 of the year 1878), in full force to-day, reads as follows: "The concessionaries, or those who in the future may succeed them in their rights, may transfer those rights to any other capitalists or financial corporations; but they are expressly forbidden to transfer them or mortgage them, under any consideration, to any foreign nation or government." Nothing could be more explicit, and this legal disposition in itself is enough to invalidate the Herran-Hay treaty.

Let it be well understood that the Colombians—that is, the large majority of those who think and have true patriotic feeling—are decidedly favorable to the opening of the canal by the United States, should the negotiations be concluded in a manner that would result in real and lasting good to their country.

In fixing the status of the builders of the canal, it may be true that there are some difficulties, but none of these are insuperable. It is evident that for a powerful government to be placed in the position of a mere "juridical person," under the laws of a weak and unstable so-called republic, is rather awkward and has no precedent. On the other hand, neither the Colombian Executive nor even the Colombian Congress has the power to make a cession of territory belonging to the Colombian *Nation*.

Only a constitutional convention, whose members should be expressly elected by the people for that purpose, would be em-

powered to cede territory to another country; but it may be safely stated that in no nation of the world would it be possible to find a set of men to assume such responsibility. The proof of this is that, after the Colombian dictator has himself chosen his own unconditional supporters as members of the Congress about to meet, the feeling exists that these "picked men" will not dare approve the cession of the Panama territory.

It may be cited that France sold Louisiana, and Russia the Alaskan Peninsula, to the United States, but the conditions were very dissimilar. Neither Louisiana nor Alaska was truly an integral part of the actual national territory of France or Russia. Both were distant colonies. Panama is bone of the bone and blood of the blood of Colombia, and has always been her cherished hope.

It may be argued that, in a country of misrule and continual trespassing of the Constitution, of human laws, and even of laws divine and natural, one more disregard of law is a trifling matter; but all the wrongs in the world will not make one more wrong right, and it is not honorable to enter into an irregular dealing with another party under the pretext that he is a rascal. Such a course might seem correct to those who have an inextinguishable contempt for the South-American republics; but the criticism arising from an illegal procedure in this matter would likewise apply to the United States.

Rascality is not the term that befits the character of the Colombian people. We Colombians are extremely unfortunate and unhappy, owing to the existence in our land of two bitterly contending parties, representing diametrically opposed views, with regard not only to government but the very conceptions of life. One is a medieval, fanatical, and autocratic party, professing that the good of the people lies in complete ignorance and absolute submission to the church, with no other guidance through the world but unlimited faith in the priesthood. The other is a liberal, progressive, enlightened party, which believes that the people will not and cannot obtain any rational degree of comfort and stability except through popular and universal education, and after securing some independence from the iron control of the clergy.

The enlightened classes of Colombia believe that in the Isthmus of Panama their country holds something of value for all time, and they feel that such property is not exclusively their own, but

that it is the patrimony of all future generations of Colombians, who will execrate their memory should they squander the national birthright.

The ten millions of dollars that Colombia would receive as the only compensation is considered inadequate, and the same would be the case if the sum were increased to fifty millions. This may sound preposterous on first consideration, but not to those who know that the money would be distributed among the dictator's clique and the religious orders, that it would thus serve but to strengthen the fetters that already cut the Colombian flesh to the bone, and that posterity would only contemplate its heritage turned into deeper ignorance and more ignominious slavery in proportion to the larger amount received.

There is also a very erroneous impression to the effect that the canal when completed will have a great beneficial influence on our country. The conditions as they exist to-day place Colombia in the position of the owner of a bridge, over which an immense traffic is constantly passing. There are many steamship lines converging on the ports of Panama and Colon that load and unload there enormous quantities of merchandise in transit, while large numbers of passengers are compelled to stop at both ends of the trans-Isthmian railroad. All such patronage is very valuable to the Isthmus; and, being terminals, both ports have naturally considerable importance. Such will not be the case when the canal is opened. Steamers will go through as rapidly as possible, the passengers dreading the unhealthy climate. There will be no loading and unloading of cargoes; the ports will no longer be terminals nor perhaps even coaling stations, and they will not have anything else to place on board but the scanty products of their own immediate neighborhood.

It must be borne in mind that the Isthmus is a strip of land utterly detached from the remainder of Colombia, separated by an immense tract of low, marshy land, which is covered with virgin forests, where not a single road exists, and into which but few explorers have penetrated under the greatest hardships and at the extreme peril of life.

Neither Panama, Colon, nor any other port on the Isthmus leads to any part of the settled regions of Colombia. The country has many ports on both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans which are much nearer the interior and are comparatively easy of access.

The only gain with regard to trade—and even that is problematical—might be for a strip of land some three hundred miles long and fifty miles wide, situated on the Pacific coast. The productions of that region, entirely tropical and chiefly consisting of chocolate, have already good markets in Chile and on the western coast of the United States, and it remains to be demonstrated that the freight rates through the canal would be low enough to enable the chocolate planters of the Colombian Pacific coast to compete with the Venezuelan product on the Atlantic side. In any case, that narrow Pacific region is the only portion of Colombian territory that could derive advantage from the canal. Every country in the world would be a gainer rather than Colombia.

The facts stated are perfectly well known to Colombians, who from the time of Bolivar have imagined that within the narrow strip linking the two American continents, Colombia held her great trump card. It would be an unspeakable disappointment to them to see that advantage fall into other hands, with no return but a few millions of dollars to be employed not for but against their welfare and prosperity. Indeed, so strong is this sentiment that it seems more patriotic to feel that no compensation at all would be preferable. There are many who maintain that a seizure of the Isthmus by a World Power would be more satisfactory, inasmuch as Colombians would be in a position to repeat in all coming years the phrase: "*Tout est perdu, fors l'honneur.*" The rights of Colombia in that case would hold good forever, and the day might come when they would be revindicated; but no such hope could be entertained if the dishonest band of clericals, who act as the government of Colombia, give a seemingly legal consent to the transaction.

The members of that band are in favor of the canal, not because they believe it to be of practical good to their country, and not because they have any love or admiration for the United States, but simply because they see the possibility of securing ten millions of dollars to be applied to their own purposes. They argue more or less thus: "The Isthmus is a segregated limb of the country where we have not full sway. We may just as well abandon it in exchange for ten millions of dollars with which to establish our uncontested dominion in the rest of the territory."

The other enthusiastic supporters of the canal treaty as it stands are the shortsighted inhabitants of the Isthmus, who long

to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. They see in the near future a boom for their region—excavation contracts, which they imagine will be as profitable as were those of the good old times of the *Compagnie Universelle;* an increase in the value of property; thousands of people coming to make their fortunes, and all the business opportunities attending an undertaking of this kind.

They do not stop to consider what their exact situation will be after the work is completed. Will it be any better than that of the region near the Suez Canal? There are good reasons to foresee that it may be less important. Egypt is visited by tourists from every quarter of the globe. The Isthmus of Panama offers no allurements to the traveller or the archæologist. From their unhealthy shores, the Isthmians could only watch the ocean steamers transport the productions of the world without even pausing for the briefest greeting. Their position might be compared with that of a small town which sees its one slow train suddenly transformed into a lightning express. In the one case, they can take the train at will and may avail themselves of its other advantages; in the other, they could do nothing but boast that the great express flashes past their windows. For more than three centuries, ships of all nations have been regularly going through the Magellan Straits, and yet the shores of the Fire Islands and Patagonia continue to be as barren as when the continent was discovered.

What the Colombians would like to do about the canal would be to have their country hold a permanent interest in the enterprise as a partner of the United States, deriving an income that would benefit not a few officials and one political party but all the people for generations to come. There is no reason why a partnership of that nature could not be successfully carried out, in the same way as a partnership between individuals. All details could be deliberately and safely settled between the two countries to the entire satisfaction of both, bearing in mind that a century in the life of a nation counts no more than one year in the life of a man, and that the canal must be of vast consequence for ages. The desire to cut the canal open as rapidly as possible is praiseworthy, but it is more important to lay first the solid foundations of the transaction and establish the exact limitations of the rights of those concerned, so as to avoid all possible friction in the future.

RAÚL PÉREZ.

THE PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY—AN AMERICAN SCHOOL.

BY G. L. KITTREDGE, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

DR. JOHN PHILLIPS, founder of The Phillips Exeter Academy, was a somewhat remarkable man. He was educated as a minister, and had, in his youth, the reputation of being "a devout, zealous, animated, and pathetic preacher." He became a successful merchant, and in the latter part of his life he "employed his capital in making loans on interest." He went to Exeter as a schoolmaster, and his first taxes were four shillings and twopence. He became one of the leading citizens of the province, and the richest man in a very substantial and prosperous community. At the age of twenty-four, he married a wealthy widow of forty-one, whose daughter had just rejected him, and by all accounts the marriage was a happy one. He was no revolutionist, yet he kept the respect of his fellow-citizens throughout the War of Independence, and the verdict of history acquits him of offensive Toryism. He was shrewd in business and notably frugal in personal expenditure; but he never forgot what was due to his dignity as a man and a gentleman. Indeed, he seems to have been somewhat precise in exacting the tribute of respect from his younger contemporaries. He insisted, we are told, that every boy should touch his hat and every girl should drop a courtesy on passing his house, if he happened to be visible, as he often was, pacing up and down on the platform in front of it. Tradition reports that he was an austere man, and it is not unlikely that he insisted on prompt payments. Yet one who knew him speaks feelingly of "the patriarchal sweetness of his countenance." He was far from popular, but he was universally respected, and his integrity and high principle were never questioned. Altogether,

he was a man of strong character and marked individuality, who always knew exactly what he was about. Old New-Englanders, at all events, will recognize the type. It is a type that has had no small share in framing the destinies of our country.

What has just been said of Dr. Phillips, however, gives a very imperfect idea of his character, though it may suggest his personality. One element of the first importance remains to be mentioned: he was, like most Americans, an idealist. More than that, he was an enlightened idealist; he planned instead of dreaming, and he accumulated with patient frugality the means that enabled him to carry out his plans. There is something uncommonly stimulating in the record of Dr. Phillips's benevolent projects. They were not external to the rest of his life, nor was there anything casual about them. They were the spontaneous, though deliberate, expression of his attitude of mind. Those were the days when men were in the habit of writing down their thoughts for their own inspection, and one significant memorandum of Mr. Phillips's (he was not then "Dr.") has been preserved: "Being sensible that a part of my income is required of me to be spent in the immediate service of God, I therefore devote a tenth of my salary for keeping school, to pious and charitable purposes." This note was made shortly after his graduation from Harvard College, and when he had just given up his intention of devoting himself to the ministry. But the purpose which it expressed was not abandoned when he became a rich man. It only strengthened as he grew older. In 1762, when he was about forty years of age, he wrote to his brother Samuel with regard to "a united effort in our family, for doing some special service for God." He asks him to consult with their father and their other brother, and adds these touching and impressive sentences:

"Our parents designed and educated us to serve Christ personally in the work of the ministry; our time has been otherwise employed; our other labors by his blessing succeeded. May our God have the fruits of them for the carrying to an end the same blessed work by such whom he shall please to send."

It was natural that John Phillips should apply his thoughts to the advancement of education. He was, like his father and his great-grandfather, a graduate of Harvard College. His earliest ancestor in this country, the Rev. Samuel Phillips, who came over with Winthrop in 1630, had studied at the University of Cam-

bridge. Learning was a family tradition. John Phillips had no children and his relatives were in easy circumstances, so that he felt free to follow his inclination in the bestowal of his goods. It was in 1770, apparently, that he began his systematic career of intelligent giving for educational purposes. The first beneficiary was Dartmouth College. His gifts to this institution, though not large, were important. They determined the location of the college at Hanover, and they procured the foundation of a Professorship of Divinity. In 1777, he was honored with the degree of LL.D.—the second conferred by Dartmouth. In 1778, he joined his brother in endowing the Phillips Academy at Andover, his native town. This institution received its charter in 1780, and in the next year the legislature of New Hampshire incorporated The Phillips Exeter Academy, which was Dr. Phillips's own foundation, in the town where he had resided for the greater part of his life. His gifts to the Academy at Exeter during his lifetime and by his will (he died in 1795) aggregate about $60,000—a very ample sum for those days, and one that, in the language of Governor Bell,* should be estimated in the light of what it has since accomplished. It was far greater than any sum which had been devoted to a similar endowment in America at that time.

It is noteworthy that Dr. Phillips gave away a large share of his fortune before he died. This was partly a matter of conscience, as we have seen. In part, however, his action must have been dictated by his wish to shape the policy of the Academy himself. He was more than a benefactor; he was a practical teacher, and he had a definite theory of American education. Further, he was an excellent administrator and a first-rate man of business. For twelve years, he was the President of his own board of trustees, and the success of his foundation was his chief interest in life. Such an arrangement would not always be discreet or even safe. In his case, it was of incalculable advantage to the Academy, and, indeed, it may well be reckoned as a great part of his benefaction. For Dr. Phillips may best be described by an adjective less often applied to persons than it used to be: he was emphatically a "wise" man. The provisions of the act of incorporation are significant. The Academy was established at Exeter, but a majority of the trustees were to be non-residents;

* In his "Historical Sketch of The Phillips Exeter Academy" (1883), an interesting book, which I have freely utilized in this paper.

and the board could at any time, by a two-thirds vote, remove the institution to any other place in New Hampshire which they should judge "best calculated for carrying into effectual execution the intention of the Founder." Obviously, Dr. Phillips understood the dangers of local control, and he forestalled them in the most effectual way. It was not a town school that he contemplated, but a national institution. Not less prudent and far-seeing was that other limitation which prescribed that a majority of the trustees should be laymen. Dr. Phillips belonged to a clerical family and he was a devout man, but he did not wish the Academy to be dominated by the church. It is a satisfaction to know that his precautions have been effectual, and that they have worked without friction. The Academy has attracted boys in great numbers from every part of our country. Its relations with the town, though cordial, have never interfered with its policy, and no religious complications have hampered its development.

The sessions of the Academy were opened in 1783 in a small building of four rooms. The preceptor was William Woodbridge, who received a salary of £100, and had one assistant. He was succeeded in 1788 by Benjamin Abbot, who held the principalship for fifty years. On his retirement, in 1838, the office was conferred on Gideon L. Soule, who had been associated with him for sixteen years, and who was at that time Professor of Ancient Languages. Dr. Soule retained the position till 1873. Thus the terms of service of these two eminent teachers covered nearly a century, and include the history of the Academy from the lifetime of the founder almost to the present day. Such continuity of tradition is rare enough in America, and it accounts in large measure for the distinctive character of the school.

It must not be supposed, however, that Dr. Abbot and Dr. Soule* were mere transmitters of tradition. Both were men of strong individuality, and each impressed himself upon the Academy. The wisdom of the founder had made ample provision, in the flexibility of his design, for easy and symmetrical expansion, and innovations came—like those which Lord Bacon ascribes to Time, the great innovator—steadily and gradually, without shock or surprise, as the school adapted itself from year to year to the changes which the advance of the country brought with it.

* Dr. Abbot received the degree of LL.D. from Dartmouth in 1811; Dr. Soule was similarly honored by Harvard in 1856.

Dr. Abbot was not merely a good teacher: he was a close student of educational methods and himself an originator. There was little for him to learn from his American contemporaries. He could not follow; he had to lead. It is particularly interesting, therefore, to find that he turned to England for guidance. Not content with what he could find in print, he requested a friend to examine the great English public schools and to give him a full account of their system as it appeared in actual operation. The mission was well performed. Dr. Abbot derived valuable suggestions from his friend's report and used them with characteristic skill and good sense. He understood the wide difference between our social organization and that of England, and saw clearly that it was impossible, as well as undesirable, to reproduce an English school on American soil. He was quite aware that it is easier to copy than to adapt and assimilate, but he saw clearly that mere imitation would not solve the complicated problem on which he was engaged. The lesson that he taught has never been forgotten at Exeter. Analogies have often been traced between the English public schools and The Phillips Exeter Academy; differences are equally noticeable. Both the one and the other are elements in the success of this truly American institution,—American in the best sense, since it seems to be peculiarly fitted to the needs and the abilities of American boys.

Two changes of moment were introduced while Dr. Soule was principal. In 1857, the powers of a Faculty were conferred upon the instructors, and in 1858 the students were relieved of the requirement of preparing their lessons in the schoolroom under the eye of a teacher. It was a wise and considerate daring that prompted these reforms, and they have done much to confirm that spirit of self-reliance which is one of the most admirable points of the Exeter training. A young instructor at Exeter is not a mere agent of the Principal. He is responsible to the Academy at large and to his own conscience. He can count upon the advice of his older colleagues, but he is neither coddled by them nor overborne by their authority. He governs his own classes and has his share in the general administration. He speaks and votes in the weekly Faculty meetings, at which questions of discipline are decided and matters of policy freely discussed. The Principal has, of course, much influence, but he expects every member of the Faculty to say what he thinks, and he is quite pre-

pared to be outvoted on occasion. The writer was for several years a member of the Exeter Faculty, and he can testify that the debates are as frank and fearless as it is possible for those of a deliberative assembly to be. The students know this, and they feel a corresponding respect for the decisions of the governing body. They are aware that they are living under a constitutional government, not under a benevolent despotism, and the knowledge does them good. The position of an instructor is dignified, for his tenure of office does not depend on subserviency or complaisance. Thus it is easy for the Academy to secure good teachers, and to keep them. Long terms of service are the rule at Exeter. Professor Wentworth taught there from 1858 to 1892, and is now a member of the Board of Trustees. His classmate, Professor Cilley, was in active service from 1859 until his lamented death in 1899. The Professor of English, Mr. J. A. Tufts, is now completing his twenty-fifth year of continuous service. Many other names in the long roll of past and present members of the Faculty show a record of from ten to fifteen years of fruitful instruction.

The second reform was equally important. The boy is responsible for his lesson, and he knows that his instructor will hold him accountable for it, at the set time, and will exact it to the uttermost farthing. Preparation for the recitation is the boy's own affair. Thus he feels under a far greater obligation than any that could bind him if he did his studying under the tutorial eye. The question is not, "How many hours have you spent in study?" It is, "Do you know your lesson?" Failure to be ready is not a mere peccadillo. It is a breach of trust, and, if it occurs often, it is taken—and the boy knows it will be taken—as evidence that he is not a good citizen of the academic community. This test is constantly applied. It is an accepted principle that The Phillips Exeter Academy is not meant for persons who need surveillance. It is meant for manly boys, and its discipline has proved to be singularly well-adapted to bring out those qualities which are requisite in the citizens of a republic. The students are under such control as ought to suffice for well-intentioned and healthy-minded young Americans. When, in a given case, this measure of oversight is not sufficient, the boy must leave the school.

It sometimes happens that a pupil, through no fault of his own, is mentally or physically unable to keep pace with his classmates. Such a boy, after a fair trial, is expected either to drop

into a lower class or to leave the Academy. This is not dismissal. It carries no disgrace with it. The boy is simply out of place, and his parents are advised to withdraw him. This again is well understood by the students. There is a sharp distinction in their minds between dismissal for sins against good order and the quiet disappearance of an unoffending but ineffectual classmate. They acquiesce in the process of natural selection, recognizing the survival of the fittest as a law that works well—as the law that makes the Academy a school to which they are proud to belong. The effects of the Exeter method are particularly noticeable in the perilous passage from school to college. The Exeter graduate feels no such shock in the transition as is experienced by many boys who go to college from schools conducted on a more repressive and paternal system. He has learned to govern himself.

It must not be supposed, however, that there is anything hard or mechanical in the workings of the system described. The relations between the pupils and the instructors are cordial. Every student society—and there are several—has one or more "Faculty members," elected by the undergraduates themselves. The students are in constant association with the teachers, and mutual trust and helpfulness pervade the institution. There is no lawlessness; no lack of proper control. Indeed, the very fact that the students have to work, and work hard, if they are to stay in the Academy is itself a guaranty of good behavior. There is little student opinion in favor of laziness. It is a merit in the student's code to get one's lessons. Nobody is ashamed of making a good recitation. Good scholarship at Exeter gives a boy prestige among his fellows, no less than prowess in the baseball field or on the gridiron.

Physical culture is well attended to at Exeter. The school has long been famous for its interest in athletic sports, and the Campus, as the athletic field is called, is in good weather an animated place. Out-of-door life is very pleasant at Exeter in the spring and fall. The country is beautiful, full of woods and streams; and the upper river gives every facility for boating. There is a large and well-equipped gymnasium, under the charge of a competent instructor, and systematic exercise is a part of every student's life. Merrill Hall, the recent gift of Dr. Abner L. Merrill, is a welcome addition to the social facilities of the Academy. It affords commodious quarters for the two main

literary societies, the Golden Branch and the G. L. Soule, each of which has a considerable library; and one whole story is taken up by a large room for reading and indoor recreation. Thus the Hall fills in some degree the place supplied by the Harvard Union at Cambridge.

For many years after the foundation of the Academy, the students boarded and lodged with private families in the town. This arrangement became insufficient for the needs of the school, and a number of dormitories have been built. There are now five such halls. No one is compelled to live in these buildings, and a considerable number of the students still lodge in private houses, but the dormitories are deservedly popular and are more and more resorted to. Dunbar Hall is reserved, in the main, for the younger boys, of whom it accommodates about thirty. It contains dining and recreation rooms as well as chambers, and is under the supervision of two married instructors, who, with their families, live in the building. The development of the dormitory system is chiefly the work of the present Principal, Mr. Harlan P. Amen. It has centralized and simplified the administration of the Academy, but has not weakened the fine spirit of self-reliance so characteristic of the place from the beginning.

The Phillips Exeter Academy has always been famous for its democracy. Some of the students are poor, and a considerable portion of the endowment goes to scholarships, in accordance with the founder's wishes and with the provisions of other special gifts and bequests. But there is no barrier, real or imaginary, between the indigent and the well-to-do. Generous intellectual rivalry among healthy boys is fatal to artificial distinctions. The son of wealthy parents meets his match in the classroom and on the Campus in a fellow-student who is working his way. On the other hand, the ignorant contempt for the rich which sometimes manifests itself in young men whose horizon has been narrow is quickly corrected in this atmosphere. The good scholars are not all foundationers, and the poor boy often finds his intellectual rival in his well-to-do comrade. Such association is good training for American citizens. Besides, Exeter is an old and dignified town, with a society of its own and well-sustained traditions. Hence the students are not likely to feel superior to their surroundings. They have no temptation, as they might have in a less cultivated community, to exaggerate their own importance.

To maintain the democratic spirit is the constant care of the governing boards. Alumni Hall, now almost finished, should prove a powerful means to this end. This is intended as a general dining-hall; and, though there will be no compulsion, its advantages will certainly appeal to a large number of the students. The ample beneficiary fund of the Academy will enable the poorest to board at Alumni Hall on the same terms as the richest.

The main building, or recitation hall, of the Academy was erected in 1872 to replace the "Old Academy," a large frame structure put up in 1794, enlarged in 1821, and destroyed by fire in 1870. There are separate buildings for the laboratories of physics and of chemistry. The chapel, which occupies the greater part of the upper story of the main building, is one of the most interesting places in New England. The walls are nearly covered with portraits, most of them in oils, of eminent alumni and others who have been connected with the institution in the century and a quarter of its life. These paintings bring forcibly to mind the service which this venerable foundation has done for the Republic. Few seminaries of learning have so large a roll of distinguished sons. Twenty years ago the list, as summed up by Governor Prescott of New Hampshire, included five Ministers Plenipotentiary, seven Cabinet Ministers, eight Senators, twenty Representatives in Congress, twelve Governors of States, one Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, four Chief Justices of the Supreme Courts of States, four Justices of the Circuit Courts of the United States, three Attorney-Generals of States, nine College Presidents, fifty-two College Professors, 130 clergymen, 245 teachers, 510 attorneys at law, 262 physicians, thirty-six authors (including four eminent historians), 260 merchants, thirty-three Captains in the mercantile marine, three Major-Generals in the Army, two Rear-Admirals in the Navy, and scores of officers in both departments of the service. Bushrod and Augustine Washington, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Edward Everett, Daniel Webster, Cass, John P. Hale, Butler, Bancroft, Sparks, Parkman, Saltonstall, are names which suggest how closely the career of this great school is bound up with the history of our country. The past of The Phillips Exeter Academy is illustrious, and the future is bright with increasing promise.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL INITIATIVE.

BY LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN, GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND.

OWING to a widespread dissatisfaction with the action of legislative bodies, a strong demand for pure democracy is sweeping over the country. Finding that the representatives of the people, whether municipal, State or national, can be trusted neither to carry out the popular will, nor to formulate their own convictions into law, on every hand is heard the cry for Direct Legislation, or the Initiative and Referendum, as termed in Switzerland, the place of its birth. The force of this sentiment is illustrated by recent events in the city of Chicago. The State of Illinois recently passed a law allowing a municipal referendum when petitioned for by twenty-five per cent. of the qualified electors. This extraordinarily large percentage, calling in Chicago for the names of more than 100,000 voters, and supposed to be prohibitive in so large a city, was exceeded by many thousands of signatures.

At the election held on April 1st, 1902, the vote stood thus:

"For ownership by the City of Chicago of all street railroads within the corporate limits of said city	142,826
Against	27,998
Majority (5 to 1 in favor)	114,828
"For ownership by the City of Chicago of the gas and electric lighting plants, said plants to furnish light, heat and power for public and private use	139,999
Against	21,364
Majority (6 to 1 in favor)	118,635
"For the nomination of all candidates for city officers by direct vote of the voters at primary elections to be held for that purpose	140,860
Against	17,654
Majority (7 to 1 in favor)	123,206"

This was from 75 to 90 per cent. of the aldermanic vote at the same election.

On November 5th, 1902, the voters of Illinois expressed their opinion upon three other questions referred to them.

The vote of Cook County, including Chicago, was as follows:

For State Referendum	170,616
Against State Referendum	27,244
Majority (7 to 1 in favor)	143,372
For Local Referendum	164,529
Against Local Referendum	25,960
Majority (7 to 1 in favor)	138,569
For popular election of Senators	172,211
Against popular election of Senators	25,930
Majority (7 to 1 in favor)	146,281

THE TOTAL VOTE

in Illinois was as follows:

For State Referendum	428,932
Against State Referendum	87,655
Majority (5 to 1 in favor)	341,277
For Local Referendum	390,972
Against Local Referendum	83,377
Majority (5 to 1 in favor)	307,595
For popular election of U. S. Senators	451,319
Against popular election of U. S. Senators	76,975
Majority (6 to 1 in favor)	374,344

All this goes to show the intense interest in and approval of municipal referendum in the second city of the United States.

Another and perhaps stronger indication of the popularity of Direct Legislation is the practically unanimous support given to it by organized labor. The American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, after advocating the Initiative and Referendum for a decade, has recently issued a large extra number of its official magazine, "The American Federationist," devoted exclusively to this subject, under the title "Majority Rule in Combination with Representative Government."

The widespread public sentiment in favor of Direct Legislation has already crystallized into action in two sections of the country —the New West and New England.

In order to understand fully what has been done, or is being attempted, in these two widely separated regions, it is necessary to give a concise definition of a few of the terms in use.

Direct Legislation may be subdivided into:

1. The Compulsory Referendum, which requires all laws and ordinances to be submitted to a vote of the people.

2. The Optional Referendum, which allows a minority of the voters (say, five per cent.), by petition, to require the submission of any law or ordinance to the judgment of the voters.

3. The Initiative and Referendum, which permits a minority, by petition, to propose a bill and have it submitted without change to a popular vote.

4. The Constitutional Initiative, which provides that a reasonable minority of the voters may propose amendments to the Constitution, to be submitted unchanged to the popular vote.

In every case, a majority of the votes cast by the qualified electors upon any proposition decides its fate.

Of the four forms of Direct Legislation enumerated above, the first exists in some of the cantons of Switzerland, but has never been suggested for adoption in any part of the United States. The second, third and fourth are now embodied in the Constitutions of three Western States, namely, South Dakota, Utah and Oregon. The provisions in the three Constitutions are substantially alike, although the Oregon amendment, adopted in June, 1902, made some improvement in details over its predecessors. It is worthy of note that the vote for its adoption was 62,024, and the vote against it only 5,667.

The opening clause of the Oregon amendment reads as follows:

"Section 1. The legislative authority of the State shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly."

In order to exercise the Initiative, a petition by eight per cent. of the legal voters is required; to demand the Referendum five per cent. suffices.

It thus appears that the Oregon Constitution, as now amended, gives power to the people (1) to demand and exercise the right of rejecting any law passed by the Legislature, (2) to propose and enact statute laws without regard to the Legislature, and (3) to originate and adopt any amendment to the State Constitution.

Taken in their entirety, these provisions are a signal departure from the form of government contemplated by the authors of our State and national Constitutions.

Heretofore, the Legislature of Oregon has had complete control of statute law. But now the legal voters of the State not only possess an absolute veto over nearly all legislation, but they have actually become a co-ordinate legislature with power at will to fill another statute book with laws of their own making. Whether the Legislature has the power to amend or repeal the laws in this second statute book is not clear. If it possesses such power, then the action of the people is merely advisory—that is to say, it holds only so long as the Legislature approves. If, however, as seems more reasonable, the Legislature has no power to amend or repeal enactments by the people, then the second statute book is more in the nature of a supplementary Constitution, but entering into details heretofore reserved for enactment by the representative body.

It is the experience of both South Dakota and Utah that the necessity of having the constitutional provision for the Initiative and Referendum carried out by the Legislature has led to its practical annulment. In Utah, the Legislature has refused to make any enactment for carrying the amendment into effect. In South Dakota, advantage has been taken of the exceptions contained in the amendment to prevent the submission of laws to the people. The South Dakota amendment, which in this respect is very similar to those of Utah and Oregon, excepts from the Referendum "laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety." As a result, in nearly every bill passed by the Legislature, the object of the amendment is defeated by the insertion of the following clause: "An emergency is hereby declared to exist, and this act shall take effect immediately on its passage and approval."

Among the several powers conferred upon the people in these three Western States by their Direct Legislation amendments is what I have ventured to term The Constitutional Initiative. And to this single and simple end has the movement in New England, which began in 1900, been strictly limited.

The Constitutional Initiative seeks to give to the people a more complete control of their organic law than they have ever had. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island, constitutional amendments designed to effect this purpose have for two years past been pending in their State Legislatures.

The form of the Massachusetts amendment of 1902, which, al-

though lacking the two-thirds vote necessary for passage, received 111 yeas to 64 nays, is as follows:

"If fifty thousand legal voters shall petition the General Court for any particular or specific amendment to the Constitution, then it shall be the duty of the General Court to submit such proposed amendments to the people at State elections; and if it shall be approved and ratified by majorities of the qualified voters voting thereon at such elections, it shall become a part of the Constitution of this Commonwealth."*

The amendment proposed and pending in Rhode Island at the same time reads in its essential features as follows:

"Five thousand, or more, of the electors of the State, qualified to vote for general officers, may propose specific and particular amendments to this Constitution by filing with the Secretary of State, not less than three months and not more than nine months prior to any general election, a petition that the electors may, at such general election, cast their ballots for or against such amendments. . . . Any proposition thus made shall be submitted to the electors by the Secretary of State at said annual meeting, and if then approved by a majority of the electors of the State present and voting thereon in town, district and ward meetings, it shall, ninety days thereafter, become a part of the Constitution of the State."

The amendments proposed in the two New England States differ from those already adopted in South Dakota, Utah and Oregon, in that they do not attempt to deal with statute law.

Against the people's initiative in constitutional amendment, no valid or even plausible objection can be raised. An American Constitution is the people's law, and the qualified electors should possess precisely the same power to make and unmake it that the Legislature has to make and unmake statute law. In both instances, deliberation and simplicity are highly desirable and should be required. They are carefully provided for in both the Massachusetts and Rhode Island amendments.

It will be observed that both amendments restrict popular propositions of future amendments to a single and specific subject matter. This seems to be a conservative and wise provision, and

* At the 1903 session of the Massachusetts Legislature a Constitutional Initiative Amendment to the State Constitution was presented for the third successive year. It passed the House by a vote of 155 to 22, and passed the Senate on the third reading by a vote of 23 to 11. Before being submitted to the people for adoption or rejection, the proposition must be passed upon by the next Legislature. That in 1904 it will be made a part of the Constitution of that State seems now assured.

might well apply to all constitutional amendments, however proposed. A complex amendment, dealing with two or more unrelated topics, places before very many voters the alternative of voting for the part which they disapprove, or against the part which they approve. As a matter of fact, bad provisions have been sandwiched in with good ones to such an extent that, in order to get the reforms needed, very objectionable sections have been added to many State Constitutions. It is for a similar reason that every new Constitution is in some respects inferior to the one which it supplants.

But, with a single subject matter placed before the people for their acceptance or rejection, it can and will stand or fall upon its merits. In this way will be insured a gradual and natural growth of the fundamental law of a State, far more safely and satisfactorily than the distorted and halting progress which proceeds from Constitutional Conventions held at intervals of many years; although occasion may arise for the appointment by the people of such a special committee, whose duty it shall be to revise the entire instrument and to report the result of its deliberations to the body politic.

The monopolizing by the Legislature of the highly important function of proposing amendments to the Constitution gives to that body, which is but a committee of the electorate, the power to say to its creator: We will decide for ourselves whether any changes shall be made in our powers and duties, and what those changes shall be. Although this remains the situation in nearly every State, it is both irrational and absurd, and finds no parallel in non-political organizations. It is in direct antagonism to the American theory of republican government, which historically embraces not merely representation of the people in a legislative body, but, primarily, the control of the organic law by the entire electorate.

The statement of this latter fact is to be found in the bill of rights of every State Constitution. The Massachusetts Constitution, for instance, contains these words [Article I, Part VII.]:

"The people alone have an incontestable, inalienable and indefeasible right to institute government, and to reform, alter and totally change the same when their protection, safety, prosperity and happiness require it."

In like manner the Constitution of Rhode Island begins [Article I, Section I.]:

"In the words of the Father of his Country, we declare, that 'the basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and alter their Constitutions of government.'"

Although the correct principle has thus been set forth from the beginning, it was not fully applied in any State prior to 1898, when South Dakota adopted the Initiative and Referendum amendment. It is true that the Constitutional Referendum existed from the first, and continues almost intact up to the present time; but the other half of Direct Legislation has been wanting, and remains to be conferred by the adoption of the Constitutional Initiative. The reasonableness of such initiative appears when the degree of control over the organic and the statute law is compared. The Legislature has power not only to enact, amend and repeal, but also to accept or reject propositions of any kind presented to it by a very small minority of its members. A Constitutional amendment, a law or a resolution, may be brought before either branch of a Legislature by any two members. In fact, any one Senator or Representative may introduce a proposition and bring it to vote by his fellows, provided he can get another member to second his motion—a mere matter of form which, indeed, is frequently ignored or assumed by the presiding officer.

But how has it been with the body politic in the matter of amending the organic law? No minority of the people—nor, for that matter, a majority, however large—could propose an amendment to the State Constitution. The people have been situated just as a legislative body would be if no one but its presiding officer had the power to present a bill or resolution for its consideration. In that event, any member, and indeed any number of members which did not include the presiding officer, would be wholly dependent upon his will for the making of changes in the statute book. No Legislature, no town meeting, no society, no casual gathering for the transaction of business—in fine no organization other than the body politic—can be found with its powers thus limited. No doubt the early Constitution-makers believed that Legislatures could be trusted to submit to popular vote any amendment desired by a considerable portion of the people. But in this they were mistaken. Experience has proved that a

Legislature will propose an amendment wanted by its own members, but will utterly refuse to submit matters for which the strongest and widest public demand is known to exist. To this limitation of the power of the people over their organic law may be traced the absence from our State Constitutions of provisions adapted to making legislative bodies genuinely representative, to abolishing government by lobby, and to doing away with misrule in cities.

With the Constitutional Initiative established in any State, its people will have just as good government as they are capable of—or, as Professor Richard T. Ely puts it, "as good legislation as they deserve." Under present conditions the people do not get their deserts politically—indeed, they fall far short. They are now the sport of selfish influences which for any private purpose may wish to make use of the Legislature against the interests of the public. Consequently, a large share of produced wealth is diverted from the many who earn it, and, in the form of special privileges, is bestowed upon the few who manipulate legislation.

Our forefathers, in forbidding any change of a State Constitution save by a vote of the people, set up for our liberties a mighty defence. It devolves upon the States which love liberty to round out the work of our ancestors by making a full application of the most vital principle asserted by them. To the Constitutional Referendum which they evolved, it remains for us to add the popular Initiative, thus giving to a majority of the body politic complete control of the people's law, the Constitution of the State.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN INTERVENTION IN VENEZUELA.

BY W. L. PENFIELD, SOLICITOR TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

I.

MEASURED by its consequences, the intervention of Germany and Great Britain in Venezuela, in December, 1902, was a notable event in its relation to the law of nations. It was notable, first, as an impressive assertion of the right of intervention for the protection of subjects of the intervening states; second, as definitely fixing the status of the "pacific blockade"; third, as a solemn recognition of the Monroe Doctrine by non-American states; fourth, in finally strengthening the position of the Hague Court, and in advancing the cause of international arbitration. The influence exerted by the United States Government in the affair is one of the chief contributions which have yet been made in behalf of the peace and progress of nations. For it was important that the true nature and limits of the "pacific blockade" should be defined and generally accepted, since they vitally concern the commercial prosperity of states which are bound by the law of their being to protect their foreign commerce. And not less important and far-reaching are the consequences which will flow from the recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, and from the reference to the Hague Tribunal.

On December 11th, 1901, the German Ambassador brought to the attention of the Secretary of State the existing conditions in Venezuela with respect to claims of German subjects, which were alleged to have "originated partly in forced loans extorted from them by the Venezuelan Government, partly in requisitions of personal property for the supply of troops, and partly in the devastation of landed estates." It was represented that these claims amounted to 2,000,000 bolivars, equivalent to about $400,-

000; that the Venezuelan Government refused to consider those which arose prior to May 23rd, 1899; and that, of the residue, it arbitrarily rejected some and reduced others; that it treated the settlement of these claims as an internal affair of the country in which no foreign power could intermeddle, and that it repelled all diplomatic interference in the matter.

The German Ambassador declared that under no circumstances was the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory contemplated. Secretary Hay, in answer, on December 16th, 1901, quoted the declaration of President Roosevelt, in his message of December 3rd, 1901, that "the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American Power at the expense of any American Power on American soil," but that "this doctrine has nothing to do with the commercial relations of any American Power," and that "we do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of acquisition of territory by any non-American Power." Reference was further made to the personal assurances given by the German Ambassador to the President, that the German Government "has no purpose or intention to make even the smallest acquisition of territory on the South-American continent or the islands adjacent." The answer further made was, that "this voluntary and friendly declaration on the part of the German Ambassador was received by the President and people of the United States in the frank and cordial spirit in which it was offered."

On December 16th, 1902, Lord Cranborne announced in the House of Commons that England was anxious to assist the United States in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine.

In the considerate judgment of dispassionate and unbiassed men, in the light of these frank assurances, there could be no doubt that the British and German Governments contemplated no unfriendly action towards the United States. Their action was avowedly not taken in hostility to the Monroe Doctrine, and all apprehensions of that kind may be dismissed. Happily, the President and Secretary of State, though vigilant, retained unshaken confidence in the candid good faith of the two Governments, and the Monroe Doctrine, by their common action, has been intrenched, as it never was before, in the standing policy of nations of the Old World, as well as of the New.

II.

Judicial Intervention.—All of the European and some of the American states recognize the right of a government to intervene diplomatically with another state which has arbitrarily confiscated the property or imprisoned the subjects of the former. But there are states which are unwilling to recognize this right, or to treat diplomatically with another government concerning such injuries to the subjects of the latter.

In the German note the grounds of the intervention were given as follows:

"The Government of the Republic argue, in the first place, that, owing to the interior legislation of the country, it is not possible to arrange diplomatically the claims of foreigners arising from wars, thus asserting the doctrine that diplomatic intervention is excluded by interior legislation. The doctrine is not in conformity with international law, since the question of judging whether such intervention is admissible must be determined, not according to the provisions of domestic legislation, but in accordance with the principles of international law.

"Nor can importance be given to the other objection of the Venezuelan Government, that diplomatic consideration of the present claims is inadmissible because an adequate road to a settlement is open by the decree of January 24, 1901, since the proceedings provided for by the decree do not constitute a guaranty for a just solution of those claims.

"Finally, the payment of any claims which a (Venezuelan) Commission might allow was to be effected with certificates of a new debt of the revolution, which, from what has been seen hitherto, would scarcely have value. In fact, the procedure employed by the Venezuelan Government has not led to a satisfactory solution of the claims. In particular, the few German claims which would be presented to the Commission have been, in part, unseemly refused, in part reduced evidently in an arbitrary manner; and even the recognized claims have not been paid, but the injured parties have been asked to submit to a project of law to be submitted to Congress." But this law "only comprises claims which could not be duly presented to a Commission. In spite of the sincerity of the desire which animates the Imperial Government to maintain existing good relations with Venezuela and although far from desiring not to respect the sovereignty of the Republic or to intermeddle in its interior institutions, it can only see in the proceedings employed by the Venezuelan Government an intention to deny to the German claims the settlement due them in conformity with international law.

"By order of the Imperial Government, I have to ask the Venezuelan Government to make a declaration immediately, that it recognizes in principle the correctness of these demands, and is willing to accept the decision of a Mixed Commission, with the object of having them determined and assured in all their details."

The British note expressed inability to accept the Venezuelan note "as indicative of the intention of the Venezuelan Government to satisfy the claims which his Majesty's Government have brought forward," which include:

"All well-founded claims which have arisen in consequence of the last civil war and the previous ones, and the ill-treatment and imprisonment of British subjects, and also include an arrangement of the foreign debt. I have asked the Venezuelan Government to make a declaration that they recognize in principle the justness of these claims; that they will immediately make compensation in the navigation cases and the cases above mentioned, and in those in which British subjects have been unjustly imprisoned or ill-treated, and that, respecting other claims, they will accept the decision of a Mixed Commission as to the amount and guaranty which should be given for payment."

The attitude of the German and British Governments with respect to the right of one state to intervene diplomatically with another, on the grounds stated, was in complete accord with the law of nations and with the traditional attitude maintained and with the precedents set by the Government of the United States.

III.

Pacific Blockade.—The pacific blockade was an innovation of the nineteenth century. It has only been resorted to a dozen or fifteen times, all told, under varying conditions imposed by the blockading states. It has no place in international treaties. It has not had the sanction of the common consent and usage of nations. It has no definite place in the common law of nations. It is not capable of authentic definition by precise statement and limitation. It can therefore only be described in general terms as the investment of the ports or coasts of a state, in order to secure satisfaction of the demands of the blockading state which could not be obtained without coercion.

It is undoubtedly an act of hostility which no state would commit against another state without contemplation of war. Yet it has usually been accompanied with professions of the friendship of the blockading state towards the state blockaded. Thus, at the time of its first inception, in 1827, after Great Britain, France and Russia had blockaded the coasts of Greece, occupied by Turkish troops, in order to compel the Sultan to accept their mediation, and after the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, their

Ambassadors assured the Turkish Minister that the bonds of friendship which united the Great Powers with the Sublime Porte continued unbroken. The true nature of these protestations was confessed in naïve but trenchant phrase. "This is," said the Turkish Minister, "precisely the same as if I should assure a fellow of my friendship while I was breaking his head."

In 1831, France blockaded the Tagus and ports of the Portuguese coasts, in order to obtain reparation for injuries alleged to have been committed upon French subjects.

In 1833, Great Britain and France blockaded the ports of Holland, in order to compel the latter to recognize the independence of Belgium.

In 1838, France blockaded the port of Vera Cruz, in order to compel reparation by Mexico for alleged injuries to French subjects, including forced loans, destruction of property and other denials of justice. Hautefille states that during this blockade forty-six ships of third states were seized, condemned and confiscated for violations of the blockade.

In 1838, France blockaded the Argentine ports, in order to obtain indemnity for injuries alleged to have been committed by that government upon French subjects.

In 1845, Great Britain and France blockaded Buenos Ayres in support of their offer of amicable intervention between that state and Brazil.

In 1850, Great Britain blockaded the port of the Piræus and other Greek ports in support of a claim for indemnity.

In 1860, the Sardinian fleets blockaded the ports of Messina and Gæta in aid of the revolt against the King of Naples.

In 1862, Great Britain blockaded Rio Janeiro, in order to secure an indemnity for the pillage of an English vessel wrecked on the Brazilian coast.

In 1879, Chile blockaded the coast of Bolivia during the war between the former and Peru. This was subsequently followed by a declaration of war against Bolivia.

In 1884, France blockaded the ports of Formosa in support of reclamations in behalf of the families of slain French soldiers, and for expenses occasioned by hostilities in Tonquin. The notice of the blockade declared, that every vessel which attempted to violate the blockade would be proceeded against conformably to international law and existing treaties. The President of the

Council of Ministers declared in the French Chamber of Deputies that "we are at Formosa not as conquerors, but as creditors, resolved to pay ourselves if our right is longer contested, and to seize the reparation which is our due." The British Government refused to acquiesce in these asserted rights of a pacific blockade. Lord Granville announced to Mr. Waddington that "the contention of the French Government, that a pacific blockade confers on the blockading Power the right to capture and condemn the ships of third nations for a breach of the blockade, is in conflict with well-established principles of international law."

In 1886 Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia blockaded the coasts of Greece, in order to compel it to stop its preparations for war with Turkey which threatened the peace of the Orient.

All of these were styled pacific blockades. The blockades of 1827, 1833, 1845, 1860, 1879, 1886, and 1897 (mentioned hereafter) were political in their objects; while those of 1831, 1838, 1850, 1862 and 1884 were judicial in their objects, made in order to secure redress for wrongs alleged to have been committed by judicial decisions or by the arbitrary imprisonment, or confiscation of the property, of the subjects of the blockading states.

On March 20th, 1897, France, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary and Russia announced a pacific blockade of the island of Crete; that the blockade would be general for all ships under the Greek flag; that ships of the six Powers or of neutral Powers might enter the ports occupied by the Powers and land their merchandise, but only if it was not for the Greek troops or the interior of the island; and declared that the ships might be visited by any ships of the international fleet. The United States Government answered that it was "not a signatory of the treaty of Berlin nor otherwise amenable to its engagements," but that it did not concede "the right to make such a blockade as that referred to"; and it reserved "the consideration of all international rights, and of any question which may in any way affect the commerce or interests of the United States."

It so happened that the United States had no commerce with the island of Crete, and the answer given was simply in the nature of a *caveat*. But the proposed innovation on the settled law of nations was of a startling nature. Perhaps its most dangerous feature was the uncertainty, the vagueness of conception, as to

what rights or claims of right might finally be asserted by blockading states. All the parties were avowedly at peace with each other; and yet the commerce of third states was to be treated in a time of unbroken peace as if the differing states were at war. It was an anomalous situation. The blockade was not defined nor regulated by the law of nations, in place of which might be substituted the caprice, or the exclusive interest of the blockading Powers. By what lawful right then could one state either forbid or license the ships of another state, with which it was at peace, to enter the ports of any state with which it was also at peace? By what right could a state, in a time of unbroken peace, compel third states to interrupt their commercial relations with the blockaded state? By what right could it impose upon third states duties of neutrality which arise only from a state of war? By what right and for what purpose might it visit in a time of peace the law-abiding ships of the United States? What action could it take with respect to such ships and cargo when visited?

Lord Palmerston had said, in 1846, with reference to the blockade of Buenos Ayres:

> "Blockade is a belligerent right, and unless you are at war with a state, you have no right to prevent ships of other states from communicating with the ports of that state—nay, you cannot prevent your own merchant ships from doing so."

The Brazilian ship, "Comte de Thomar," was seized for violating the pacific blockade against the Argentine Republic. The French Council of State decided that:

> "Articles qualified as contraband of war cannot be seized unless the captor belongs to a belligerent Power; that, consequently, the seizure of such articles, made upon a ship belonging to a Power whose coasts have been blockaded without a declaration of war, is void."

In blockading the Greek ports, in 1850, the British Government prohibited any ship sailing under the Greek flag from entering or leaving or communicating with any of the blockaded ports or harbors, under penalty of seizure and sequestration; but it did not purpose to interfere with the commerce of other states.

The Powers, in decreeing the blockade of the coasts of Greece in 1886, declared that it would affect only ships sailing under the Greek flag, which were prohibited from entering or departing

from the blockaded places. A violation of the blockade only involved their seizure and detention until it was ended.

On December 12th, 1902, in accordance with its note to the United States Government of December 20th, 1901, the German Government announced a proposed pacific blockade of Venezuelan harbors, and that "the blockade would affect ships of neutral Powers, which, although a confiscation of them would not have to be considered, would have to be turned away."

The United States Government answered that it adhered to the position taken by it in relation to the Cretan blockade in 1897, and therefore did not acquiesce in any extension of the doctrine of pacific blockade which might adversely affect the rights of states not parties to the controversy, or might discriminate against their commerce.

After this frank avowal of the United States Government, it was advised of an intention to establish a "warlike blockade," but "without any declaration of war." This answer then raised the question whether this phrase was meant to veil the same purpose under a new name, or whether an actual state of public war was contemplated. Accordingly on December 16th, the Secretary of State asked for a definition of what was intended by the phrase "warlike blockade." The answer of the British government was that the term "warlike blockade" was used to discriminate it from pacific blockade, which Germany preferred because blockade, *jure gentium,* is an act of war, upon which Germany could not enter without consent of the Bundesrath, and that the two governments had decided to adopt a regular blockade, *jure gentium.*

On December 17th, 1902, the British Prime Minister said:

"There can be no such thing as a pacific blockade. Evidently a blockade does involve a state of war. Without a state of war you cannot take the ships of another power and you cannot blockade its ports."

This was followed, on December 20th, by the announcement by Great Britain and Germany of a formal blockade in accordance with the law of nations, which created a status of belligerency and defined the rights and duties of belligerents and neutrals. On December 20th, Chancellor von Bülow announced that the German claims have not the character of mere business debts contracted by the Republic, but they have grown out of acts of violence committed against German subjects in Venezuela, either by forced loans, or by the seizure of cattle without any payment,

or by the pillage of German houses and estates. For these acts of violence he alleged that no redress whatever was obtainable from the Venezuelan Government. And he added:

"Consequently, the Imperial Government was, to its utmost regret, forced to take the matter into its own hands. The first step taken as a compulsory measure against Venezuela was the seizure of her men-of-war, as this measure had no hostile character against Venezuela, except in case of an unexpected emergency. We regret the necessity of a blockade, and we shall certainly take care that as little inconvenience and trouble as possible shall be caused by it to neutral trade. Of course, we have not the slightest intention to make any territorial acquisitions in Venezuela. In that respect the United States Government has, months ago, received from us explanations and of a positive character. We are thankful to the United States Government for the trouble it takes to bring about a settlement by arbitration. We think that a fair arrangement might be come to in that way."

The allies were led to resort to the war-blockade by the practical difficulties of the situation in Venezuela. The latter was without attachable property. No embargo could be laid on its merchantmen; they could not be seized on the high seas; for it had none.

The only available means of coercion remaining, therefore, were the seizure of Venezuela's navy and of its custom-houses, the bombardment of forts, and the landing of troops. The latter step would be sure to arouse American susceptibilities touching the Monroe Doctrine. For at this point no boundary line has been drawn, and the step, if taken, might require its determination. Undoubtedly, the rights of national sovereignty entitle a state to defend its commerce, and to protect its inoffensive and law-abiding subjects in a foreign state from injuries of the character complained of. This is an essential right of national self-preservation—to meet and overcome, by force, if necessary, the hostile action of the offending state. And it might be that the accomplishment of this lawful object would in an extreme case require the landing of troops. But how far such a measure should be carried out, if at all,—in case of an extreme and unjustifiable refusal to yield to the demands of international justice—is a question on which a self-respecting government might feel tender, if questioned, even though it was absolutely sincere in its intended observance of the Monroe Doctrine. Evidently, the United States Government had no reason to question, and never did question,

the candid good faith of the assurances which those governments offered before any action was taken. Here, then, at this point were arrayed the interests of the three governments—those of the United States summed up, on the one hand, in the Monroe Doctrine; and, on the other, the rights of Great Britain and Germany as members of the Commonwealth of Nations, which they were avowedly asserting. It is a convincing proof of the cordial relations existing between these three great states, and a happy augury for their future, that no occasion was given to the United States to ask, How far? and that no exigency arose to say, No farther. The skilful conduct of the delicate business by the three governments, and the successful manner in which the negotiations were handled by the Secretary of State and by the London and Berlin Foreign Offices, constituted a triumph of diplomacy.

The idea of the extension of the pacific blockade so as to affect the rights of third states, appears to have been finally repudiated by the concurrent action of three leading maritime Powers of the world. But its legitimate use as a form of reprisals, directed solely against a recalcitrant state, cannot be gainsaid. Within its proper limits, and in certain exigencies, it may be justified as an effective, adequate and less expensive and calamitous measure than open war. A war-blockade excludes all trade of third states with the blockading or the blockaded state. It is frequently accompanied with bloodshed and generally with an enormous increase of military expense, while it unsettles the markets of the world and inflicts severe losses by the depreciation of values. Properly restricted, the pacific blockade does not have these disastrous effects; it does not interfere with the commerce of third states with the blockading or the blockaded state. Its effects are limited to the states at variance, and are humane in comparison with the consequences of public war. It allows to the differing states time for sober second thought before the extreme step is taken.

But, perhaps, the strongest argument in favor of restricting its use and effects to the differing states is, that it favors the preservation of the peaceful relations of the world and the uninterrupted operations of its general commerce. It confines the damages inflicted to the interested parties, whilst their common suffering and interest supply a strong motive either to compose their dispute amicably, in the spirit of reason and justice, or to

refer it to the determination of the Hague Tribunal. The use of the pacific blockade, as a mode of reprisal, is therefore, so long as it does not assail the rights of third states, as legitimate as reprisals by embargo or by the seizure of the ships of the offending state in its own waters or on the high seas.

IV.

The result of the intervention has therefore been of vast advantage to the states of the New World, by having led to the final recognition of the Monroe Doctrine by two leading European states, and by putting at rest further uneasy apprehensions on that score. The result has been a great gain to international commerce; for it has settled the invalidity of the pacific blockade so far as it affects the commerce of third states, and has emphatically asserted the right of intervention for the protection of foreigners against denials of justice. The final reference to the arbitration of Mixed Commissions and of the Hague Court involved an admission of the right of intervention for alleged denials of justice, which all civilized states are alike interested in maintaining and conceding. It involved the adjudication of the claims on principles of international law, unfettered by obstructive local legislation. It exalted the Hague Tribunal to a position above even the most sanguine hopes of the framers of the Hague Convention. This result is due in large measure to the firm attitude taken by the Plenipotentiary of Venezuela, Herbert W. Bowen, in favor of the reference to the Hague Court of the one question on which the Venezuelan Government and the allied Powers were unable to agree.

The action of the United States Government, leading to an abandonment of the so-called pacific blockade and to the formal recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, and the exertion of its influence towards the termination of the war-blockade and the peaceful settlement of the entire controversy by arbitration, has increased its prestige, and at the same time has strengthened its friendly relations with all the Powers at variance. The attitude taken and the salutary and effective influence exerted from first to last by the United States Government, is one of the chief exploits of President Roosevelt's administration; for it is one of the most brilliant achievements of American diplomacy.

W. L. PENFIELD.

LETTERS FROM RUSKIN TO A YOUNG LADY.

BY ADAM SCOT.

It was the wise and witty Autocrat who suggested that every man, and it is to be presumed that the suggestion applies to every woman also, represents three distinct characters. There is the man as he conceives himself to be; there is the man as his neighbor conceives him; and there is the man as he really is and as he is known to God. But, indeed, by this token, the number of characters represented by any one man might be extended almost indefinitely. Every man's conception of himself changes, more or less, with his moods; and so subtle and strong is the influence of one personality in calling into play or repressing the powers of another, that the impression one makes upon one's neighbor may depend as much upon the neighbor's qualities as upon one's own. In this sense one is apt to be all things to all men; reserved, even morose, to some, whose natures happen to be antipathetic to one's own, open and communicative to others, with whom one is in active sympathy; bright and intelligent to some, intercourse with whom stimulates one's intellect, and hopelessly stupid to others who, by their very presence, seem to paralyze one's faculties and clog the activities of one's mind. It thus happens that no individual conception of a man, even though it be correct as far as it goes, is complete; so that, to gain an adequate conception of any one, it is necessary to collate, as far as practicable, into one general and comprehensive picture all the aspects which he has disclosed of himself to the various persons who, in various circumstances, have come into contact with him. It is this consideration that gives value to all kinds of testimony regarding the sayings and doings of one in whom the world is interested, which tend to show what manner of man he was in special relations of life.

Through a little volume which has recently appeared,* we are favored with a glimpse of John Ruskin in a new and very pleasing light. The critic, the philosopher, the social prophet, burdened with a message he must deliver, denouncing the foolishness and perverseness of the world, and, with fine fidelity to his convictions, preaching principles which were not acceptable to the multitude: these are rôles in which this great Englishman is familiar to us. These indicate Ruskin as he appeared in his relation to what he regarded as a wayward generation; and the general, who saw only what he revealed of himself in that relation, have thought of him as gloomy, severe, impracticable, and morally dyspeptic. But there were other relations in his life, which brought to the light quite different qualities of his personality; and these letters to an accomplished young lady, who had inspired in him feelings which went from admiration to affection and from affection to love, bespeak a nature rich in the gentler graces, a warm and loyal heart, a sunny and at times even playful spirit of companionship, and a capacity for finding interest in the most trivial matters that had interest for a friend.

A very charming preface is contributed to the volume by the Rt. Hon. George Wyndham, the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the present Cabinet, and the artificer of the new Irish Land Bill, who disclaims the notion that any words of Ruskin need introduction, and modestly says that he accepted the request to prepare the preface simply as "one who reckons among the highest privileges of his life the courtesy and friendship extended to him, as a neighbor, by the family group at Hawarden."

The letters themselves are preceded and followed by extracts from a diary, giving an account of a visit paid to Hawarden Castle by Mr. Ruskin in 1878, during which he made the acquaintance of his fair correspondent. In the previous year, the sage of Coniston had published, in one of the English periodicals, an article which profoundly impressed Mr. Gladstone. The latter, with characteristic impulsiveness and generosity, invited Ruskin, who had written about him in unfriendly terms which were in the end unequivocally retracted, to spend a few days at Hawarden. Ruskin accepted the invitation. He had

* "Letters to M. G. & H. G. By John Ruskin. With preface by the Right Hon. G. Wyndham." Illustrated. New York and London. Harper and Brothers.

imbibed from Carlyle, his acknowledged master, whom he familiarly called "Papa," a decided dislike for Gladstone and a deep suspicion of Gladstone's political aims and methods; and it was with grave misgivings that he set out to pay the promised visit to the great statesman. The device upon which he fell, with a view to enabling him to terminate the experience at a moment's notice if it should prove intolerable or unduly irksome, he would probably have condemned severely if it had been employed by another. He armed himself with a telegram summoning him home at once, under cover of which, should it be necessary to produce it, he might beat a retreat without discomfort or embarrassment. But the spell of Gladstone's enthusiasm and earnestness was potent, and under its magic influence suspicion and dislike were transformed into friendship and admiration. One cannot but smile at learning that Ruskin was nervous and troubled over the prospect of having to avow and justify his change of heart to his grim and fiery master at Chelsea.

The only basis of fellowship between Gladstone and Ruskin was a spiritual one. They soon became conscious that "they were fighting on the same side in the great warfare between good and ill; that they had the same cause at heart; that they both trusted in the supremacy of conscience over all material things, and in the reality of righteousness and in the hatefulness of lust and cruelty and wrong." But for this consciousness there could have been no sympathy between them, for their detailed views of things clashed at every turn. Indeed, their temperaments and points of view were wide as the poles asunder. Gladstone was practically democratic, and exuberantly optimistic; Ruskin was aristocratic, and pessimistic to the point of despair as to the destiny of the world. The contrast between them as suggested by some of the incidents described in these diary-notes, is striking and not infrequently amusing. One or two of these incidents may be cited in illustration. On one occasion, Gladstone, discussing Homer and the "Iliad," referred to "the poetic record of some prehistoric exchange" as affording proof that the principles of barter as recognized in modern economic science were well understood by Homer. Ruskin's bitter retort was: "And to think that the devil of Political Economy was alive even then!" When the Wizard of the North was the theme of conversation, Gladstone expressed the opinion that Scott had made Scotland, in the sense

that his genius had drawn so many people to view the very scenes of his poems and tales that the means of communication in Scotland had been, of necessity, prodigiously increased, so that the old isolation of human life in the Highlands had disappeared, and localities that before Scott's time had been most remote and secluded were visited by troops of tourists. Ruskin interrupted his host, saying, in a voice of horror: "But, my dear sir, that is not making Scotland, that is unmaking it!" Gladstone referred to round towers in Ireland; Ruskin declined to discuss the subject, because it was a controverted one. "For at least twenty years past," said he, "I have made it a rule to know nothing about doubtful and controverted facts — nothing but what is absolutely true, absolutely certain. I do not care for opinions, views, speculations, whose truth is doubtful. I wish to know only *true* things, and there are enough of them to take a full lifetime to learn." When, however, Ruskin attacked Gladstone as a "leveller," he elicited a confession which surprised and delighted him. "You see," he said to the famous old Parliamentary hand, "*you* think one man is as good as another, and all men equally competent to judge aright on political questions; whereas I am a believer in aristocracy." To which Gladstone made answer: "Oh dear, no! I am nothing of the sort. I am a firm believer in the aristocratic principle, the rule of the best. I am an out-and-out *inequalitarian*." An interesting avowal from one whose political ideal had been supposed to be the equalization of the power of the masses with that of the classes!

As has been said, it was on the occasion of his first visit to Hawarden that Ruskin met M. G., to whom most of the letters included in this volume were addressed. We are left entirely to conjecture as to the origin of his attachment to her, for there is only the slightest allusion to her in the diary-notes. One evening at dinner he aimed a coy compliment at her—she sat at his left hand—when he said: "He believed taste was improving in many ways, and young ladies were getting more beautiful every year, and tables were being more beautifully decorated." Again, after a wonderful outburst of enthusiastic eloquence in describing Carpaccio's pictures of "Saint Ursula," he was exhausted, and after tea he lay back in a big chair to rest, "while M. G. played on to us in the dark, with a magical touch peculiar to herself. We thought that he would sleep, but he grew absorbed,

and at last rose from his chair and walked over to the piano, and hung over it until she had finished. As she ended, we all waited for him to speak, but he was so moved that he could find no words, and could only say 'thank you, thank you.'" Once more, we are told of a sermonic talk, nearly an hour long, chiefly on marriage, which Ruskin addressed to M. G. and Alfred Lyttelton, in which he urged that "women should not venture to hope for or think for perfectness in him she would love, but *he* should believe the maiden to be purity and perfection, absolute and unqualified, perfectly faultless, entirely lovely. Women are in general far nobler, purer, more divinely perfect than men, because they come less in contact with evil!" There are no further references to M. G., but the letters give pathetic proof of the comfort and help which he derived from the society of his fair young friend.

The first letter, with its naïve allusion to "quick little affections which one is greatly ashamed of for having grown so fast, and which one dares not tell of," was written very shortly after the termination of the first visit to Hawarden:

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, LANCASHIRE, 18*th January*, 1878.

DEAR MISS G——,—You are then yet at Hawarden? It has been only my doubt of your stay there that has prevented *my* letter of thanks from dutifully anticipating this lovely one of yours—*after* which, it feels itself very helpless and poor, not so much in actual words, as in ways of showing the pleasant hiding-places of the web of things one doesn't quite like to say; one's flattered little prides being all threaded in among quite real and more close-set humilities—equally unspeakable—and quick little affections which one is greatly ashamed of for having grown so fast, and which one dares not tell of. But I will courageously say this letter of yours makes me very happy.

For the thanks after the J. R.—they mean *both* the things you have all guessed—but are meant, or were on the sudden when you brought me the book, meant, to distinguish the poem[1] as one which had taught and helped me in the highest ways, from those which one merely reads with admiration or equal sympathy; one falls "upon the great world's altar stairs" helplessly *beside* Tennyson. I thank Myers for lifting me up again.

I thank Fors and your sweet sister, very solemnly, for having let me see your father, and understand him in his earnestness. How is it possible for the men who have known him long—to allow the thought of his course of conduct now, or at any other time, having been warped by

[1] Above the poem "St. John the Baptist" (F. W. H. Myers), Mr. Ruskin wrote, "J. R., with deep thanks."

ambition, to diminish the lustre and the power of his name? I have been grievously deceived concerning him myself, and have *once* written words about him which I trust *you* at least may never see. They shall be effaced henceforward (I have written to cancel the page on which they are). If ever you see them, forgive me, and you will know what it *is* to forgive.

And you will *like* having me with you again, then, in the autumn? I never *can* understand that people can like me at all, if I like *them*. I'll read your letter over and over again, meantime; and am indeed, myself, to your Father and to you all,—Your grateful and loving,

JOHN RUSKIN.

NATIONAL GALLERY, *Friday, 28th July*, 1878.

MY DEAR M——,—You were a perfect little mother to me last night. I didn't feel safe a moment except when I was close to you. Look here, I've got notice from George Richmond and Acland saying they're both going to try to find me this afternoon. And I should like to see them, and to have that music to hope for all this evening and to-morrow morning; and, besides, I want you to give me a cup of tea this afternoon at about five, and if you can't, you can't, and never mind; but I'll just ask at the door, and it's of no consequence, as Mr. Toots says. You can't *tell* me you can't, *till* I ask at the door; because I don't know where I shall be. And I'll come for my music at three, to-morrow, instead, and you needn't say I may, because I must and will.—And I'm ever your devoted,

J. RUSKIN.

KENDAL, 19*th August*, 1878.

MY DEAR M——,—I'm going home to-day, and have just been putting these letters that have been carried in my breast-pocket on the moor, to keep the bleak breezes out, up in their own separate envelopes, written in the corner—F—— and M——. I've taken them as near the sky as I could reach—always; you have been on the top of every moorland at Malham, and finished with Ingleborough last Sunday after church. Judge how fondly by this time I think of the Hawarden trees! Not but that there are some dark clusters about the older farm-houses very beautiful, and I learned something quite new to me of the majesty of the plane in a group of them which I took, in the distance, for Scotch Firs, and could scarcely believe my eyes as I drew near and saw the great leaves, the branches had been twisted so grandly by the rock-winds.

Are you really going to be at Hawarden all the autumn? and can you let me come, when the leaves begin to fall? I don't think a pretty tree is ever meant to be drawn with all its leaves on, any more than a day when its sun is at noon. One draws the day in its morning or evening, the tree in its spring or autumn.

But I'm still afraid of myself, whether I shall be able to draw at all. I am not, yet; that is to say, it tires me more than anything, when it's the least difficult. It is but too likely I shall just want you to play to me all day long.

You never told me why you were disappointed that day with Browning, or, did you say, as it seems to me I remember, "*always* disappointed?" He knows much of music, does not he? but I think he must like it mostly for its discords. I haven't had anybody to show off to since you told me whom to talk of, and now I've forgotten his name. It's a great shame to have forgotten anything you told me, but I think it's better to confess at once, and then, perhaps, you'll send me a little note, and tell me, will you?

With truest and most respectful regards to your father, and grateful remembrances to Mrs. G——, and love to your sister.—Ever your affectionate, J. RUSKIN.

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, LANCASHIRE, *Sunday, 30th September*, 1878.

MY DEAR M——, ...

You see, I can come on the 10th, but, after this time of utter-do-nothingness at Dunira, I really want to see a little bit of and about books (they're all standing on their hind legs at present, and the printers rabid). And I meant, really and truly, to have written this morning to say I was at Mr. Gladstone's orders from the 25th, on; but now I'll do just what you tell me will be exemplary, and what I ought to do, and that is, come whenever you please, not *before* the 10th. But, quite seriously, I cannot *stay* more than two or three days at utmost, for I am indeed not well, and the excitement of conversation breaks me or bends me, banefully always. This was so even before my illness, and you know if Mrs. W—— had not forced me, I never should have ventured to Hawarden, and you must be a dear good little Mother to me, and take care of me every minute all the while I'm there. Love to Papa, though, and very true and respectful regards to Mrs. Gladstone, and I'm ever,—Your obedient and affectionate, J. RUSKIN.

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, LANCASHIRE, 1*st February*, 1879.

MY DEAR M——,—The enclosed pensive little line lay under yours, this morning, on my writing-table. Very thankful I was for both of them, as, indeed, I ought to be. Poor F—— is sadly gentle; but I trust the bright Mediterranean sky will revive her father, and raise her into a coruscant F—— of fair South France. It's very pretty of you to give me those lovely lines:[1] I like them because that child I told you of, who died, who wasn't usually by way of paying me compliments, *did* once say "Those eyes," after looking into them awhile. If they could but see ever so little a way towards her, now! To-morrow, Lady-day, it will be thirteen years since she bade me "wait" three, and I'm tired of waiting.

But I'm taking care of myself, yes; perhaps not quite the greatest, but enough to do. I like the frost. I can't skate, and won't run the risk of shaking my shaky wits by a fall; but I was sliding about four miles altogether up and across the lake, yesterday, and came in very hot, and

[1] [On Aprile (Paracelsus).]

am not stiff, for an old gentleman, this morning. Please imagine me, bowing or kneeling as low as you please, and ever gratefully and affectionately yours, J. RUSKIN.

AMIENS, 23*rd October*, 1880.

MY VERY DEAR M——,—I only did not answer your first letter because I did not think it was in woman's nature (being in the noble state of a loving daughter) to read any syllable of answer with patience, when once she knew the letter was mine. I wrote a word or two to F——; and now, if indeed you are dear and patient enough to read, I will tell you why *that* letter was written, and what it means. Of *course* it was not written for publication. *But* it was written under full admission of the probability of being some day compelled to allow its publication; nay, it might be, publish it myself. Do not for an instant admit in your mind the taint of a thought that I would privately write of any man—far less of one whom I honored and loved—words which I would not let him hear, or see, on due occasion. I love and honor your father; just as I have always told him and you that I did. As a perfectly right-minded private English gentleman; as a man of purest religious temper, and as one tenderly compassionate, and as one earnestly (desiring to be) just.

But in none of these virtues, God be praised, is he alone in England. In none of these lights, does it seem to me, is he to be vociferously or exclusively applauded, without *dis*honor implied to other English gentlemen, and to other English politicians. Now for the other side, my adversary side (that which, surely, I candidly enough always warned you there was in me, though one does not show it, "up the lawn nor by the wood," at Hawarden). I have always fiercely opposed your Father's politics; I have always Despised (forgive the Gorgonian word) his way of declaring them to the people. I have always despised, also, Lord Beaconsfield's methods of appealing to Parliament, and to the Queen's ambition, just as I do all Liberal,—so-called appeals to the Mob's—not ambition (for Mobs have not sense enough, or knowledge enough, to be ambitious) but conceit. I could not have explained all this to my Liberal Glaswegian Constituents; I would not, had I been able. They asked me a question they had no business with, and got their answer (written between two coats of color which I was laying on an oakleaf, and about which I was, that morning, exceedingly solicitous, and had vowed that no letter should be answered at all)—and in my tired state, *"le peintre ne s'amuse (mais point du tout!) à être ambassadeur."* The answer, nevertheless—was perfectly deliberate, and meant, *once for all*, to say on the matter the gist of all I had to say.

After the election is over—and however it goes—all this will be explained in another way; and you shall see every word before I print it, though there will, and must, be much that will pain you. But there will be nothing that is even apparently discourteous; and, in the mean time, remember, that if your Father said publicly of me that he cared no more for *me* (meaning Political and Economical me)—than for a broken bottle

stuck on the top of a wall—I should say—only—well, I knew that before—but the rest of me he loves, for all that.

I meant this letter to be so legible, and so clear and quiet—and here it is, all in a mess, as usual. . . . Perhaps you'll like it better so; but mind, I've written it straight away the moment I opened a line from my niece saying she had seen Mr. Burne Jones, and that you *might* be written to! And, my dear, believe this, *please*—if you care to believe it—that I never in my life was in such peril of losing my "political independence" as under my little Madonna's power at Hawarden.—And I am, and shall be ever, her loving servant, JOHN RUSKIN.

[This letter (23rd October, 1880) was written in answer to one from M. G., in which she informed him that his name had been taken in vain by the newspapers, and quoting the paragraph in question. (She thought this was the best way of punishing him.)]

AMIENS, 28*th October*, 1880.

MY DARLING LITTLE MADONNA,—You are really *gratia plena* (don't be shocked, I'm writing about the Saints all day, just now, and don't know when I'm talking quite properly to my pets), but it is unspeakably sweet of your Father and you to forgive me so soon, and I'm inclined to believe anything you'll tell me of him, after that; only, you know, I'm a great believer in goodness, and fancy there are many people who ought to be canonized who never are; so that—be a man ever so good—I'm not idolatrous of him. (If it's a—Madonna, it's another thing you know), but I never for an instant meant any comparison or likeness between D. and your Father—they merely had to be named as they were questioned of. On the other hand, I know nothing about D. whatsoever, but have a lurking tenderness about him because my own father had a liking for him, and was in great grief about my first political letter—twenty (or thirty?) years ago—which was a fierce attack upon him.

I do trust nothing more will ever cause you to have doubt or pain. I can't get what I have to say said; I'm tired to-day—have found out things very wonderful, and had—with your letter at last—more pleasure than I can bear without breaking down.

Dear love to your father.—Ever your grateful, ST. C.[1]

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, LANCASHIRE, 15*th February*, 1881.

MY DEAR M——,—I am more than glad to have your letter to-day, for I have been thinking of you quite as often as you of me—to say the least—and wishing, you don't know how much, to see you.

The death of Carlyle is no sorrow to me. It is, I believe, not an end—but a beginning of his real life. Nay, perhaps also of mine. My remorse, every day he lived, for having not enough loved him in the days gone by,

[1][St. Chrysostom (St. John the Golden-mouthed), the name given to Mr. Ruskin by his friend Mrs. Cowper Temple.]

is not greater now, but less, in the hope that he knows what I am feeling about him at this—and all other—moments.

I want woefully to see Alfred also. Can neither of you come here? I want *you* to play to me, and spiritualize me; him to play with me, and if *he* thinks it so! materialize me.

Please give my love to F——. I have been thinking of her too. I owe her two pounds, and shall try to send her *pious* usury. They have been too long in my napkin.

Don't let her do too much—(nor too little), and I want to see how she looks with more color—beauty truly blest, &c.

Dear love to your father; but tell him he hasn't scattered the Angelic Land-League,—and that that Punch is not a representation of its stick—or shillelagh—power.—Ever your loving, JOHN RUSKIN.

1882.

DEAREST M——,—The tea and roses will be exactly the nicest and sweetest for me to-day; but mind, you're not to have a levée, and cheat me of my music. . . . Please think, meantime, if you can find a tune that would go to Scott's "The heath this night must be my bed," in "The Lady of the Lake." It is quite curious how sometimes the prettiest words won't go to note-times. I *can't* get any tune to go to those, unless one puts Marie, with accent as in French, for the two short syllables of Scott's Mary.—Ever, my dear, your loving, ST. C.

MY DEAR M——,—You know your Father doesn't really want to see me; and if he does, he oughtn't, but should rest whenever he can; and I can't put A—— off, and I don't want to, because she's going out of town, and all that *I* want is to finish that morning's minute (but I hope a minute takes a long time to finish), and you can do *that* for me whenever you like—almost. Let me see, I won't be so horrid as to say, I'll stop in town *till* you like. But I do think, when I was so civil about that organ yesterday (or whatever it is) that you *might* play me a little music to my mind.—Ever your loving, ST. C.

1*st March*, 1882.

DARLING M——,—Your two notes are (what do you call them in music?) very lovely to me. I want you to put a third to them, then we can have a chord, can't we? I'm really ever so ill, still, and looking such a fright! I *could* tell you what I'm like, but please don't ask me.

Only, please, please very much, my dear little mother, read this enclosed note from one of the most precious girls I've ever known, in mere honesty and simplicity of heart-depth, and tell me what I *ought* to answer? Of course I won't answer *that*, but I should like to know, all the same; and tell me if you've known any quite horrid papas of this sort, and what's to be said about *them* in my new preface to "Sesame."

I've written a very short moral and anodynic line to her, to-day. The cousin's not the depth of the thing,—but he *is*, I believe, dying fast; per-

haps for her *own* peace she's much better out of the way, but she might have been sent to a place where she could enjoy herself. (She's just eighteen.)—Ever your loving (it's all in sympathetic ink, though 'tis faded), lovingest, and gratefullest, ST. C.

1882.

DARLING M——,—I don't know what to do, for that music is always in my ears, and I can't do my mineralogy.

Also, I'm rather badly in love with that girl in the cap; you shouldn't have told me of her!

Also, I want to be a bear-killer and bull-tamer; and to have vulture maidens[1] going up trees like squirrels to look at me.

Also,—and this is quite serious (and so's the first sentence, and, indeed, so are the others)—I want you to get me the prettiest possible pair of gauntlet gloves that will fit a little girl of eleven or ten (I can't quite guess), but they're only to be rough gloves for country walks among thistles, only I want them pretty. She didn't win them fairly (more's the pity), but only in a skirmish with burdock heads, which I had no chance in, but you must have them for me to address, when I come on Monday.

Dear love to papa and mamma, and much to H——.—Ever your devoted, ST. C.

LUCCA, *3rd October*, 1882.

MY DEAR M——,—Expecting a letter, is she, with my consent and blessing? But doesn't she mean to take both, whether I give them or not? Tell her I'm thinking about it; and, in the mean time, I'll thank her not to take *you* out in boats not meant to be sailed in; for I don't find that people help me much out of heaven, and you're the only creature I've got left, now, who can at all manage me, or play a note of music for me as I like.

And tell her, also, I'm not thinking *much* about it, neither, for I've got my Ilaria here, and her pug-dog, and am rather happy.

Such a walk as I had, too, the day before yesterday, on the marble hills which look to Pisa and the sea. It is a great grace of the olive, not enough thought on, that it does not hurt the grass underneath; and on the shady grass banks and terraces beneath the grey and silver of the wild branches, the purple cyclamens are all out, not in showers merely, but *masses*, as thick as violets in spring—vividest pale red-purple, like light of evening.

And it's just chestnut fall time; and where the olives and cyclamens end, the chestnuts begin, ankle-deep in places, like a thick, golden-brown moss, which the sunshine rests upon as if it loved it. Higher up come again the soft grass terraces, without the olives, swept round the hillsides as if all the people of Italy came there to sit and gaze at the sea, and Capraja and Gorgona.

[1] M. G. had lent him "The Vulture Maiden" (W. von Hillern).

I can walk pretty well, I find, still; and draw pretty well, if I don't write books nor letters to young ladies on their marriage, nor to bankers on business, nor to authors on literature; but it's difficult to get a quiet time with a good conscience. I'm not going to do anything to-day but enjoy myself, after *this* letter's done, which I've rather enjoyed writing, too. You know its chief business is to thank you for your pretty post-script—but you know—none of you know!

Meantime,—I'm your comforted and loving, ST. C.

84 WOODSTOCK ROAD, OXFORD, 26*th November*, 1884.

YOU DARLING LITTLE MOTHER,—You really are the most perfect angel that ever St. Cecilia brought up.

I've been so woful for not seeing nor hearing you, you wouldn't believe! Please come and comfort me as soon as ever you can. Your note makes me so happy I can't understand it; but I'll be wherever you want me to be, next week, and always, if I can.—Ever your loving,

ST. C.

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, LANCASHIRE, 29*th December*, 1885.

DARLING M——,—Bless you? Blest if I do; I'll give you absolution, if you come and ask it very meekly, but don't you know how I hate girls marrying curates? You must come directly and play me some lovely tunes—it's the last chance you'll have of doing anything to please me, for I don't like married women; I like sibyls and children and vestals, and so on. Not that I mean to quarrel with you, if you'll come now and make it up. If you can leave your father at all—sooner or later by a day or two doesn't matter, or a day or two out of what you have left (I had rather you waited till crocus or anemone time, for we're about ugliest just now). As for F——, she was a horrid traitress, but *you* have been very faithful to me through all my wicked sayings about papa (I can tell you there would have been a word or two more if you hadn't been in the way). As for the poverty and cottage and all the rest of that nonsense, do you think you'll get any credit in heaven for being poor when you fall in love first? If you had married a conscientious Bishop, and made *him* live in a pig-stye—*à la bonne heure!*—Ever your loving and too-forgiving, ST. C.

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, LANCASHIRE, 13*th January*, 1886.

MY DEAR M——, ...

I couldn't answer your last letter without being disagreeable. I didn't mean, and never have thought, that girls were higher or holier than wives—Heaven forbid. I merely said I liked them better; which, surely, is extremely proper of me.—Ever your loving, J. R.

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, 27*th January*, 1886.

MY DEAR M——,—Your letter is very pretty—but women are stupid creatures after all! It really hurts a great deal more than you have the least idea—(but you ought to have had an idea, if women weren't stupid)

to think that this is the last week of M. G.—and it's horrid to be hurt when one's as old as I am. I sha'n't think of you a bit. Of course I'll send you "Præterita," but I must finish the first vol., and bind it for you. I shall write "M. G." in the first number, to-day. I am sending on your letter as I did the last—to my sorella Francesca—who wrote back, I ought not to quarrel with you—but women are stupid creatures!

J. R.

I've given up being St. C.

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, LANCASHIRE, 29*th October*, 1886.

MY DEAREST M——,—How often I think of you, and shall think as long as this life, whether of dream or reality, is spared to me, I am most thankful to be permitted to tell you, for my own sake; how much more if you can really get some strength or joy from your old friend, not having forgotten, nor tried to forget what you used to be to him. Of course, no one had told me of your illness, or my own would not have prevented my trying to hear of your safety; and, indeed, what you say of these illnesses of mine is in great part true, but they are very grievous to me, and I trust yours will return no more.

I am more passionately and carefully occupied in music than ever yet. Please get well, and be Sainte Cecile again to me. I will not write more to-day, but the moment you tell me again you should like me to.—Ever your loving "Aprile." JOHN RUSKIN.

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, LANCASHIRE, 26*th March*, 1887.

DARLING CECILIA,—I am so very thankful for your letter, and for all it tells of yourself and says of me. If a great illness like that is quite conquered, the return to the lovely world is well worth having left it for the painful time; one never knew what beauty was before (unless in happy love which I had about two hours and three-quarters of once in my life). I am really better now than for some years back, able every day for a little work, not fast, but very slow (Second Præt. isn't out yet, I'm just at work on the eleventh chapter); and able to take more pleasure in things than lately. It's not to go into "Præterita," but you and F—— may know that I've been these last two years quite badly in love with ——, who's a Skye girl, half rook, half terrier, with a wonderful musical gift, and led me a dog's life, and never would play a note rightly if I was in the room, but made the piano clash and growl at me. At last I've been obliged to make them keep her at Herne Hill, and I'm getting some peace, but badly piqued and provoked and hurt. Tell F—— I've got some very comforting birch-trees, however, and cut everything away that worries *them*.—Ever your lovingest, "APRILE."

To M. G. *and* F. G.

BRANTWOOD, 15*th May*, 1887.

DEAREST FRIENDS,—But however is the sight of you to come to pass then? I need the help of it more than either of you, and *have* needed it

all along while *you* two were all in the Wedding March by Mendelssohn, as Coventry Patmore put it in his beautiful poem, entitled "The Angel in the House."

You both of you stole that "march" upon me; neither of you gave me the slightest warning, but came each down on me with the news that you were to be married on "Monday," and expected me to enjoy the wedding-cake.

I've never for an instant been faithless to either of you. But F—— was never more than a birch-tree to me, and it didn't always keep march-music time; M—— was my little mother and Patroness Saint, and suddenly left me orphaned.

Heaven knows I bear no malice, but you can't hit your lovers on the heart, like that, when it suits you, and have them whenever you like to look for the bits to hang on your chatelaines again. Least of all can you expect them, when they are well-nigh on their death-beds, to hold your bells at the bridle-rein. . . .

If either of you, or both, could come here for as long as you please, it would be a beneficence to me of the very highest and gravest kind. And so farewell (and as much love as you care to take) for to-day. To-morrow (*D. V.*), I'll send you the motive of *my* "Iron March," which is in extremely steady time, but is not in root-movement of a cheerful character. You may melt it into iron that can be wrought.—Ever your affectionate, J. RUSKIN.

It would be difficult to define the exact nature of the sentiment betrayed in the correspondence from which the foregoing letters have been selected. If Ruskin was a "lover," as many passages might suggest even if he had not so referred to himself, his correspondent was, in his thought of her, "a little Mother" in whom he confided, on whom he depended for sympathy and cheer and, on occasion, for care and protection; she was his "Madonna" and "Patroness Saint" whom he worshipped with tender devotion. Whatever the sentiment may have been, however, there could be no more significant proof of its strength and intensity, and of its influence upon him, than the fact that it caused him—the pronounced enemy of democracy and the outspoken critic of democratic measures—to restrain his impulse to denounce a policy he hated and despised. "You have been very faithful to me through all my wicked sayings about papa," he wrote to M. G., in some bitterness, apparently, on hearing that she was engaged to be married: "I can tell you there would have been a word or two more if you hadn't been in the way."

ADAM SCOT.

THE CURSE OF EVE.

BY MARGARET BISLAND.

DOES not the tree of knowledge still bear fruit accursed for the daughters of Eve, who did eat thereof and lost her Eden?

I am moved to put this question and give it answer, since I believe that it is pertinent to the present discussion concerning the decline in the birth-rate among native-Americans. That decline is evident. Vital statistics go far to prove it. Undoubtedly, the Americans of the old stock, the posterity of the pioneers, who, until some sixty years ago, were steadily on the increase, have in little more than half a century begun to show marked evidences of diminution. Until 1840, the growth in population by native reproduction was estimated as seven times greater than the growth by immigration. So sure and rapid was this normally increscent tendency of the people, that Benjamin Franklin considered the fecundity of his nation phenomenal. Thomas Jefferson prophesied that by 1875 the population must number no less than eighty millions; and this estimate was evidently based upon the reproductivity of the people at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War and in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

At that time, without the artificial assistance of immigration, the population of many localities doubled itself in a quarter of a century, and families numbering from eight to twelve children were the rule, and not as to-day the exception. But the native-Americans, it now appears, have not fulfilled Jefferson's prognostication, though by the census of 1900 it is found that we number over 76,000,000 in all. But from these we should deduct more than 34,000,000 of souls before we can arrive at an estimate of the native white increase; 24,060,000, including immigrants or the children of immigrants, do not belong in the grand total, and 10,000,000 again must be excluded as negroes.

If Thomas Jefferson, therefore, could look over our latest census returns, he would have reason for sentiments of surprise and chagrin. In the old colonial State of Massachusetts, he would find that, of its present 2,805,304 inhabitants, more than half are foreigners or the children of foreign-born parents. In New York city, boasting the greatest urban population in the United States, 76.6 per cent. of its citizens are foreign-born or the children of aliens. Fall River, the American city claiming the highest birth-rate, claims also the greatest number of foreign-born inhabitants; and the census statistics for 1890 give the birth-rate per thousand among foreign-born inhabitants as 38.29, while among the native-born it registers but 26.35.

Guided thus by the most reliable of official statistics, by personal observation and by the pessimistic utterances of serious, patriotic and thoughtful men, could Jefferson or Franklin, if among us to-day, arrive at any other conclusion than that the vitality of the native-Americans is on the decline? Assuming that the next census will show the existence in our States of a population numbering one hundred millions, is there any reason to doubt, with the present tendency to reduction in the native birth-rate, that that population will be even more exotic than that which we now claim? Shall we not, therefore, have good reason to admit, that the best blood of Europe, from which we have so far drawn, has failed to send any strong, sure roots into this soil?

Why this is so, we may seriously and carefully question ourselves. If the racial stamina of the Anglo-Saxon so quickly and markedly declines, what fate is to befall the posterity of the far less admirable type of immigrant now coming from over seas? Will the new arrivals from Southern and Eastern Europe survive, where the Northern and Western European is failing to maintain himself?

I, for one, can see no reason to believe they will. Not so long, at least, as the deleterious influence of our peculiar western civilization continues to disturb and exhaust the reproductive forces and discourage the maternal instincts in the women of the people who seek Americanization.

To speak frankly and to the point, this failure in natural and wholesome increase among our white natives is due to nothing more or less than the over-education and abnormal public activities so ardently encouraged among our women since the close of

the Civil War. We take too slight an account of this when we wonder uneasily at our inability to plant an individual, self-sustaining, indigenous people in the United States. We forget, or refuse to realize, what is inevitably to follow as the result of a false equality permitted between the sexes; and we have not rightly interpreted or sustained that masculine instinct, old as the race itself, which regards as an unmixed evil any emancipation of the woman that excites her to effort and attainment beyond the bounds of domesticity.

The denial to woman of an equal share in man's intellectual and physical career is not, as the near-sighted advocates of feminine enfranchisement would have us believe, a useless relic of barbarism and savagery. It is not an indication of mere male covetousness, selfishness and blind prejudice, upheld and exercised through ages by force of sheer physical superiority, and serving now as a stumbling-block in the path of beneficent progress. True enough, perhaps, it is a tradition inherited from our barbaric and Asiatic ancestors; nevertheless, it flows from an ancient and profound realization of and respect for an inexorable law of nature—a law that never fails to deprive intellectually developed woman of her fecundity. It flows also from a knowledge, gained through the tragedy of experience, that only in the domestic shelter does civilized humanity find the environment congenial to reproductivity and proper development.

Why this is so, only Nature herself can give us a satisfactory answer. Why, to fulfil her most obvious mission, that of maternity, all the best and freshest forces of the female are required, and why participation in the pleasures and responsibilities, exhilarations and labors of a non-domestic career renders fulfilment of this function repugnant and all but impossible to women, I do not assume here to make clear. It is my intention only to show that it is a fixed law, established for the preservation of human life. It was first outraged, then interpreted and accepted, by wise and patient Asia. Thence we receive our initial record of its operation; and strong historical evidence bears witness to the dire results meted out by avenging Nature to the European nation that attempted to gain a great civilization without duly guarding against the curse of Eve inevitably following upon feminine participation in the life of men.

Reading the third chapter of Genesis aright, is it difficult to

pierce through its allegorical disguise, and perceive why the Fall was attributed to woman and the forbidden fruit? The legend comes to us from Asia. It is so evidently founded upon a tremendous race tragedy, which once imperilled the existence of the human family and the progress of its evolution out of savagery, that the wonder is we have failed to read it understandingly and take its meaning to heart. Few and simple as are the words of the relation, they show us, with startling severity of outline, the whole race pictured in the persons of one man and one woman. In Eden they stand on the threshold of those new dominions and desires that reveal themselves to humanity at every stage of its higher spiritual development. What else are we reasonably to interpret as the serpent, "more subtle than any beast of the field," but the evil whisper of a false ambition, calling woman away from her appointed and primordial task, to aid at this crisis in a short, swift struggle for the attainment of a dazzling intellectual and material aggrandizement?

But the fruit of knowledge, that talisman which insures the highest human power, when plucked by the feminine hand, proves so grievous an outrage upon the law of orderly and consistent evolution, that it all but destroys the race daring thus to refute Nature's processes and principles. Checked and crippled by this perversion of divinely appointed rules, reeling, in consequent enfeeblement of mind and body, back again well-nigh into the blackness of the savage state, the race, in Asia, was taught under the ban that fell upon it in Eden, to fear all influences that call the female from her normal mission.

In that drama of the Creation, can we fail then to perceive how Asia learned certain lessons and truths concerning the preservation of the human species? Asia populated the world. To-day, should Europe, America and Oceania be robbed of their last inhabitant, she could populate them anew, for the Asiatic refuses all emancipation to his woman.

The laws and religions of that hoary continent lay terrible fetters upon any development of her individuality beyond her home, her wifehood and motherhood. Immured in the zenana, her face covered, her feet crippled, the existence of a soul to save or a brain to educate often denied her; given in marriage in her infancy, enslaved to masculine authority from the hour of her birth and herded in polygamous wedlock, every means has been

taken to confine the woman to her home and to her natural task. Yet, as we consider intelligently that Continent and her doctrine of female seclusion, we see no more nor less than the primitive but correct instincts of the mighty Queen-bee of the race, guarding with jealous care the fountain-head of civilized human life.

Deeply, indeed, were her age-old convictions fixed in the brains of the first of her children who wandered beyond her borders toward the West. We find the early European clinging desperately to the Asiatic regulations respecting the female career. They were sorely troubled with fears of actual extinction at the necessity of giving women a measure of liberty. Out of the mists which hang about the childhood of the great Dorian and Ionian families, who founded their colonies on the borders of the Black and Mediterranean seas, there echo the legends of the Amazon and the Sauromatæ. These myths are inexplicable only when we lose sight of the fact, that the female warrior merely personified for the early Greek the danger menacing his infant nations through the possible emancipation of the women. The Python and Gorgon were no less dreaded, as devastating evils, than was the Amazonian horde. Such heroes as Hercules and Theseus, Castor and Pollux were called upon to destroy them.

Passing still farther to the West, men lost little by little their Oriental dread of consequences to follow any disturbance of the balance of power between the sexes. Life and its changing conditions required a readjustment and reapportionment of responsibilities between the sexes. The slight enlightenment of the women not only failed to bring about the destruction of the tribe, but was assistant and essential to its advancement. That both Spartan and Athenian fell short of realizing the vast force and widespread influence of the Roman, was due to lack of comprehension of the true power and mission of the woman in the task of empire-building. The ease with which the Roman achieved his supremacy over Greek, savage and barbarian alike was due to the fact, that his civilization had afforded her full opportunities for that high yet normal development through which woman can insure the invincibility of her race.

M. Pellison says:

"Roman law was at first very severe upon the wife. But custom was less rigorous than the law. From the earliest period in Roman history the wife, enthroned near the family hearth, was queen in the

atrium. Gide, in his study upon the condition of the wife, says: The atrium was not like the gynæceum in a Greek house, a secluded apartment, an upper floor, a hidden and inaccessible retreat. It was the very centre of the Roman house, the common hall where the whole family assembled, where friends and strangers were received. There near the hearth was the altar of the Lares; and around this sanctuary were gathered the most precious and sacred possessions of the family. All these treasures were placed under the guard of the wife. She, as head of the family, offered herself the sacrifices to the Lares. She presided over the domestic labors of the slaves. She directed the education of the children, who, even after they passed out of childhood, continued to submit to her authority. In short, she shared with her husband the administration of the property and the rule of the house.' "*

Thus, in the great days of the republic, the Roman woman stood, to her men and her country, in exactly the same relationship as our pioneer women of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries stood to the men who were engaged in founding this Republic of the West. Her crown of distinction was her pure wifehood and motherhood. Lucretia, Virginia, Cornelia and Veturia were no less invaluably ennobling in the ideals they personified, no less indicative of the majesty and character of Rome, than were Horatius and Regulus, Cincinnatus and Brutus. The vigor and value of the Roman matron were made evident in her sons. To mother great men was her highest distinction. Hannibal was overcome, and Rome became the dictator of the world, by virtue of the fact that the Roman woman of the Republic was the finest flower of femininity produced by any civilization preceding the Christian era.

She proved that men are what their mothers make them, and that the woman within her home, and busied with the care of children there, fulfils three offices of such supreme importance that only so long as she does fulfil them can any state of society remain pure and permanent. There only does she find the environment required for the upbringing of a powerful progeny, that insures continuance of a national type and its finest traditions. There she and her children supply to the man that object in which, while laboring to afford them protection and support, he centres all his racial pride, his sanest ambition and his truest patriotism. There also, mindful of the family cohesion and privacy, and the serenity of its moral as well as physical health,

* "Roman Life in Pliny's Time."

she serves as the great bow-anchor of conservatism, which maintains the cleanliness and steadiness of the social state.

Thus and only thus, through her motherhood and her domesticity, does woman safeguard the whole nation, its ideals and its social organization. Then and only then, is she absolutely on a plane of equality with the man. Without her motherhood and the privileges and privacies and securities of the home life to exact in behalf of herself and her young, she has nothing of importance to contribute to the work of human elevation. Indeed, after a certain point, the non-domestic and childless woman is a menace to social purity and to national stability. The brilliant, graceful, cultured, ambitious and wholly untrammelled lady of the moribund Roman Republic and the short-lived Roman Empire lived to illustrate and substantiate this distressing fact.

Her emancipation came when her race forgot the old curse laid upon Eve. In his lust for rapidly gained wealth and swiftly acquired empire, the Roman failed to perceive that, by filling the house with slaves and luxury, he committed the self-destroying crime of denying to his women their home-compelling avocations. At this point, he was forced to give them a share in the non-domestic life, or to follow the example of the luxurious and slave-loving Asiatic and immure the idle womankind in the seraglio.

Deprived of her dignity and importance, through loss of occupation in her house, it is no wonder that the woman of Rome turned instinctively to the development of her intellectual forces. It was the one field which offered her an ostensibly useful exercise of her energies. It was also the easiest and most agreeable means of arriving at companionship with man, and a resumption of her share of responsibility in national affairs. And the fruit of the tree of knowledge was not denied her. The gates to learning stood wide, and men encouraged her to take as full possession of its treasures as she liked. They were charmed by her wonderful adaptability and by the false splendor her culture shed on Roman life, and we read with amazement of the liberty and enlightenment she claimed as her right—of Cicero's Tullia trained by him in philosophy, and of Hortensia so skilled in oratory that her father boasted she argued an important case better than a good advocate. It was the golden age of learning and liberty among women. If these two great instruments when placed in the hands of women are assistants to the upward, onward march of

a race, and are safeguards of its stability and integrity, then surely these women of Rome should have played some honorable part in the story of the Empire: they should have done somewhat to exalt its ideals, modify its brutality, cleanse its morals and stay its decay. In vain we search for evidences of their attempts at assuming this beneficent rôle in the unbalanced and libertine society where they freely wedded and divorced, speculated with their own fortunes, and strove for political power. Says Mommsen, with reference to the social evils which rankly flourished at the time of Cæsar's dictatorship:

"An equally characteristic feature in the brilliant decay of this period was the emancipation of women. . . . But it was not merely from the guardianship of father or husband that women felt themselves emancipated. . . . They also acted as politicians, appeared in party conferences, and took part with their money and their intrigues in the wild coterie-doings of the time."

From the date of this emancipation, we begin to mark the rapid degeneration of Roman life and of the Roman type. "Morals," says de Tocqueville, "are the work of women. Consequently, whatever affects the condition of women, their habits and their opinions, has great political importance in my eyes." The sound logic of this reasoning is made most evident by the state of Roman society in that period when its women had secured their legal and social equality with men.

"There was no more seclusion for women. They became acquainted with life, tasted its charms, but, unfortunately, found pleasure in its intrigues."* Divorce was granted very easily. Seneca speaks of ladies who reckoned years by husbands and not by consulships. Juvenal, in one of his satires, laughs grimly at one woman who was wedded and divorced eight times in twelve months. In consequence, as there were few or no children to claim or to secure the common interests of the wedded couples, wifehood was unguarded and motherhood was considered a grievous imposition. The family in the time of Julius Cæsar had dwindled to less than reproduction of the parents. Men were forced to seek heirs by adoption, since their wives produced no sons to continue the noble or royal names.

* "Roman Life in Pliny's Time."—M. Pellison.

Again we quote from Mommsen:

"Celibacy and childlessness became more and more common, especially among the upper classes. While, among these, marriage had for long been regarded as a burden which people took upon themselves, at the best, in the public interest, we now encounter, even in Cato and those who shared Cato's sentiments, the maxim to which Polybius a century before traced the decay of Hellas, that it is the duty of a citizen to keep great wealth together, and, therefore, not to beget too many children. Where were the times when the designation 'child-producer' (*proletarius*) had been a term of honor for the Romans? In consequence of such a social condition, the Latin stock in Italy underwent an alarming diminution, and its fair provinces were overspread partly by parasitic immigrants, partly by sheer desolation."*

Julius Cæsar himself realized and attempted to check this decline of his race; and Augustus enforced the celebrated Julian and Poppæan laws directed against celibates and childless persons. Laws, however, are futile to stay such decay as had attacked the Latins; and, long before the barbarians came to possess the Imperial City, the true Roman blood and type were extinct. Eloquently and painfully significant is it of the slough of immorality into which Rome had sunk, and by which eventually she died, that women of noble and ignoble degree intrigued and fought for place and power about that bloody Roman throne, and that, of the many empresses who sat thereon, not one is now remembered save for her crimes and debaucheries.

When the Empire fell at last, we witness a blight descending upon civilization, not unlike that which ages before drove the man and woman out of Eden. In spite of the privileges so recently accorded to her sex under the Roman law, the woman of Europe appeared to have feared or forgotten them. Eve-like, she returned to meek acceptance of and subjection to the consequences of the old curse. In sorrow she resumed her task of bringing forth children, her desire was to her husband, and he ruled over her. That without demur she returned so humbly to a sober and diligent fulfilment of her ancient and important duties is inexplicable almost, until we realize how wise, with a wisdom indeed divine and supernatural, were the preachers of the story of the birth of Christ during the period following the fall of Rome.

The disease in that civilization, the poison of that example,

* "The History of Rome."

might have infected and fatally injured her conquerors, had not the inspired relation of the Nativity made so powerful an appeal to European imagination. Here was a new ideal, by the light of which men and women began to find again the rock on which is founded all true racial morals, racial strength and racial hopes, the worship and protection of pure motherhood. The story of Christ's Advent set a halo of bright and touching beauty about the rôle of maternity. Men for the first time were called upon to revere their Deity as a helpless babe set in the midst of a lowly family life. Art and story pictured him most adorably, most convincingly, as an infant in the arms of his mother; and, indeed, it is the tender child on Mary's bosom, and not the haggard man and martyr upon the tree, who most truly redeemed Europe.

Motherhood thereafter was invested with a holy dignity. The least peasant woman in her maternity rejoiced to follow the worthy and uplifting example of the Madonna, which glows in splendid and startling contrast to the abuse, the degradation of the woman's mighty instinct and duty under the Roman Empire.

With the rise of this new ideal and the re-establishment of woman upon her true throne of equality and in her sphere of natural power, man labored again, Adam-like, by the sweat of his brow, to maintain the organization of the family and afford privacy and protection to the wife and mother in her own home. The shifting peoples of Europe were thus enabled to settle down, to strike root deeply into the soil, to aim at a surer civilization than that of Rome, and to develop a more powerful, and yet only slightly less prolific, type than that which Asia has produced.

Thus, through the conservation of her women, Europe has achieved her true destiny: for lack of that very precaution we, of the United States, bid fair to dare the fate that overwhelmed the equally ambitious Roman.

We fail or refuse to perceive the violently reactionary influence upon the race of that tendency of our Occidental civilization, which, in withdrawing the woman more and more from her home, tends to destroy the true balance of the physical and moral forces between the sexes.

The most marked and deleterious effect of Americanization upon woman is the false energies and abnormal ambitions it ex-

cites in her life. Her endeavor is no longer toward the realization and glorification of her sex in its femininity. The education she receives tends to render her either contemptuous of or indifferent to her own peculiar forces and their normal expression. For them, she not only strives, but is encouraged, to substitute an individuality which is purely hybrid and unessential, a grotesque falsetto masculinity.

Yet, for this perversion of her true character and influence, she is no more directly responsible than was the woman of Rome. So long as she found honorable, independent, profitable employment in her domestic environment, she rested there supremely content. Her hopes and dreams, her pride and patriotism and her ambitions were realized in her children.

It was when the greedy current of commercialism tore out of her hands all her home employment, that she followed her tasks to the mills and factories. Then she first began to envy and grasp at the estates and prerogatives of men. As skilled hands are guided best by trained minds, it behooved men to give this willing, cheap, and efficacious feminine labor a fitting education. Forced thus to gain her support outside the home, it is no matter for wonder that she has found it necessary to demand legal and social privileges, property rights and new marriage laws.

So far-reaching and thorough has been her alienation from the true aims of her sex, so complete has been the hasty sacrifice made to the mere temporal and transitory prosperity of this Republic, that we now detect as a consequence certain tendencies to decay gnawing already at the roots of its new civilization.

First, in the diminution of the family; and, again, in the weakening of the marriage tie.

The prodigious increase in divorces among Americans of every class and religion is, perhaps, the most serious menace to the moral and physical stability of our race, that has resulted from the non-domestic avocations of the average woman.

By the last census, the increase in divorce is estimated as two and one half times greater than the increase in population. In the Western Reserve of Ohio, there is one divorce to every eleven marriages. For so appalling a social condition as this, we find no parallel save in the empire of the Romans. There "the law of divorce became more widely extended and more frequently resorted to, and nothing tended more to sap the morals of the

Romans than the laxity which was thus introduced into the holiest and most delicate of all human relations."*

Vain and empty have been proven the hope and faith that from the highly educated mother profound advantages must accrue to the nation, in the consequently superior mental equipment of her child. The highly educated woman avoids or is incapable of maternity. The exhilaration of monetary profit in exchange for her physical and mental toil, and the pursuit of her purely selfish pleasure or fortune, lure her from the self-sacrifice of maternity and the restraints of wedded life. Or, when wedded, she brings forth few or no children.

Always, among our upper and middle classes, where the daughters and wives enjoy the broadest and most varied mental culture, and where their avocations are semi-masculine by choice, flourish that blight and dry rot of the race, numerical decline. On the superior vitality of the well-nigh illiterate European peasant woman do we now depend largely for the maintenance of our population. On her we shall depend more and more, as time and the pressure brought to bear upon the native-American woman widen the field of her own non-domestic interests.

Great as we appear in our wealth and strength, should Europe cease to nourish us with the warm blood of her vast maternity, who can doubt that we would fall an easy prey to the constitutional fragility and consequent vice that destroyed the ill-balanced and defemininized Roman Empire?

As a nation, we now stand most in need of a re-elevation and rejuvenescence of the precious and powerful motherhood ideal. This, and not new incentives to the spread of education or expansion of the spheres of public activities and influence among our women, is required to produce a permanent and powerful race of our own soil; a true autochthon, a stable, homogeneous and more noble type than Europe has yet created, and which as yet we only fondly imagine we see in the American of to-day. Wide as is the gulf which separates us from the East, the hand of Nature is still heavy upon us. Not yet, even in America, will she permit Eve to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge and at the same time allow the race to escape eviction from this latest Eden of mankind, this fair garden of ours, planted in the western world.

MARGARET BISLAND.

* "A General History of Rome."—Merivale.

ODYSSEUS AND CALYPSO.

A DRAMATIC POEM.

BY RICHARD ARTHUR.

PERSONS.

ODYSSEUS. CALYPSO. HERMES.

CHLORIS AND DAPHNE *(Calypso's nymphs).*

SCENE.

A stretch of beach in a wooded bay on Calypso's island of Ogygia; rocks; a grotto.

It is evening. Odysseus stands against a rock, hailing with outstretched hands the sinking sun.

Odysseus. O Sun! O thou great animating soul!
O eye-light and O heart-heat of the world!
All down the golden West thou glowest now,
Even on my dear land; thy living beams
Kiss the chaste lips and brow and eyes and hair
Of my Penelope, and cheer the blood
Of young Telemachus—no more a babe,
But very man, though these fond father's eyes
See him an infant still.

(Calypso, Chloris and Daphne come walking along the beach and stop a little distance behind Odysseus.)

Great Helios,
Shine in their hearts and nurture courage there,
For fate hath surely dealt them many woes.
O Sun, I worship thee! but when I heed

How thou dost count Time's stalking steps, the days,
And evermore abet his ruthless feet
To spurn man's little span of life away,
"My soul cries, "Halt! Account the days we live
With all the power of all our many parts,
But reckon not those empty minutes, months,
Years in which half our being lies asleep."

(The Sun disappears.)

Gone! Gone! And even as the radiant skies,
Void of thy beams, evolve the gloom of night,
So here my spirit, reft of all the love
That shone upon it in mine island-home,
Breeds daily sorrow.

(He turns from the West and leans his brow on the rock. Calypso advances toward him, then recedes.)

Calypso. Chloris, Daphne, mark,
Mark how his great indomitable soul,
Which I, a goddess school'd in subtleties,
Cannot incline toward me, bends and sways
To Melancholy's will. Jealous am I,
Jealous of all can touch and move him so.
Go, Chloris, seek thy lute, and through its chords
Thrill thy young fervid soul into his ear,
And chase this mistress from his spirit forth,
Smoothing his mood, for I will woo him now
Past mortal man's withstanding.

(Chloris enters the grotto.)

Every wile
Nymph or immortal maiden knows to use
Have I assail'd him with—and all in vain;
But never have I wielded yet the power—
Wherewith Olympus hath invested me—
To gift with everduring life and youth
Whomso I will. These shall I promise him,
Aye, and endue him with; for in my breast
He hath evoked love's last intensity.
Come then, my Daphne, braid my tresses up,
Anoint me with ambrosial-odor'd charms,
And vest my beauty in the fairest stole
Thy deftness e'er devised. Soft, Daphne, come!

(Calypso and Daphne enter the grotto. Chloris returns with a lute. She steals close to Odysseus, sits on the sand and sings.)

Chloris. The shadows fall:
The Sun has rein'd his steeds adown the West
And plunged them in the wave to bathe and rest:
Night governs all.

O happy day,
So full of joy serene and pure delight!
Why yieldest thou unto the rayless night
Thy realm and sway?

O peaceful night,
Thy mystic darkness o'er the world outroll!
Sweet thou art, too, and dear unto my soul
As noon and light.

O rest and strife!
O youth and love! O Earth and Sun and Moon!
O throb and thrill of being, night and noon!
O joy of life!

Odysseus. Come hither, maid; thy music speaks to me,
Soothes me, drives out the discord from my soul,
And draws me to thee, who art mortal, too.
Thou sing'st of joy; art thou as happy as
Thy happy song?

Chloris. Aye, happier than a song
Utter'd of human lips could ever say—
Or were, did I not see thee bow'd in grief,
Which makes me heavy too. *(She weeps silently.)*

Odysseus (caressing her hand). My gentle child!

Chloris. Odysseus, tell me all the secret woe
Thou lockest ever in thy silent lips.

Odysseus. My chiefest woe is that I mark my woe:
Time was when ills could scathe me, flesh and bone,
Fell all my body; but my spirit still
Stood up and mock'd at them, that now lies prone
Beneath the stroke of grief.

Chloris. Why grievest thou?
Art thou not cherish'd, honor'd and obey'd?

Exempt from strife and hate and every bane
That frets men's days away? Art thou not loved,
And by a goddess kind and good as fair?
What wouldst thou more? Speak and it shall be thine.

Odysseus. Chloris, sweet child, I had a spouse and son,
And native fields and hills and woods and streams,
And I was king and loved my people well:
These my soul lacks.

Chloris. This fairest of all isles
Shall call thee king, and thou shalt wed its queen,
Divine Calypso, who will gender thee
A race of noble god-men for thy sons.

Odysseus (sighing). Ah, pretty one! wilt thou too weary me?
Go now, and leave me to my grief and gloom.

Chloris. Odysseus, nay: but quit this slumbering world
And banquet with Calypso in her grot,
Where all is light and life.

Odysseus. Fair child, away!

(He leans his brow on the rock again. Calypso re-enters: she signs to Chloris to go into the grotto.)

Calypso. Odysseus!

(A pause.)

Speak Odysseus.

Odysseus. Goddess?

Calypso. Why,
O why wilt thou forever chafe and mourn
And bruise thy brow against the rock of Fate
The deathless gods have set inviolable,
And gall thy life with sorrow and regret,
When, wouldst thou only open wide thy heart
And welcome in the joy that knocks at it,
Thy soul would lose these humors, and thy days
Flow sweet and lucid as a summer rill?

Odysseus. To join the ocean of eternity!
To which all time is but a summer rill:

And unto time the petty life of man
Is but a bubble in the summer rill:
And here my bubble fast evaporates,
Suck'd up in wasting heats and barren sighs.
So do I groan. O goddess, we poor men
Have but brief breath: and if we breathe it ill,
And work but half the purpose born in us,
Better we had not been—were yet to be:
For when our destined course of days is run,
Howe'er our feet have borne us o'er the path,
In sturdy, stumbling, fleeting, tardy wise;
Whether our eyes have sought one steadfast goal,
Or glanced aside or hindward all the way;
Whether we've stood erect on rugged steeps,
Or slipt and smirch'd ourselves in mud and mire;
Whether we've lost or won the envied prize;
We may not ever tread life's track again—
Others, perchance, but this one never more.
And therefore am I sad and comfortless,
I, who have head and hands that crave employ,
Pillow'd and lullabied in idleness,
A sheathèd sword eating its own keen edge
That use had whetted still!—I might have smooth'd
Life's path for two loved mortals, haply more,
And roll'd a rock from off the world's rough road,
Or bridged a chasm o'er, that those to come,
When I have pass'd, might walk with firmer feet;
I might have rear'd a manly monument,
And on it men in after times had gazed,
Nerving their force to emulative acts.
O nymph! could mortals strive against the word
Of the deathless powers, the grief that rends me now
Had never been: this will, these iron hands
Had used in deeds the stuff grief feeds upon.
When shall I ever do a deed again?
Doing's my meat, danger my salt of life:
I starve in this flush plenty, like a weed
That Nature meant to suck lean sustenance
From out some mountain rock, and chance has set
To wither in a fat-soil'd valley garth.

Calypso. Ungracious and ungrateful, deaf and blind!
If ever immortal goddess favor'd man
And set him higher than her peace and pride,
I am that goddess and thou art that man,
Have I not proven kind?

Odysseus. Aye, cruelly.

Calypso. Mortal, beware how thou dost rake and rouse
The sleeping embers of a goddess' wrath!
'Tis caustic fuel, like to scorch and sere
The hand that stirs it.

Odysseus (extending his hand). Mine but rusts and rots:
Fire were no further bane.

Calypso. Foolhardy man!
Anger me not beyond all sufferance,
For there is that in me could conjure up
The fiends of hell to rend thee limb from limb.

Odysseus. Hell could not furnish thee a fouler fiend
Than these that plague and rot my spirit now—
Inaction, grief.

Calypso. My hate would spill thy life:
Grief does not kill.

Odysseus. Goddess, would it did!
For death is nothing; but to watch one's days
Leak through a sieve of long futility—
Ah, that is pain!

Calypso (softening). Thou great soul'd sufferer!
Lift up thy head, lift up thy steadfast eyes,
Nor think that I, Calypso, have a will
To work thy spirit evil: that to do
Were but to torture all my sentient self,
Who love thee as no mortal ever loved.
Be sooth'd, for I will dissipate thy grief,
Even to-night.

Odysseus. What! thou wilt set me free?
Give me a hollow ship and shining oars,
And suffer me to fare across the sea
To Ithaca?

Calypso. No ship, Odysseus mine,
Hath ever grated keel on these bright sands:
Nor could I, mighty goddess though I be,
And were I fain to speed thee as to keep,
Grant thee to part from hence; for here the gods
Have set and hold thee till their pleasure change.

Odysseus. Then wherefore waken drowsing hope in me?
To sport with it?

Calypso. Wilt thou forever deem
Me false and baleful, and my utter'd word
All that my purposed deed means not to be?

Odysseus. A noble thought, a generous intent
Seems to shine forth of thee: what may it mean?

Calypso. Thou knowest that I love thee.

Odysseus. Prove thy love
By brave renouncement of its object, now,
And let me fare across the desert deep.

Calypso. This power, beloved, is not mine to use.
Nor even were I thy gaoler, could I break
Thy prison-portal; for to part with thee
And never look upon thy form again,
Nor hear thy voice, nor feel thy presence near,
Were pain eternal. *(She weeps.)*

Odysseus. Weep not, I entreat:
Deep is thy love, and so I pity thee,
And will not chide thee more.

Calypso. Indeed, dear one,
I have no force to free thee. Yet I can,
And will—defying all that may ensue—
Render thy bondage freër than a world
Of that strait serfdom men call liberty.—
It is thy chiefest fret that mortal life
Is but a minute?

Odysseus. Half that minute waste.

Calypso. Yield me thy love and I will dower thee—
Yea, though the wrathful gods should damn me for it—
With everlasting life.

Odysseus. Nay, goddess, nay.

Calypso (urging). Eternal life and youth.

Odysseus (meditating). Eternal life!
Eternal youth!

Calypso. Yield, yield and these are thine.
Age shall not bleach thy locks, nor plough thy brow,
Nor stoop thy form, nor dim thy fervid eye,
Nor desiccate the vigor of thy veins,
Nor raze the builded structure of thy mind,
Nor ruinate thy mighty, manly heart.
Yield me thy love and take this gift of gifts.

(A pause.)

What, wilt thou suffer death to lay thee low,
Sweep thee from off the bounteous, beauteous Earth,
Annihilate thee, body, mind and soul,
And heap such deep oblivion on thy name
That men shall know not thou didst ever breathe?
And this when everduring youth is thine
For one sole word.

Odysseus (meditating as before). Nor dim my fervid eye,
Nor desiccate the vigor of my veins,
Nor raze the builded structure of my mind!

Calypso. Snatch, snatch! No second time doth such fair fruit
Hang in men's palms and bid their fingers close:
Clutch, ere the moment pass.

Odysseus (still meditating). Death lay me low!
Sweep me from off the bounteous, beauteous Earth!
Annihilate me, body, mind and soul!

Calypso. Not this for thee, but everlasting power
To think and know, and see and feel and do.

Odysseus (still meditating). To think and know and see and feel and do!

Calypso. To know the joy of life purged of the pain
Of knowing it ephemeral; to feel
How free the soul can be, explore what space
Thought has to wing in when the bourn of time

Is rent away: to see the universe,
Not through the peephole of a mortal eye,
But with the cosmic vision of the sun;
And do whatever deeds are dear to thee,
Regardless of the flight of days and years.

(A pause, during which Odysseus shows outward signs of an inward struggle.)

Such power do I bestow on thee and seal
The gift with this embrace.

Odysseus. Out, temptress, out!
I spurn thy gift. Hence, hence, away, away!

(Calypso recedes dismayed. Enter Hermes: he watches, unobserved.)

Forgive me if I spake with hasty spleen:
Gracious thine offer was: great Zeus himself
And all the Olympian gods could give no more:
But meeter 'tis I keep my mortal state
Wherein the Destinies have moulded me:
And if my life be transient, shall I grieve,
Who did not fashion it? And if it be
Barren of any good thing thought or done,
Shall I impeach and scourge my soul, whose will
Wrought not mine impotence? No, no, enough
If I perform the measure of my might
And live my little life well as I may.
And so I bow to heaven and endure
Whatever lot the gods may render me.—
O goddess, wear not such a darksome mien:
Give not thine anger license, I beseech;
For mine was not the breeding of this pain.
If thou dost love me as thine acts aver,
Let not frustration gall thy love to hate.—
There be among us mortals, goddess, men
And women whose affections are so pure,
So holy and so strong that they eschew
Communion with the loved one out of fear
To work him pain. Shall thy divine love sit
Beneath such human nobleness of heart? *(Calypso weeps.)*

Weep, weep, 'tis well, weep out thy spirit's ache:
For me, I go to seek a cave apart,
Away from this thy grot: there shall I dwell
Heaving huge rocks and rooting up stout pines
To build a mighty palace; then unbuild
And build again, ev'n till the deathless gods
Grant me to fare again to mine own land
Across the sea: and though my work procure
Nor weal nor pleasure unto any man,
'Twill spend the force that riots in my limbs
And maddens me, 'twill ward me from the fiend
Of indolence. Calypso, fare thee well!

(Odysseus walks away. Hermes casts a spell over him, forcing him to stop. He leans his head against a rock a short distance away. Calypso remains motionless and mute.)

Hermes (touching Calypso's shoulder). Wherefore, O goddess, weepest thou these tears?

Calypso (turning angrily). What mortal questions me?

Hermes. No mortal, nymph.

Calypso. Hermes! Ambassador of Heaven, thou!

Hermes. Ev'n I, Calypso, come to do the will
Of Zeus and of Athene. Here thou hold'st
The noble-soul'd Odysseus, first of men.

Calypso. The gods themselves set him upon this isle,
Made him my subject.

Hermes. Aye, for certain years:
But now the wrath that he in Heaven stirr'd,
Slaying the Cyclop, is defunct, and ruth
Grows in Athene's mighty heart to see
The noblest man of men thus languishing:
She, prompting Zeus, her all-imperial sire,
Moves him to call the gods in council: they,
Won by her ardent eloquence, decree
Odysseus be deliver'd from the ban
That chains him here.

Calypso. Never shall he depart:
My subject, mine forever!

Hermes. Nymph divine,
Thou knowest well thy word cannot prevail
Against Olympus' will.

Calypso. Alas, alas!
O hard, hard gods and jealous! Still ye grudge
Immortal nymphs should cherish mortal men,
And visit her who favors any such
With grievous suffering.

Hermes. Peace, Calypso, peace!
Thou shalt have boundless other scope. But now,
Hear Heaven's decree. Odysseus shall be freed;
Yet he shall have no speedy, curvèd ship,
Nor men to grip the wave with lusty oar:
For still our mighty master of the sea,
Is wroth with this stout mortal and ordains
That he shall know new trials of wind and wave,
With nought to hold him from the yawning gulf
But what his own unaided hands devise:
And he shall suffer dire and many woes
Or ere he gain at last his native land.

Calypso. Have ye not meted him enough of woe?
O jealous gods! If any mortal shows
Like you in wisdom, strength and fortitude,
Ye rain down evil on him till he dies.

Hermes. Thou lovest then this man?

Calypso. What were it so?

Hermes. 'Twere but another folly 'neath the skies.
But what care I? See where he comes again,
Drawn by my spell. Farewell, nymph, fare thee well.
(Exit.)

Calypso (meditating). With naught to hold him from the yawning gulf
But what his own unaided hands devise!
Cruel decree!

Odysseus. Is this some charm of thine,
Calypso, that my members mutiny
And bear me where I have no will to be?

Calypso. Odysseus, no. O let me gaze on thee
And print thine image on mine inmost soul
That I may see it there in days to be,
For thee thyself mine eyes shall know no more.
Thou mightst have learnt to love me late or soon,
For my great love had gotten love in thee;
But now the gods have riven thee away,
And all that might have been can never be.

Odysseus. What meanest thou?

Calypso. That thou shalt do the thing
Thou most desirest—fare across the deep
To thy beloved land, and leave me here
Lone and disconsolate.

Odysseus. Is this indeed
That thou hast spoken truth? Wilt thou at last
Unprison me and suffer me to fare
To my beloved land?

Calypso. Not mine the will
That wreck'd thee here those seven years agone;
Not mine the power has held thee captive since;
Not mine the word that liberates thee now.
The gods alone have power over thee:
Moved by Athene's prayers they now relent
Toward thee and have sent the messenger,
Hermes, to bid me free and speed thee hence.

Odysseus. O heaven be praised! Now shall I live again!
Where is my ship, my dear deliverer?
Calypso, thou art built of loveliness,
Sweetness and goodness and whatever else
Hath any virtue: so I'll call my ship
Calypso. O, to move again and work,
To cope with danger and with evil hap,
And rot no more in grief and idleness!
To live! O day of days! O night of nights!
To wander whither I will o'er land and sea
And tread once more mine own dear hills and dales
After these many years! *(He is overcome and weeps.)*

Calypso (weeping also). Thou weepest joy
And sorrow I: thy gladness is my pain.
But yet, abate thy joy: the ruthless god
Of sea and storm grants thee no other ship
To cross the waste of waters than the raft
Thy hands may fashion, and a world of woe
Shall harry thee or ere thou winnest home.

Odysseus. If so be I may see my land at last,
This nothing the gods give me is enough;
The ills they send me shall not be too much.

Calypso. Thou mighty heart!

Odysseus. And yet I shall not leave
This flowery isle without a dolorous pang.

Calypso. What pang?

Odysseus. The pang, sweet soul, of quitting thee.

Calypso. What sayest thou?

Odysseus. Aye, now may I reveal
What I have ever striven to hide from thee
And half conceal'd from mine own knowledge: know
That I have loved thee well these many years,
Ev'n since I saw thee first.

Calypso. What sayest thou?

Odysseus. How should I not have loved thee, gentle one,
That art compact of so much woman-charm,
Of Venus' fire and Dian's purity,
Of Hebe's grace, Athene's heart and mind,
Inform'd with that intense and limpid flame,
The spirit that is neither hers nor hers,
But only thine? O, I have loved thee, aye.
And it has been a strange, sad, subtle joy
To me, in these my years of banishment
From mine own hearth, to look upon thy form—
Whose wondrous lines are all instinct with soul—
And gaze into thy spirit-flooded eyes,
And drink thy fragrant breath, and through mine ears
Feel flow the mystic music of thy tones
Voicing the understanding of thy mind,

The wisdom of thy heart, thy sentiments,
Sensations, all thou knowest, feelest, art.
Hapless is he who knows not, in his life,
One perfect woman—perfect unto him:
But O, how much more hapless he to whom
'Tis given to know two perfect; for his heart
Cannot but cleave to both, and loving both
He must do hurt to each, and hurting these
Whom he loves doubly, doubly wound himself.
These thoughts have been the food of half my grief.

Calypso. Ah, but the wounds that love inflicts are dear!
And thou hast loved me, lovest me?

Odysseus. Alas!

Calypso. And yet thy kiss was ever chastely cold
Upon my burning lips!

Odysseus. My reasoning will
Still froze it as it well'd up from my heart.

Calypso. And all my fire could never thaw it again!

Odysseus. But thou hast melted me, melted the rock
That is my nature, till its lava streams
Whelm through my being and nigh wreck my will.
Calypso, I have told thee what 'twere well
Had not been utter'd, shown thee what 'twere best
Thou hadst not look'd upon.

Calypso. Say never so:
Thou lovest me: enough, thou lovest me.
To love is much and much 'tis to be loved,
But to be loved by one we love, ah me!
Is more than much, is all and all in all.
This is the soul's approval of itself,
The warrant that it needs of its own worth.
For if thou whom my heart and judgment love
Judgest me lovable, I love myself—
Though with no mean and petty vanity;
Love nature and the life she put in me;
And all my being is a harmony
Whilst thou art nigh to tune my vibrant soul

Unto the music of the Universe.
O love, the might have been that cannot be!
Forgive me: see, I tread this weakness down:
O, I am strong, and with my strength will bind
My spirit to thy grateful memory
Through all thy years to be: yea, I will prove
Worthy remembrance. Morn and noon and night
Will I make supplication unto heaven
To guide thee home to thy belovèd land,
Home to thy hearth and to thy people, home
Into the arms of thy Penelope.

Odysseus. Thou noble soul, thou generous heart!

Calypso. No more.
Prepare thee now.

Odysseus. Straight will I build a raft
Of giant boles, and it shall carry me
There where I will to be.

Calypso. Aye, ev'n to-morrow
Shalt thou begin to fashion it, and I
Will weave thee sails—weave sails to waft away
All that I love!—and store thy raft with food
And wine to serve thee many stormy days:
And thou shalt witness if Calypso's love
Can soar to human heights of fortitude.
O, would that I were mortal, that the pain
Thine absence from mine everlasting life
Will gender in my bosom evermore
Might, too, be mortal, that the awful void
This tearing of thee from my being's core
Will leave in me might close with some kind grave!
Alas, my woe is as my love and life—
Eternal and immutable!

(Calypso, her head bowed, her form convulsed, gropes her way into the grotto. Odysseus gazes after her marvelling, then lifts his eyes up to the heavens and clasps his hands.)

Odysseus. O gods!
O seeming cruel, wanton, pitiless lords,
Forgers inscrutable of human fate!
Weavers of tangled webs of destiny,
O everlasting and almighty powers!

THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART VII.

XVI.

It was not the first time Strether had sat alone in the great dim church—still less was it the first of his giving himself up, so far as conditions permitted, to its beneficent action on his nerves. He had been to Notre Dame with Waymarsh, he had been there with Miss Gostrey, he had been there with Chad Newsome, and had found the place, even in company, such a refuge from the obsession of his problem that, with renewed pressure from that source, he had not unnaturally recurred to a remedy that seemed so, for the moment, to meet the case. He was conscious enough that it was only for the moment, but good moments—if he could call them good—still had their value for a man who, by this time, struck himself as living almost disgracefully from hand to mouth. Having so well learnt the way, he had lately made the pilgrimage more than once by himself—had quite stolen off, taking an unnoticed chance and making no point of speaking of the adventure when restored to his friends.

His great friend, for that matter, was still absent, as well as remarkably silent; even at the end of three weeks Miss Gostrey had not come back. She wrote to him from Mentone, admitting that he must judge her grossly inconsequent—perhaps, in fact, for the time, odiously faithless; but asking for patience, for a deferred sentence, throwing herself, in short, on his generosity. For her too, she could assure him, life was complicated—more complicated than he could have guessed; she had moreover made certain of him—certain of not wholly missing him on her return—before her disappearance. If furthermore she didn't burden him with letters it was frankly because of her sense of the other great commerce he had to carry on. He himself, at the end of a fortnight, had written twice, to show how his generosity could be trusted; but he reminded himself in each case of Mrs. Newsome's epistolary manner at the times when Mrs. Newsome kept off delicate ground. He sank his problem, he talked of Waymarsh and Miss Barrace,

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of little Bilham and the set over the river, with whom he had again had tea, and he was easy, for convenience, about Chad and Mme. de Vionnet and Jeanne. He admitted that he continued to see them, he was, decidedly, so confirmed a haunter of Chad's premises, and that young man's practical intimacy with them was so undeniably great; but he had his reason for not attempting to render for Miss Gostrey's benefit the impression of these last days. That would be to tell her too much about himself—it being at present just from himself that he was trying to escape.

This small struggle sprang not a little, in its way, from the same impulse that had now carried him across to Notre Dame; the impulse to let things be, to give them time to justify themselves or at least to pass. He was aware of having no errand in such a place but the desire not to be, for the hour, in certain other places; a sense of safety, of simplification, which, each time he yielded to it, he amused himself by thinking of as a private concession to cowardice. The great church had no altar for his worship, no direct voice for his soul; but it was none the less soothing even to sanctity; for he could feel while there what he couldn't elsewhere, that he was a plain tired man taking the holiday he had earned. He was tired, but he wasn't plain—that was the pity and the trouble of it; he was able, however, to drop his problem at the door very much as if it had been the copper piece that he deposited, on the threshold, in the receptacle of the inveterate blind beggar. He trod the long, dim nave, sat in the splendid choir, paused before the clustered chapels of the east end, and the mighty monument laid upon him its spell. He might have been a student under the charm of a museum—which was exactly what, in a foreign town, in the afternoon of life, he would have liked to be free to be. This form of sacrifice, at any rate, did, for the occasion, as well as another; it made him quite sufficiently understand how, within the precinct, for the real refugee, the things of the world could fall into abeyance. That was the cowardice, probably—to dodge them, to beg the question, not to deal with it in the hard outer light; but his own oblivions were too brief, too vain, to hurt any one but himself, and he had a vague and fanciful kindness for certain persons whom he met, figures of mystery and anxiety, and whom, with observation for his pastime, he ranked as those who were fleeing from justice. Justice was outside, in the hard light, and injustice too; but one was as absent as the other from the air of the long aisles and the brightness of the many altars.

Thus it was, at all events, that, one morning some dozen days after the dinner in the Boulevard Malesherbes at which Mme. de Vionnet had been present with her daughter, he was called upon to play his part in an encounter that deeply stirred his imagination. He had the habit, in these contemplations, of watching a fellow-visitant, here and there, from a respectable distance, remarking some note of behavior, of penitence, of prostration, of the absolved,

relieved state; this was the manner in which his vague tenderness took its course, the degree of demonstration to which, naturally, it had to confine itself. It had not, indeed, so felt its responsibility as when, on this occasion, he suddenly measured the suggestive effect of a lady whose supreme stillness, in the shade of one of the chapels, he had two or three times noticed as he made, and made once more, his slow circuit. She was not prostrate—not in any degree bowed, but she was strangely fixed, and her prolonged immobility showed her, while he passed and paused, as wholly given up to the need, whatever it was, that had brought her there. She only sat and gazed before her, as he himself often sat; but she had placed herself, as he never did, within the focus of the shrine, and she had lost herself, he could easily see, as he would only have liked to do. She was not a wandering alien, keeping back more than she gave, but one of the familiar, the intimate, the fortunate, for whom these dealings had a method and a meaning. She reminded our friend—since it was the way of nine-tenths of his current impressions to act as recalls of things imagined—of some fine, firm, concentrated heroine of an old story, something he had heard, read, something that, had he had a hand for drama, he might himself have written, renewing her courage, renewing her clearness, in splendidly-protected meditation. Her back, as she sat, was turned to him, but his impression absolutely required that she should be young and interesting, and she carried her head, moreover, even in the sacred shade, with a discernible faith in herself, a kind of implied conviction of consistency, security, impunity. But what had such a woman come for if she hadn't come to pray? Strether's reading of such matters was, it must be owned, confused; but he wondered if her attitude were some congruous fruit of absolution, of "indulgence." He knew but dimly what indulgence, in such a place, might mean; yet he had, as with a soft sweep, a vision of how it might indeed add to the zest of active rites. All this was a good deal to have been denoted by a mere lurking figure who was nothing to him; but, the last thing before leaving the church, he had the surprise of a still deeper quickening.

He had dropped upon a seat half-way down the nave and, again in the museum mood, was trying with head thrown back and eyes aloft, to reconstitute a past, to reduce it in fact to the convenient terms of Victor Hugo, whom, a few days before, giving the rein for once in a way to the joy of life, he had purchased in seventy bound volumes, a miracle of cheapness, parted with, he was assured by the shopman, at the price of the red-and-gold alone. He looked, doubtless, while he played his eternal nippers over Gothic glooms, sufficiently rapt in reverence; but what his thought had finally bumped against was the question of where, among packed accumulations, so multiform a wedge would be able to enter. Were seventy volumes in red-and-gold to be perhaps what he should most substantially have to show at Woollett as the fruit of his mission? It

was a possibility that held him a minute—held him till he happened to feel that some one, unnoticed, had approached him and paused. Turning, he saw that a lady stood there as for a greeting, and he sprang up as he next perceived that the lady was Mme. de Vionnet, who appeared to have recognized him as she passed near him on her way to the door. She checked, quickly and gayly, a certain confusion in him, came to meet it, turned it back, by an art of her own; the confusion threatened him as he knew her for the person he had lately been observing. She was the lurking figure of the dim chapel; she had occupied him more than she guessed; but it came to him in time, luckily, that he needn't tell her and that no harm, after all, had been done. She herself, for that matter, straightway showed that she felt their encounter as the happiest of accidents—had for him a "You come here too?" that despoiled surprise of every awkwardness.

"I come often," she said; "I love this place; but I'm terrible, in general, for churches. The old women who live in them all know me; in fact I'm already myself one of the old women. It's like that, at all events, that I foresee I shall end." Looking about for a chair, so that he instantly pulled one nearer, she sat down with him again to the sound of an "Oh, I like so much your also being fond—!"

He confessed the extent of his feeling, though she left the object vague; and he was struck with the tact, the taste of her vagueness, which simply took for granted in him a sense of beautiful things. He was conscious of how much it was affected, this sense, by something subdued and discreet in the way she had arranged herself for her special object and her morning walk—he believed her to have come on foot; the way her slightly thicker veil was drawn—a mere touch, but everything; the composed gravity of her dress, in which, here and there, a dull wine-color seemed to gleam faintly through black; the charming discretion of her small, compact head; the quiet note, as she sat, of her folded, gray-gloved hands. It was, to Strether's mind, as if she sat on her own ground, the light honors of which, at an open gate, she thus easily did him, while all the vastness and mystery of the property stretched off behind. When people were so completely in possession they could be extraordinarily civil; and our friend indeed, at this hour, had a kind of revelation of her heritage. She was romantic for him far beyond what she could have guessed, and again he found his small comfort in the conviction that, subtle though she were, his impression must remain a secret from her. The thing that, once more, made him uneasy for secrets in general was this particular patience she could have with his own want of color; albeit that, on the other hand, his uneasiness pretty well dropped after he had been for ten minutes as colorless as possible and at the same time as responsive.

The moments had already, for that matter, drawn their deepest

tinge from the special interest excited in him by his vision of his companion's identity with the person whose attitude before the glimmering altar had so impressed him. This attitude fitted admirably into the stand he had privately taken about her connection with Chad on the last occasion of his seeing them together. It helped him to stick fast at the point he had then reached; it was there, he had resolved, that he *would* stick, and at no moment since had it seemed as easy to do so. Unassailably innocent was a relation that could make one of the parties to it so carry herself. If it wasn't innocent why did she haunt the churches?—into which, given the woman he could believe he made out, she would never have come to flaunt an insolence of guilt. She haunted them for continued help, for strength, for peace—sublime support which, if one were able to look at it so, she found from day to day. They talked, in low, easy tones and with lifted, lingering looks, about the great monument and its history and its beauty—all of which, Mme. de Vionnet professed, came to her most in the other, the outer view. "We'll presently, after we go," she said, "walk round it again if you like. I'm not in a particular hurry, and it will be pleasant to look at it again with you." He had spoken of the great romancer and the great romance, and of what, to his imagination, they had done for the whole, mentioning to her moreover the exorbitance of his purchase, the seventy blazing volumes that were so out of proportion.

"Out of proportion to what?"

"Well, to any other plunge." Yet he felt even as he spoke how at that instant he was plunging. He had made up his mind and was impatient to get into the air; for his purpose was a purpose to be uttered outside, and he had a fear that it might with delay still slip away from him. She, however, took her time; she drew out their quiet gossip as if she had wished to profit by their meeting, and that, precisely, confirmed an interpretation of her manner, of her mystery. While she rose, as he would have called it, to the question of Victor Hugo, her voice itself, the light, low quaver of her deference to the solemnity about them, seemed to make her words mean something that they didn't mean openly. Help, strength, peace, a sublime support—she had not found so much of these things as that the amount wouldn't be sensibly greater for any scrap his appearance of faith in her might enable her to feel in her hand. Every little, in a long strain, helped, and if he happened to affect her as a firm object she could hold on by, he wouldn't jerk himself out of her reach. People in difficulties held on by what was nearest, and he was perhaps, after all, not further off than sources of comfort more abstract. It was as to this he had made up his mind; he had made it up, that is, to give her a sign. The sign would be that—though it was her own affair—he understood; the sign would be that—though it was her own affair—she was free to clutch. Since she took him for a firm object—much as he might to

his own sense appear at times to rock—he would do his best to *be* one.

The end of it was that, half an hour later, they were seated together, for an early luncheon, at a wonderful, a delightful house of entertainment on the left bank—a place of pilgrimage for the knowing, they were both aware, the knowing who came, for its great renown, the homage of restless days, from the other end of the town. Strether had already been there three times—first with Miss Gostrey, then with Chad, then with Chad again and with Waymarsh and little Bilham, all of whom he had himself sagaciously entertained; and his pleasure was deep now on learning that Mme. de Vionnet had not yet been initiated. When he had said, as they strolled round the church, by the river, acting at last on what, within, he had made up his mind to, "Will you, if you have time, come to *déjeuner* with me somewhere? For instance, if you know it, over there on the other side, which is so easy a walk—" and then had named the place; when he had done this she stopped short as for quick intensity, and yet deep difficulty, of response. She took in the proposal as if it were almost too charming to be true; and there had perhaps never yet been for her companion so unexpected a moment of pride—so fine, so odd a case, at any rate, as his finding himself thus able to offer to a person in such universal possession a new, a rare amusement. She had heard of the happy spot, but she asked him in reply to a further question how in the world he could suppose her to have been there. He supposed himself to have supposed that Chad might have taken her, and she guessed this the next moment, to his no small discomfort.

"Ah, let me explain," she smiled, "that I don't go about with him in public; I never have such chances—not having them otherwise—and it's just the sort of thing that, as a quiet creature living in my hole, I adore." It was more than kind of him to have thought of it—though, frankly, if he asked whether she had time, she hadn't a single minute. That, however, made no difference—she would throw everything over. Every duty, at home, domestic, maternal, social, awaited her; but it was a case for a high line. Her affairs would go to smash; but hadn't one a right to one's snatch of scandal when one was prepared to pay? It was on this pleasant basis of costly disorder, consequently, that they eventually seated themselves, on either side of a small table, at a window adjusted to the busy quay and the shining, barge-burdened Seine; where, for an hour, in the matter of letting himself go, of diving deep, Strether was to feel that he had touched bottom. He was to feel many things on this occasion, and one of the first of them was that he had travelled far since that evening, in London, before the theatre, when his dinner with Maria Gostrey, between the pink-shaded candles, had struck him as requiring so many explanations. He had at that time gathered them in, the explanations—he had stored them up; but it was at present as if he had either soared above or sunk below

them—he couldn't tell which; he could somehow think of none that didn't seem to leave the appearance of collapse and cynicism easier for him than lucidity. How could he wish it to be lucid for others, for any one, that he, for the hour, saw reasons enough in the mere way the bright, clean, ordered water-side life came in at the open window?—the mere way Mme. de Vionnet, opposite him over their intensely white table-linen, their *omelette aux tomates*, their bottle of straw-colored Chablis, thanked him for everything almost with the smile of a child, while her gray eyes moved in and out of their talk, back to the quarter of the warm spring air, in which early summer had already begun to throb, and then back again to his face and their human questions.

Their human questions became many before they had done—many more, as one after the other came up, than our friend's free fancy had at all foreseen. The sense he had had before, the sense he had had repeatedly, the sense that the situation was running away with him, had never been so sharp as now; and all the more that he could perfectly put his finger on the moment it had taken the bit in its teeth. That accident had definitely occurred, the other evening, after Chad's dinner; it had occurred, as he fully knew at the moment when he interposed between this lady and her child, when he suffered himself so to discuss with her a matter closely concerning them that her own subtlety, with its significant "Thank you!" instantly sealed the occasion in her favor. Again he had held off for ten days, but the situation had continued out of hand in spite of that; the fact that it was running so fast being indeed just *why* he had held off. What had come over him as he recognized her in the nave of the church was that holding off could be but a losing game from the instant she was worked for not only by her subtlety, but by the hand of fate itself. If all the accidents were to fight on her side—and by the actual showing they loomed large—he could only give himself up. This was what he had done in privately deciding then and there to propose she should breakfast with him. What did the success of his proposal in fact resemble but the smash in which a regular runaway properly ends? The smash was their walk, their luncheon, their omelette, the Chablis, the place, the view, their present talk and his present pleasure in it—to say nothing, wonder of wonders, of her own. To this tune and nothing less, accordingly, was his surrender made good. It sufficiently lighted up at least the folly of holding off. Ancient proverbs sounded, for his memory, in the tone of their words and the clink of their glasses, in the hum of the town and the plash of the river. It *was* clearly better to suffer as a sheep than as a lamb. One might as well perish by the sword as by famine.

"Maria's still away?"—that was the first thing she had asked him; and when he had found the frankness to be cheerful about it in spite of the meaning he knew her to attach to Miss Gostrey's absence, she had gone on to inquire if he didn't tremendously miss

her. There were reasons that made him by no means sure, yet he nevertheless answered "Tremendously"; which she took in as if it were all she had wished to prove. Then, "A man in trouble *must* be possessed, somehow, of a woman," she said; "if she doesn't come in one way she comes in another."

"Why do you call me a man in trouble?"

"Ah, because that's the way you strike me." She spoke ever so gently and as if with all fear of wounding him while she sat partaking of his bounty. "*Aren't* you in trouble?"

He felt himself color at the question, and then he hated that—hated to pass for anything so idiotic as woundable. Woundable by Chad's lady, in respect to whom he had come out with such a fund of indifference—was he already at that point? Perversely, meanwhile, however, his pause gave a strange air of truth to her supposition; and what was he in fact but disconcerted at having struck her just in the way he had most dreamed of not doing? "I'm not in trouble yet," he at last smiled. "I'm not in trouble now."

"Well, I'm always so. But that you sufficiently know." She was a woman who, between courses, could be graceful with her elbows on the table. It was a posture unknown to Mrs. Newsome, but it was easy for a *femme du monde*. "Yes—I am 'now'!"

"There was a question you put to me," he presently returned, "the night of Chad's dinner. I didn't answer it then, and it has been very handsome of you not to have sought an occasion for pressing me about it since."

She was instantly all there. "Of course I know what you allude to. I asked you what you had meant by saying, the day you came to see me, just before you left me, that you would save me. And you then said—at our friend's—that you would have really to wait to see, for yourself, what you did mean."

"Yes, I asked for time," said Strether. "And it sounds now, as you put it, like a very ridiculous speech."

"Oh!" she murmured—she was full of attenuation. But she had another thought. "If it does sound ridiculous, why do you deny that you're in trouble?"

"Ah, if I were," he replied, "it wouldn't be the trouble of fearing ridicule. I don't fear it."

"What then do you?"

Nothing—now." And he leaned back in his chair.

I like your 'now'!" she laughed across at him.

Well, it's precisely that it fully comes to me at present that I've kept you long enough. I know by this time, at any rate, what I meant by my speech; and I really knew it the night of Chad's dinner."

"Then why didn't you tell me?"

"Because it was difficult at the moment. I had already at that moment done something for you, in the sense of what I had said

the day I went to see you; but I wasn't then sure of the importance I might represent this as having."

She was all eagerness. "And you're sure now?"

"Yes; I see that, practically, I've done for you—had done for you when you put me your question—all that it's as yet possible to me to do. I feel now," he went on, "that it may go further than I thought. What I did after my visit to you," he explained, "was to write straight off to Mrs. Newsome about you, and I'm at last, from one day to the other, expecting her answer. It's this answer that will represent, as I believe, the consequences."

Patient and beautiful was her interest. "I see—the consequences of your speaking for me." And she waited, as if not to hustle him.

He acknowledged it by immediately going on. "The question, you understand, was *how* I should save you. Well, I'm trying it by thus letting her know that I consider you worth saving."

"I see—I see." Her eagerness broke through. "How can I thank you enough?" He couldn't tell her that, however, and she quickly pursued: "You do really, for yourself, consider it?"

His only answer at first was to help her to the dish that had been freshly put before them. "I've written to her again since then—I've left her in no doubt of what I think. I've told her all about you."

"Thanks—not so much. 'All about' me," she went on—"yes."

"All it seems to me," said Strether, "you've done for him."

"Ah, and you might have added all it seems to *me!*" She laughed again, while she took up her knife and fork, as in the cheer of these assurances. "But you're not sure how she'll take it."

"No, I'll not pretend I'm sure."

"*Voilà.*" And she waited a moment. "I wish you'd tell me about her."

"Oh," said Strether with a slightly strained smile, "all that need concern you about her is that she's really a grand person."

Mme. de Vionnet seemed to demur. "Is that all that need concern me about her?"

But Strether neglected the question. "Hasn't Chad talked to you?"

"Of his mother? Yes, a great deal—immensely. But not from your point of view."

"He can't," our friend returned, "have said any ill of her."

"Not the least bit. He has given me, like you, the assurance that she's really grand. But her being really grand is somehow just what has not seemed to simplify our case. Nothing," she continued, "is further from me than to wish to say a word against her; but of course I feel how little she can like being told of her owing me anything. No woman ever enjoys such an obligation to another woman."

This was a proposition Strether couldn't contradict. "And yet

what other way could I have expressed to her what I felt? It's what there was most to say about you."

"Do you mean then that she *will* be good to me?"

"It's what I'm waiting to see. But I've little doubt she would," he added, "if she could comfortably see you."

It seemed to strike her as a happy, a beneficent thought. "Oh then, couldn't that be managed? Wouldn't she come out? Wouldn't she if you so put it to her? *Did* you by any possibility?" she faintly quavered.

"Oh no"—he was prompt. "Not that. It would be, much more, to give an account of you that—since there's no question of *your* paying the visit—I should go home first."

It instantly made her graver. "And are you thinking of that?"

"Oh, all the while, naturally."

"Stay with us—stay with us!" she exclaimed on this. "That's your only way to make sure."

"To make sure of what?"

"Why, that he doesn't break up. You didn't come out to do that to him."

"Doesn't it depend," Strether returned after a moment, "on what you mean by breaking up?"

"Oh, you know well enough what I mean!"

His silence, again, for a little, seemed to denote an understanding. "You take for granted remarkable things."

"Yes, I do—to the extent that I don't take for granted vulgar ones. You're perfectly capable of seeing that what you came out for was not really at all to do what you would now have to do."

"Ah, it's perfectly simple," Strether good-humoredly pleaded. "I've had but one thing to do—to put our case before him. To put it as it could only be put, here, on the spot—by personal pressure. My dear lady," he lucidly pursued, "my work, you see, is really done, and my reasons for staying on even another day are none of the best. Chad's in possession of our case and professes to do it full justice. What remains is with himself. I've had my rest, my amusement and refreshment; I've had, as we say at Woollett, a lovely time. Nothing in it has been more lovely than this happy meeting with you—in these fantastic conditions to which you've so delightfully consented. I've a sense of success. It's what I wanted. My getting all this good is what Chad has waited for, and I gather that if I'm ready to go he's the same."

She shook her head with a finer, deeper wisdom. "You're not ready. If you're ready why did you write to Mrs. Newsome in the sense you've mentioned to me?"

Strether considered. "I sha'n't go before I hear from her. You're too much afraid of her," he added.

It produced between them a long look from which neither shrank. "I don't think you believe that—believe I've not really reason to fear her."

"She's capable of great generosity," Strether presently declared.

"Well then, let her trust me a little. That's all I ask. Let her recognize, in spite of everything, what I've done."

"Ah, remember," our friend replied, "that she can't effectually recognize it without seeing it for herself. Let Chad go over and show her what you've done, and let him plead with her there for it and, as it were, for *you*."

She measured the depth of this suggestion. "Do you give me your word of honor that if she once has him there she won't do her best to marry him?"

It made her companion, this inquiry, look again a while out at the view; after which he spoke without sharpness. "When she sees for herself what he is—"

But she had already broken in. "It's when she sees for herself what he is that she'll want to marry him most."

Strether's attitude, that of due deference to what she said, permitted him to attend for a minute to his luncheon. "I doubt if that will come off. It won't be easy to make it."

"It will be easy if he remains there—and he'll remain for the money. The money appears to be, as a probability, so hideously much."

"Well," Strether presently concluded, "nothing *could* really hurt you but his marrying."

She gave a strange light laugh. "Putting aside what may really hurt *him*."

But her friend looked at her as if he had thought of that too. "The question will come up, of course, of the future that you yourself offer him."

She was leaning back now, but she fully faced him. "Well, let it come up!"

"The point is that it's for Chad to make of it what he can. His being proof against marriage will show what he does make."

"If he *is* proof, yes"—she accepted the proposition. "But for myself," she added, "the question is what *you* make."

"Ah, I make nothing. It's not my affair."

"I beg your pardon. It's just there that, since you've taken it up and are committed to it, it most intensely becomes yours. You're not saving me, I take it, for your interest in myself, but for your interest in our friend. The one, at any rate, is wholly dependent on the other. You can't in honor not see me through," she wound up, "because you can't in honor not see *him*."

Strange and beautiful to him was her quiet, soft acuteness. The thing that most moved him was really that she was so deeply serious. She had none of the portentous forms of it, but he had never come in contact, it struck him, with a spirit brought to so fine a point. Mrs. Newsome, goodness knew, was serious; but it was nothing to this. He took it all in, he saw it all together. "No," he mused, "I can't in honor not see him."

Her face affected him as with an exquisite light. "You *will* then?" "I will."

At this she pushed back her chair and was the next moment on her feet. "Thank you!" she said with her hand held out to him across the table and with no less a meaning in the words than her lips had so particularly given them after Chad's dinner. The golden nail she had then driven in pierced a good inch deeper. Yet he reflected that he himself had only meanwhile done what he had made up his mind to on the same occasion. So far as the essence of the matter went he had simply stood fast on the spot on which he had then planted his feet.

XVII.

He received three days after this a communication from America, in the form of a scrap of blue paper folded and gummed, not reaching him through his bankers, but delivered at his hotel by a small boy in uniform, who, under instructions from the concierge, approached him as he slowly paced the little court. It was the evening hour, but daylight was long now and Paris more than ever penetrating. The scent of flowers was in the streets, he had the whiff of violets perpetually in his nose; and he had attached himself to sounds and suggestions, vibrations of the air, human and dramatic, he imagined, as they were not in other places, that came out for him more and more as the mild afternoons deepened—a far-off hum, a sharp, near click on the asphalt, a voice calling, replying, somewhere, and as full of tone as an actor's in a play. He was to dine at home, as usual, with Waymarsh—they had settled to that for thrift and simplicity; and he now hung about before his friend came down.

He read his telegram in the court, standing still a long time where he had opened it and giving five minutes, afterwards, to the renewed study of it. At last, quickly, he crumpled it up as if to get it out of the way; in spite of which, however, he kept it there—still kept it when, at the end of another turn, he had dropped into a chair placed near a small table. Here, with his scrap of paper compressed in his fist and further concealed by his folding his arms tight, he sat for some time in thought, gazed before him so straight that Waymarsh appeared and approached him without catching his eye. The latter, in fact, struck with his appearance, looked at him hard for a single instant and then, as if determined to that course by some special vividness in it, dropped back into the *salon de lecture* without addressing him. But the pilgrim from Milrose permitted himself still to observe the scene from behind the clear glass plate of that retreat. Strether ended, as he sat, by a fresh scrutiny of his compressed missive, which he smoothed out carefully again as he placed it on his table. There it remained for some minutes, until, at last looking up, he saw Waymarsh watching him from within. It was on this that their

eyes met—met for a moment during which neither moved. But Strether then got up, folding his telegram more carefully and putting it into his waistcoat pocket.

A few minutes later the friends were seated together at dinner; but Strether had meanwhile said nothing about it, and they eventually parted, after coffee in the court, with nothing said on either side. Our friend had moreover the consciousness that even less than usual was said on this occasion between them, so that it was almost as if each had been waiting for something from the other. Waymarsh had always more or less the air of sitting at the door of his tent, and silence, after so many weeks, had come to play its part in their concert. This note indeed, to Strether's sense, had lately taken a fuller tone, and it was his fancy to-night that they had never quite so drawn it out. Yet it befell, none the less, that he closed the door to confidence when his companion finally asked him if there were anything particular the matter with him. "Nothing," he replied, "more than usual."

On the morrow, at an early hour, however, he found occasion to give an answer more in consonance with the facts. What was the matter had continued to be so all the previous evening, the first hours of which, after dinner, in his room, he had devoted to the copious composition of a letter. He had quitted Waymarsh for this purpose, leaving him to his own resources with less ceremony than their wont, but finally coming down again with his letter unconcluded and going forth into the streets without inquiry for his comrade. He had taken a long, vague walk, and one o'clock had struck before his return and his re-ascent to his room by the aid of the glimmering candle-end left for him on the shelf outside the porter's lodge. He had possessed himself, on closing his door, of the numerous loose sheets of his unfinished composition, and then, without reading them over, had torn them into small pieces. He had thereupon slept—as if it had been in some measure thanks to that sacrifice—the sleep of the just, and had prolonged his rest considerably beyond his custom. Thus it was that when, between nine and ten, the tap of the knob of a walking-stick sounded on his door, he had not yet made himself altogether presentable. Chad Newsome's bright, deep voice, determined quickly enough, none the less, the admission of the visitor. The little blue paper of the evening before, plainly an object the more precious for its escape from premature destruction, now lay on the sill of the open window, smoothed out afresh and kept from blowing away by the superincumbent weight of his watch. Chad, looking about with careless and competent criticism, as he looked wherever he went, immediately espied it and permitted himself to fix it for a moment rather hard. After which he turned his eyes to his host. "It has come then at last?"

Strether paused in the act of pinning his necktie. "Then you know—? You've had one too?"

"No, I've had nothing, and I only know what I see. I see that thing and I guess. Well," he added, "it comes as pat as in a play, for I've precisely turned up this morning—as I would have done yesterday, but it was impossible—to take you."

"To take me?" Strether had turned again to his glass.

"Back, at last, as I promised. I'm ready—I've really been ready this month. I've only been waiting for you—as was perfectly right. But you're better now; you're safe—I see that for myself; you've got all your good. You're looking, this morning, as fit as a flea."

Strether, at his glass, finished dressing; consulting that witness moreover on this last opinion. *Was* he looking preternaturally fit? There was something in it perhaps for Chad's wonderful eye, but he had felt himself, for hours, rather in pieces. Such a judgment, however, was after all but a contribution to his resolve; it testified unwittingly to his wisdom. He was still firmer, apparently—since it shone in him as a light—than he had flattered himself. His firmness indeed was slightly compromised, as he faced about to his friend, by the way this very personage looked—though the case would of course have been worse had not the secret of personal magnificence been at every hour Chad's unfailing possession. There he was in all the pleasant morning freshness of it—strong and sleek and gay, easy and fragrant and fathomless, with happy health in his color, and pleasant silver in his thick young hair, and the right word for everything on the lips that his clear brownness caused to show as red. He had never struck Strether as personally such a success; it was as if now, for his definite surrender, he had gathered himself vividly together. This, sharply and rather strangely, was the form in which he was to be presented to Woollett. Our friend took him in again—he was always taking him in and yet finding that parts of him still remained out; though even thus his image showed through a mist of other things. "I've had a cable," Strether said, "from your mother."

"I dare say, my dear man. I hope she's well."

Strether hesitated. "No—she's not well, I'm sorry to have to tell you."

"Ah," said Chad, "I must have had the instinct of it. All the more reason then that we should start straight off."

Strether had now got together hat, gloves and stick, but Chad had dropped on the sofa as if to show where he wished to make his point. He kept observing his companion's things; he might have been judging how quickly they could be packed. He might even have wished to hint that he would send his own servant to assist. "What do you mean," Strether inquired, "by 'straight off'?"

"Oh, by one of next week's boats. Everything at this season goes out so light that berths will be easy anywhere."

Strether had in his hand his telegram, which he had kept there after attaching his watch, and he now offered it to Chad, who,

however, with an odd movement, declined to take it. "Thanks, I had rather not. Your correspondence with mother is your own affair. I'm only *with* you both on it, whatever it is." Strether, at this, while their eyes met, slowly folded the missive and put it in his pocket; after which, before he had spoken again, Chad broke fresh ground. "Has Miss Gostrey come back?"

But when Strether presently spoke, it was not in answer. "It's not, I gather, that your mother is physically ill; her health, on the whole, this spring, seems to have been better than usual. But she's worried, she's anxious; and it appears to have risen within the last few days to a climax. We've tired out, between us, her patience."

"Oh, it isn't *you!*" Chad generously protested.

"I beg your pardon—it *is* me." Strether was mild and melancholy, but firm. He saw it far away and over his companion's head. "It's very particularly me."

"Well, then, all the more reason. *Marchons, marchons!*" said the young man gayly. His host, however, at this, but continued to stand agaze; and he had the next thing repeated his question of a moment before. "Has Miss Gostrey come back?"

"Yes, two days ago."

"Then you've seen her?"

"No—I'm to see her to-day." But Strether wouldn't linger now on Miss Gostrey. "Your mother sends me an ultimatum. If I can't bring you I'm to leave you; I'm to come at any rate myself."

"Ah, but you *can* bring me now," Chad, from his sofa, reassuringly replied.

Strether hesitated. "I don't think I understand you. Why was it that, more than a month ago, you put it to me so urgently to let Mme. de Vionnet speak for you?"

"'Why'?" Chad considered, but he had it at his fingers' ends. "Why but because I knew how well she'd do it? It was the way to keep you quiet and, to that extent, do you good. Besides," he happily and comfortably explained, "I wanted you really to know her and to get the impression of her—and you see the good that *has* done you."

"Well," said Strether, "the way she has spoken for you, all the same—so far as I have given her a chance—has only made me feel how much she wishes to keep you. If you make nothing of that I don't see why you wanted me to listen to her."

"Why, my dear man," Chad exclaimed, "I make everything of it! How can you doubt—?"

"I doubt only because you come to me this morning with your signal to start."

Chad stared, then gave a laugh. "And isn't my signal to start just what you've been waiting for?"

Strether debated; he took another turn. "This last month I've been awaiting, I think, more than anything else, the message I have here."

"You mean you've been afraid of it?"

"Well, I was doing my business in my own way. And I suppose your present announcement," Strether went on, "isn't merely the result of your sense of what I've expected. Otherwise you wouldn't have put me in relation—" But he paused, pulling up.

At this Chad rose. "Ah, *her* wanting me not to go has nothing to do with it! It's only because she's afraid—afraid of the way that, over there, I may get caught. But her fear's groundless."

He had met again his companion's sufficiently searching look. "Are you tired of her?"

Chad gave him in reply to this, with a movement of the head, the strangest slow smile he had ever had from him. "Never."

It had immediately, on Strether's imagination, so deep and soft an effect that our friend could only, for the moment, keep it before him. "Never?"

"Never," Chad obligingly and serenely repeated.

It made his companion take several more steps. "Then *you're* not afraid."

"Afraid to go?"

Strether pulled up again. "Afraid to stay."

The young man looked brightly amazed. "You want me now to 'stay'?"

"If I don't immediately sail, the Pococks will immediately come out. That's what I mean," said Strether, "by your mother's ultimatum."

Chad showed a still livelier but not an alarmed interest. "She has turned on Sarah and Jim?"

Strether joined him for an instant in the vision. "Oh, and you may be sure, Mamie. *That's* whom she's turning on."

This also Chad saw—he laughed out. "Mamie—to corrupt me?"

"Oh," said Strether, "she's very charming."

"So you've already more than once told me. I should like to see her."

Something happy and easy, something above all unconscious, in the way he said this, brought home again to his companion the facility of his attitude and the enviability of his state. "See her then by all means. And consider too," Strether went on, "that you really give your sister a lift in letting her come to you. You give her a couple of months of Paris, which she hasn't seen, if I'm not mistaken, since just after she was married, and which I'm sure she wants but the pretext to visit."

Chad listened, but with all his own knowledge of the world. "She has had it, the pretext, these several years, yet she has never taken it."

"Do you mean *you?*" Strether after an instant inquired.

"Certainly—the lone exile. And whom do *you* mean?" said Chad.

"Oh, I mean *me.* I'm her pretext. That is—for it comes to the same thing—I'm your mother's."

"Then why," Chad asked, "doesn't mother come herself?"

His friend gave him a long look. "Should you like her to?" And then as he for the moment said nothing: "It's perfectly open to you to cable for her."

Chad continued to think. "Will she come if I do?"

"Quite possibly. But try, and you'll see."

"Why don't *you* try?" Chad after a moment asked.

"Because I don't want to."

Chad hesitated. "Don't desire her presence here?"

Strether faced the question, and his answer was the more emphatic. "Don't put it off, my dear boy, on *me!*"

"Well—I see what you mean. I'm sure you'd behave beautifully, but you *don't* want to see her. So I won't play you that trick."

"Ah," Strether declared, "I shouldn't call it a trick. You've a perfect right, and it would be perfectly straight of you." Then he added in a different tone: "You'd have moreover, in the person of Mme. de Vionnet, a very interesting relation prepared for her."

Their eyes, on this proposition, continued to meet, but Chad's, pleasant and bold, never flinched for a moment. He got up at last, and he said something with which Strether was struck. "She wouldn't understand her, but that makes no difference. Mme. de Vionnet would like to see her. She'd like to be charming to her. She believes she could work it."

Strether thought a moment, affected by this, but finally turning away. "She couldn't!"

"You're quite sure?" Chad asked.

"Well, risk it if you like!"

Strether, who uttered this with serenity, had urged a plea for their now getting into the air, but the young man still waited. "Have you sent your answer?"

"No, I've done nothing yet."

"Were you waiting to see me?"

"No, not that."

"Only waiting"—and Chad, with this, had a smile for him—"to see Miss Gostrey?"

"No—not even Miss Gostrey. I wasn't waiting to see any one. I had only waited, till now, to make up my mind—in complete solitude; and, since I of course absolutely owe you the information, was on the point of going out with it quite made up. Have therefore a little more patience with me. Remember," Strether went on, "that that is what, originally, you asked *me* to have. I've had it, you see, and you see what has come of it. Stay on with me."

Chad looked grave. "How much longer?"

"Well, till I make you a sign. I can't myself, you know, at the best, or at the worst, stay forever. Let the Pococks come," Strether repeated.

"Because it gains you time?"

"Yes—it gains me time."

Chad, as if it still puzzled him, waited a minute. "You don't want to get back to mother?"

"Not just yet. I'm not ready."

"You feel," Chad asked in a tone of his own, "the charm of life here?"

"Immensely." Strether faced it. "You've helped me so to feel it that that surely needn't surprise you."

"No, it doesn't surprise me, and I'm delighted. But what, my dear man," Chad went on with conscious queerness, "does it all lead to for you?"

The change of position and of relation, for each, was so oddly betrayed in the question that Chad laughed out as soon as he had uttered it—which made Strether also laugh. "Well, to my having a certitude that has been tested—that has passed through the fire. But, oh," he couldn't help breaking out, "if within my first month here you had been willing to move with me—!"

"Well?" said Chad, while he paused as if for weight of thought.

"Well, we should have been over there by now."

"Ah, but you wouldn't have had your fun!"

"I should have had a month of it; and I'm having now, if you want to know," Strether continued, "enough to last me for the rest of my days."

Chad looked amused and interested, yet still somewhat in the dark; partly perhaps because Strether's estimate of fun had required of him from the first a good deal of interpretation. "It wouldn't do if I left you—?"

"Left me?"—Strether remained blank.

"Only for a month or two—time to go and come. Mme. de Vionnet," Chad smiled, "would look after you in the interval."

"To go back by yourself, I remaining here?" Again, for an instant, their eyes had the question out; after which Strether said: "Grotesque!"

"But I want to see mother," Chad presently returned. "Remember how long it is since I've seen mother."

"Long indeed; and that's exactly why I was originally so sharp for moving you. Hadn't you shown us enough how beautifully you could do without it?"

"Oh, but," said Chad wonderfully, "I'm better now."

There was an easy triumph in it that made his friend laugh out again. "Oh, if you were worse, I *should* know what to do with you. In that case, I believe, I'd have you gagged and strapped down, carried on board resisting, kicking. How *much*," Strether asked, "do you want to see mother?"

"How much?"—Chad seemed to find it, in fact, difficult to say.

"How much."

"Why, as much as you've made me. I'd give anything to see her. And you've left me," Chad went on "in little enough doubt as to how much *she* wants it."

Strether thought a minute. "Well then, if those things are really your motive, catch the French steamer and sail to-morrow. Of course, when it comes to that, you're absolutely free to do as you choose. From the moment you can't hold yourself, I can only accept your flight."

"I'll fly in a minute then," said Chad, "if you'll stay here."

"I'll stay here till the next steamer—then I'll follow you."

"And do you call that," Chad asked, "accepting my flight?"

"Certainly—it's the only thing to call it. The only way to keep me here, accordingly," Strether explained, "is by staying yourself."

Chad took it in. "All the more that I've really dished you, eh?"

"Dished me?" Strether echoed as inexpressively as possible.

"Why, if she sends out the Pococks it will be that she doesn't trust you; and if she doesn't trust you, that bears upon—well, you know what."

Strether decided after a moment that he did know what, and in consonance with this he spoke. "You see then, all the more, what you owe me."

"Well, if I do see how can I pay?"

"By not deserting me. By standing by me."

"Oh, I say—!" But Chad, as they went downstairs, clapped a firm hand, in the manner of a pledge, upon his shoulder. They descended slowly together and had, in the court of the hotel, some further talk, of which the upshot was that they presently separated. Chad Newsome departed, and Strether, left alone, looked about, superficially, for Waymarsh. But Waymarsh had not yet, it appeared, come down, and our friend finally went out without a sight of him.

XVIII.

At four o'clock that afternoon he had still not seen him, but he was then, as to make up for this, engaged in talk about him with Miss Gostrey. Strether had kept away from home all day, given himself up to the town and to his thoughts, wandered and mused, been at once restless and absorbed—and all with the present climax of a rich little welcome in the Quartier Marbœuf. "Waymarsh has been, 'unbeknown' to me, I'm convinced"—for Miss Gostrey had inquired—"in communication with Woollett: the consequence of which was, last night, the loudest possible call for me."

"Do you mean a letter to bring you home?"

"No—a cable, which I have at this moment in my pocket: a 'Come back by the first ship.'"

Strether's hostess, it might have been made out, just escaped changing color. Reflection arrived but in time and established a provisional serenity. It was perhaps exactly this that enabled her to say with duplicity: "And you're going—?"

"You almost deserve it when you abandon me so."

She shook her head as if this were not worth taking up. "My

absence has helped you—as I've only to look at you to see. It was my calculation, and I'm justified. You're not where you were. And the thing," she smiled, "was for me not to be there either. You can go of yourself."

"Oh, but I feel to-day," he comfortably declared, "that I shall want you yet."

She took him all in again. "Well, I promise you not again to leave you, but it will only be to follow you. You've got your momentum, and you can toddle alone."

He intelligently accepted it. "Yes—I suppose I can toddle. It's the sight of that in fact that has upset Waymarsh. He can bear it—the way I strike him as going—no longer. That's only the climax of his original feeling. He wants me to quit; and he must have written to Woollett that I'm in peril of perdition."

"Ah, good!" she murmured. "But is it only your supposition?"

"I make it out—it explains."

"Then he denies?—or you haven't asked him?"

"I've not had time," Strether said; "I made it out but last night, putting various things together, and I've not been since then face to face with him."

She wondered. "Because you're too disgusted? You can't trust yourself?"

He settled his glasses on his nose. "Do I look in a great rage?"

"You look divine!"

"There's nothing," he went on, "to be angry about. He has done me on the contrary a service."

She made it out. "By bringing things to a head?"

"How well you understand!" he almost groaned. "Waymarsh won't in the least, at any rate, when I have it out with him, deny or extenuate. He has acted from the deepest conviction, with the best conscience, and after wakeful nights. He'll recognize that he's fully responsible, and will consider that he has been highly successful; so that any discussion we may have will bring us quite together again—bridge the dark stream that has kept us so thoroughly apart. We shall have at last, in the consequences of his act, some thing we can definitely talk about."

She was silent a little. "How wonderfully you take it! But you're always wonderful."

He had a pause that matched her own; then he had, with an adequate spirit, a complete admission. "It's quite true. I'm extremely wonderful just now. I dare say in fact I'm quite fantastic, and I shouldn't be at all surprised if I were mad."

"Then tell me!" she earnestly pressed. As he, however, for the time, answered nothing, only returning the look with which she watched him, she presented herself where it was easier to meet her. "What will Mr. Waymarsh exactly have done?"

"Simply have written a letter. One will have been quite enough. He has told them I want looking after."

"And *do* you?"—she was all interest.

"Immensely. And I shall get it."

"By which you mean you don't budge?"

"I don't budge."

"You've cabled?"

"No—I've made Chad do it."

"That you decline to come?"

"That *he* declines. We had it out this morning, and I brought him round. He had come in, before I was down, to tell me he was ready—ready, I mean, to return. And he went off, after ten minutes with me, to say he wouldn't."

Miss Gostrey followed with intensity. "Then you've *stopped* him?"

Strether settled himself afresh in his chair. "I've stopped him. That is for the time. That"—he gave it to her more vividly—"is where I am."

"I see, I see. But where is Mr. Newsome? He was ready," she asked, "to go?"

"All ready."

"And sincerely—believing *you* would be?"

"Perfectly, I think; so that he was amazed to find the hand I had laid on him to pull him over suddenly converted into an engine for keeping him still."

It was an account of the matter Miss Gostrey could weigh. "Does he think the conversion sudden?"

"Well," said Strether, "I'm not altogether sure what he thinks. I'm not sure of anything that concerns him, except that the more I've seen of him the less I've found him what I originally expected. He's obscure, and that's why I'm waiting."

She wondered. "But for what in particular?"

"For the answer to his cable."

"And what was his cable?"

"I don't know," Strether replied; "it was to be, when he left me, according to his own taste. I simply said to him: 'I want to stay, and the only way for me to do so is for *you* to.' That I wanted to stay seemed to interest him, and he acted on that."

Miss Gostrey turned it over. "He wants, then, himself to stay."

"He half wants it. That is he half wants to go. My original appeal has to that extent worked in him. Nevertheless," Strether pursued, "he won't go. Not, at least, so long as I'm here."

"But you can't," his companion suggested, "stay here always. I wish you could."

"By no means. Still, I want to see him a little further. He is not in the least the case I supposed; he's quite another case. And it's as such that he interests me." It was almost as if for his own intelligence that, deliberate and lucid, our friend thus expressed the matter. "I don't want to give him up."

Miss Gostrey but wanted to help his lucidity. She had, however, to be light and tactful. "Up, you mean—a—to his mother?"

"Well, I'm not thinking of his mother now. I'm thinking of the plan of which I was the mouthpiece, which, as soon as we met, I put before him as persuasively as I knew how, and which was drawn up, as it were, in complete ignorance of all that, in this last long period, has been happening to him. It took no account whatever of the impressions I was, here on the spot, immediately to begin to receive from him—impressions of which I feel sure I'm far from having had the last."

Miss Gostrey had a smile of the most genial criticism. "So your idea is—more or less—to stay out of curiosity?"

"Call it what you like! I don't care what it's called—"

"So long as you do stay? Certainly not then. I call it, all the same, immense fun," Maria Gostrey declared; "and to see you work it out will be one of the sensations of my life. It *is* clear you can toddle alone!"

He received this tribute without elation. "I sha'n't be alone when the Pococks have come."

Her eyebrows went up. "The Pococks are coming?"

"That, I mean, is what will happen—and happen as quickly as possible—in consequence of Chad's cable. They'll simply embark. Sarah will come to speak for her mother—with an effect different from *my* muddle."

Miss Gostrey more gravely wondered. "*She* then will take him back?"

"Very possibly—and we shall see. She must at any rate have the chance, and she may be trusted to do all she can."

"And do you *want* that?"

"Of course," said Strether, "I want it. I want to play fair."

But she had lost for a moment the thread. "If it devolves on the Pococks why do you stay?"

"Just to see that I *do* play fair—and a little also, no doubt, that *they* do." Strether was luminous as he had never been. "I came out to find myself in presence of new facts—facts that have kept striking me as less and less met by our old reasons. The matter's perfectly simple. New reasons — reasons as new as the facts themselves—are wanted; and of this our friends at Woollett—Chad's and mine—were at the earliest moment definitely notified. If any are producible Mrs. Pocock will produce them; she'll bring over the whole collection. They'll be," he added with a pensive smile, "a part of the 'fun' you speak of."

She was quite in the current now and floating by his side. "It's Mamie—so far as I've had it from you—who'll be their great card." And then, as his contemplative silence was not a denial, she significantly added: "I think I'm sorry for her."

"I think *I* am!"—and Strether sprang up, moving about a little as her eyes followed him. "But it can't be helped."

"You mean her coming out can't be?"

He explained after another turn what he meant. "The only

way for her not to come is for me to go home—as I believe that, on the spot, I could prevent it. But the difficulty as to that is that if I do go home—"

"I see, I see"—she had easily understood. "Mr. Newsome will do the same, and that's not"—she laughed out now—"to be thought of."

Strether had no laugh; he had only a quiet, comparatively placid look that might have shown him as proof against ridicule. "Strange, isn't it?"

They had, in the matter that so much interested them, come so far as this without sounding another name—to which, however, their present momentary silence was full of a conscious reference. Strether's question was a sufficient implication of the weight it had gained with him during the absence of his hostess; and just for that reason a single gesture from her could pass for him as a vivid answer. Yet he was answered still better when she said in a moment: "Will Mr. Newsome introduce his sister—?"

"To Mme. de Vionnet?" Strether spoke the name at last. "I shall be greatly surprised if he doesn't."

She seemed to gaze at the possibility. "You mean you've thought of it and you're prepared."

"I've thought of it and am prepared."

"*Bon!* You *are* magnificent."

"Well," he answered after a pause and a little wearily, but still standing there before her—"well, that's what, just once in all my dull days, I think I shall like to have been!"

(To be continued.)

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MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S PROPOSALS.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JOHN E. GORST, M.P.

THE Unionist party in Great Britain was lucky in the General Elections of 1895 and 1900. In the former, the amelioration of the condition of the people was put forward as an alternative programme to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. In the latter, which took place in the middle of the Boer War, it was proclaimed that a vote for the opponents of the Government was a vote given to the public enemy. But, since 1895, little has been done to improve the condition of the people, which to those who look below the surface is pregnant with danger; and, since 1900, the glamour of the war has gone; the people are looking about to see what they have gained by it, but perceive only the burdens and difficulties which it has left behind. There is thus an immediate need of a fresh platform for the next election, and it is this which Mr. Chamberlain is endeavoring to supply. His first suggestion was to go for the consolidation of the British Empire by means of a tax on the food of the British people; but his proposals change from day to day, and have now assumed the shape of fiscal retaliation on foreign countries, and especially upon Germany, for their hostile tariffs, with the British Empire and the bread-tax in the background. This declaration of a policy was made by Mr. Cham-

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berlain without previous consultation with his colleagues in the Government; it took them as completely by surprise as it did the British people and the world at large. There is nothing new in either of the proposals, or in any of the arguments by which they are supported. They have frequently been propounded and discussed in Great Britain during the last quarter of a century. The thing that is new is that they should be fathered by a person of such political position and influence, and be put forward as the platform for a great party at a General Election.

Several members of the Cabinet are notoriously opposed to the new policy, but the unity of the Government is preserved for the moment by a pretended inquiry into the whole fiscal system of Great Britain, and an invitation to discussion given to a House of Commons that has been effectually gagged. To inquiry there can be no objection, though it is evident that it should have been held before, and not after, the promulgation of the policy. In all sciences it is necessary now and then to go back to first principles with those unacquainted with the subject. Politicians have long paraded ignorance of political economy as a merit. That they should now desire to inform themselves on the subject is satisfactory. The materials are all ready to hand in official papers, and only require arranging. The object is to ascertain the effect of Free Trade on the industry, commerce, and condition of the British people. That these are subject to other influences, far stronger than those of tariffs, does not seem to be taken into account. It will be difficult to separate the effects caused by taxes from those caused by other influences, and the separation will probably not be attempted. The argument will be conducted on the old logical fallacy of "*post hoc, ergo propter hoc.*" The prosperity of Free Trade countries, like Great Britain, India and Egypt, will be set in competition with that of Protectionist countries, like Germany, France and the United States. Protection cannot in every case prevent prosperity; nor Free Trade, decay.

The original form in which Mr. Chamberlain presented his new policy was, for electoral purposes, ill-judged. Trade preference to the Colonies involved, as he frankly declared, a tax upon the food or raw material coming from foreign countries. A tax on raw material was not to be thought of; it would cripple the industries of Great Britain in a worse manner than hostile tariffs. There remained only food. There would have been plenty of false

prophets quite ready to argue and declare, in defiance of the principles of political economy, that taxation of food does not tend to raise the price of food, and to ignore the fact that, if it did not, no benefit would be conferred on the Colonies. But the ground has been cut from under their feet by the declaration of Mr. Chamberlain that his policy would raise the price of food. He accompanied this, it is true, by the promise that it would also raise wages—an example of how much more powerful, in British politics, audacity of statement is than scientific truth. But a rise in the price of food is the one thing that nobody has ever yet persuaded the British workman to accept. Future promises of better trade, more employment, higher wages, and a great and glorious Colonial Empire would, at an election, be vehemently made by one party, and as vehemently discredited by the other. As to these, the mind of the elector would be in doubt and bewilderment. But the present certainty of increased cost of food will be nakedly before him, reluctantly admitted by one side, pressed on him with all the arts of eloquence by the other. To which will he incline?

To estimate the possibility of persuading the electors to adopt a scheme which involves a tax on food, the true economic condition of the people of the United Kingdom must be taken into consideration. The mass are workers, whose life is a continuous struggle to obtain for themselves and their families food, clothing and shelter. There is a certain sum of money which will purchase enough of these necessaries to secure moderate comfort. This is called "the living wage." It varies in different parts of the country, owing chiefly to variations in the price, not of food or clothing, but of shelter. What proportion of the people fail to obtain this living wage cannot be certainly and accurately determined by any statistics in existence. The best conjecture seems to be that it cannot be less than thirty per cent. These people are half-starving themselves, and are bringing up half-starving families of children. The condition of disease, debility and defective sight and hearing, in the public elementary schools in poorer districts, is appalling. The research of a recent Royal Commission has disclosed that of the children in the public schools of Edinburgh, seventy per cent. are suffering from disease of some kind, more than half from defective vision, nearly half from defective hearing, and thirty per cent. from starvation. The physical deteriora-

tion of the recruits who offer themselves for the army is a subject of increasing concern. There are grounds for at least suspecting a growing degeneracy of the population of the United Kingdom, particularly in the great towns. What will be the effect of a sudden increase in the price of food upon a people in such a condition?

In the first instance, the scale of the minimum wage, that is, the number of shillings required for the maintenance in reasonable comfort of the workman and his family, would be everywhere raised. A number of those who are now above the poverty line would be submerged below it, and those already below it would sink still lower down into deeper distress. Such an augmentation of the present menacing destitution of the mass of the population in the British Isles could not be borne. The people could only be persuaded to accept it by the arts of unscrupulous demagogues; and the actual experience of such a catastrophe would create a revulsion so violent as to threaten the stability of society. But, say the supporters of the Scheme, with a fine disregard of economic principles, a rise in the price of food will raise wages. The proposition is untrue, and no attempt is made to prove the assertion. The struggle for the minimum wage would become fiercer, but not of necessity more successful. Colonial preference would only have even a tendency to raise wages in those industries which became more active and prosperous under such a system. In them the increased wages would have to be fought for. Among the rest of the workmen, the necessity of spending a greater part of their wages on food would diminish the sum available for the purchase of other commodities, and would thus lessen their demand for the product of home industries. This would tend to restrict production in those industries, and to throw workmen out of employment, whose competition in the general labor market would tend to lower instead of to raise wages. But what evidence is there, apart from reckless assertion, that any industries will become more prosperous? It is certain that no self-governing British Colony will abandon the protection of Colonial against British manufactures. Their settled policy is the protection of their infant industries against the competition of other countries. The utmost they will do is to give a preference to Great Britain over foreign countries in supplying those manufactured articles which they cannot supply themselves, and which it is therefore still necessary for

them to import. Such a preference has been given for some years by Canada. The Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, at the Conference of Colonial premiers in 1902, gratefully acknowledged the intention of this proposal, and its sentimental value as a proof of good-will and affection, but its substantial results had, he said, been altogether disappointing to him, and he thought they must have been equally disappointing to its promoters. While the free trade of Canada, upon which no duty is levied, had increased by sixty-seven per cent.; and the general trade, that is, the trade from foreign countries under the general tariff, by sixty-two per cent.; the preferential trade, that is, the trade in articles in which one-third of the duty was remitted to British goods, had increased by fifty-five per cent. only. In the case of textile manufactures, which form more than two-thirds of the total British export to Canada, although the rapid falling off prevailing at the time when preference was instituted was arrested, the increase under preference of imports of textiles into Canada from the United Kingdom was not quite so great as that from other sources.

The market in which the Colonies can handicap foreign countries in favor of Great Britain by discriminating tariffs, is not large. It consists of those imports from foreign countries which British trade could supply, and has been estimated at twenty millions only. The experiment in Canada does not warrant the belief that Great Britain could monopolize the whole of it; but, whatever its value, the portion which she secures is all she is to get in return for the tax on food. Compared with the total British export trade of 350 millions, it is insignificant. But is there nothing on the other side to be lost or jeopardized? The exports of Great Britain to foreign countries are twice as great as those to her own possessions. Is there no danger of this trade being injured? Countries which have hostile tariffs may, by increasing those tariffs, cause a further diminution in the demand in their territories for British manufactures. If wages are raised in any industries in Great Britain as a consequence of Colonial preference, the cost of production will be thereby increased, and the commodities will, in consequence, be handicapped in the competition in the general markets of the world. If an account is taken on both sides, may not the gain in exports to the Colonies be more than balanced by the loss elsewhere? If so, the industries which manufacture for external trade will also suffer; workmen will have to

be discharged; their competition in the general labor market will still further tend to lower wages; and the result of Great Britain's experiment in commercial policy may be a diminution of wages as well as an increase in the price of food.

It was noted by the Premiers, at the Conference of 1892, that the circumstances of the different Colonies differed so widely that no arrangement applicable to all could be devised. To carry out, therefore, the policy of giving commercial preference over foreign nations to the several parts of the British Empire, there would have to be separate bargains with each of the self-governing Colonies, and a revision of the fiscal systems of India and each of the Crown Colonies which have hitherto been administered on Free Trade principles. On the side of the people of the United Kingdom, what these arrangements will cost them is clear enough. They will have to pay a tax in the increased price of their food. Of this, part will find its way into the national exchequer as revenue; part, into the pockets of the farmers and landlords at home, as long as Colonial competition does not drive British food out of the home market; and part into those of the Colonial producers of food. The first part is to provide a fund for old-age pensions. But, as the food-growing capacity of the Colonies is stimulated and developed by the high prices kept up, and as they supply more and more of the food consumed by the people of the United Kingdom, the first part will dwindle away. With it will disappear the fund for old-age pensions. If the dreams of Imperialists be realized and the Empire become self-contained, there will also disappear that great security for the peace of the world involved in the fact that Great Britain is the best customer for the surplus food produced by the United States of America. But, until the Empire does become self-supporting, Great Britain will continue to pay a tax to her Colonies in the shape of an enhanced price of her food. What the people of the United Kingdom are to gain is by no means so clear and certain. It depends on the solution of the difficult economic problems above indicated. Will the export of British manufactures to the Colonies increase? Will that increase more than counterbalance the decrease of such exports to other countries? If both these questions are answered in the affirmative, the producers of certain articles may make increased profits, and the work-people may, as a consequence, obtain increased wages. Whether the possible future gain to certain

members of the community balances the certainty of immediate loss to everybody, is the question which the people, when consulted by a dissolution of Parliament, have to decide.

If the condition of the people of the United Kingdom is such that they are incapable of undertaking the burdens which it is proposed to put upon them, it seems superfluous to discuss the value of the "Consolidation of the Empire," which is to be their reward. They have been willing to fight for it; man is by nature a fighting animal; and war is, while it is going on, generally popular with mankind. But people cannot be expected to endure, in cold blood, hunger for a cause which they do not understand. The Colonies are at present united to the Mother Country by the closest bonds, though bonds of sentiment only. They have a common sovereign, who in no way interferes with their political freedom, a common origin, a common literature, a common language. Numbers of their citizens are united by common ties of family relationship. They are as free to make their own laws, to raise their own revenues, to develop their own ideals, as if they were independent states. Their commerce is secured, and their territories protected against invasion by the fleet of the Mother Country, to which they make only such contribution as they think fit. Their loyalty is unquestioned. Their sympathy with the Mother Country and their readiness to come to her aid in time of war have, on many recent occasions, been practically exemplified. Why should not Great Britain be satisfied with this real and useful, though informal, union; why should she risk the snapping of the bond in an attempt to draw it closer? Several conferences have recently been held between the representatives of Great Britain and her self-governing Colonies. No suggestions of closer political union have come from the Colonies. Proposals for a military confederation were, happily for Great Britain herself, rejected. The Colonies were unwilling even to contribute a proportionate share of the cost of the Imperial Navy. Canada could not undertake to contribute at all. It is true that the self-governing Colonies have asked for commercial preference, and have intimated that no preference will be of advantage to them but one in the importation into Great Britain of food or raw material. No one can blame the Colonies for asking for that which is obviously for their interest. But neither can they blame the Mother Country for declining a burden she is unable to bear.

Nobody dreams now of taxing Colonies or Dependencies for the benefit of the Mother Country; they, on their side, must not dream of taxing the Mother Country.

It is not at all certain that the bonds of commercial contracts would conduce to a more stable union between Great Britain and her Colonies. Each party to a customs arrangement might conceive itself to be getting the worse of the bargain. Yet, if the step were once taken, neither party could break loose without risk of offending the other. Great Britain might find herself hampered in negotiations with other states. Colonies might have to forego advantageous offers, such, for instance, as the United States might any day make to Canada. The policy might result in division rather than consolidation.

But it has already become pretty clear that the taxation of food, for the purpose of consolidating the Empire, will not do as an election cry. Electors can be stirred up to fight, but it is hard to persuade them to hunger. Taxation of Food has thus retired into the background, and is kept out of sight as much as possible, and Retaliation has come to the front. Great Britain is, by the imposition of new customs duties, to punish foreign countries, and especially Germany, for their hostile tariffs. She is by the same expedient to prevent retaliation on the Colonies for any commercial preference they may accord to Great Britain; and, in the process, she will incidentally protect British industries. Such a cry is not unlikely to be popular. A war of tariffs furnishes a mild joy, of the same character as the fiercer joy of a war of bloodshed. Nations are not so altruistic as to rejoice in the progress and prosperity of their neighbors, especially when accompanied by an alleged diminution of their own. Germany is specially obnoxious to the commercial and industrial classes of Great Britain. So long as Mr. Chamberlain's supporters are only required to express a pious opinion in favor of retaliation in general, and employ themselves in an inquiry into our fiscal system without pledging themselves to any specific scheme, he will be at the head of a sanguine and united party. It is when a definite plan is promulgated, and the commodities to be taxed are specifically set forth, that difficulties will begin.

Nobody has yet succeeded in suggesting a retaliatory tax that would not hurt the retaliator more than the country to be punished. Great Britain's imports of German manufactures, which are

less than half the exports of British manufactures to Germany, consist largely of half-finished articles, which are the "raw material" of finishing industries in Great Britain. It is the trade in these half-finished products that has most injured corresponding industries in Great Britain. The production of a schedule of those articles made in Germany, which it was proposed to subject to a prohibitory import duty, would be a death-blow to the entire policy of retaliation. The manufactured article of one industry would prove to be the raw material of another. Great Britain is free at this moment to denounce her commercial treaties, and to embark on a war of tariffs, with all her commercial competitors. Nothing but the unwisdom of such a course restrains her. There have been times in recent history when the whole British people was inclined to retaliation. Such a crisis occurred after the denunciation of the French Treaty negotiated by Mr. Cobden. But a sober examination of the position showed that there was no commodity imported from France the taxation of which would seriously injure French trade, or have any further economic effect than to cause inconvenience and expense to certain classes in the United Kingdom. The idea was then reluctantly given up. At the present moment, the success of Germany in certain branches of manufacture, and the alleged consequent decay of some British industries, have given rise to a similar sentiment. German success from a British point of view is to be regretted; but the failure of Great Britain cannot be cured by so simple a method as a prohibitory import duty on these excellent German manufactures. That would at most protect the inferior British article in the British market, not in the markets of the world. The technical education of a more skilful class of workmen, and the employment by the capitalist of more scientific methods, furnish the slower, but only effective, way of restoring the supremacy of British industry. In the world's competition, victory will belong to that nation which breeds the strongest and cleverest workers, and applies to its industries the best scientific methods. Let those who think otherwise, and believe that so coarse and brutal a method as a tax can confer ascendency, announce explicitly upon what commodities the tax is to be imposed.

But it must not be overlooked that this second proposal, which is at the present moment being assiduously and adroitly substituted for the first, raises an entirely different question. It is one

which involves only the interests of British manufacturers, not the consolidation of the Empire at all. Preferential treatment of the Colonies, involving, as it must, a stipulation with them to impose a certain minimum duty on food or raw material imported from foreign countries, would seriously hamper Great Britain in a war of tariffs. She would have deprived herself of the power of reducing, at her own will, the duties on food or raw material below the standard agreed on. She could make no concession that would be of any value to such a country as the United States, without first obtaining the consent of all the Colonies, whose interest it would be to insist on the maintenance of high tariffs. Nor is the adoption of a policy of retaliation either desired by, or of much advantage to, the Colonies. The question was fully considered at the Conference of Colonial Premiers in 1902. Germany had threatened to retaliate upon Canada for her preferential treatment of Great Britain. As the self-governing Colonies have up to the present time been independent fiscal authorities, no complaint can be fairly made against Germany for treating Canada as such in commercial negotiation. But Canada brought under the consideration of the Conference the possibility of the Colonies losing "most favored nation" treatment in foreign countries, in the event of their giving a tariff preference to British goods. It was, however, observed by the Conference that the exports from the Colonies to foreign countries consisted almost exclusively of articles of food or raw materials for various industries, and the possibility of discrimination against them in foreign markets was not regarded as serious. They also observed that the exports from foreign countries to the Colonies were mainly manufactured articles, and it was therefore recognized that, if discrimination did take place, the Colonies had an effective remedy in their own hands. In plain words, they declared themselves quite competent to protect themselves, without the intervention of the Mother Country.

That which will make a policy of retaliation popular at an election is the hope, cherished by every elector, that not only will the insolent foreigner receive a rebuff, not only will the Colonies be safeguarded by the Mother Country from the insolent foreigner's hostile designs, but a little substantial protection will be incidentally conferred upon the particular industry in which he is personally interested. Nothing will entirely dissipate this hope,

except the production of a concrete schedule of the articles which it is proposed to tax. Such a schedule will be carefully withheld until the elections are over. The taxation of manufactured articles from Germany or elsewhere is, however, a small matter, as compared with the greater scheme at the front of which it is for the moment placed. It may disturb a number of minor industries; it will not create a famine or a revolution. The preferential treatment of the Colonies, and the inevitable increase, according to Mr. Chamberlain's own statement, of the price of food, are still in the background. If this proposal is definitely withdrawn, the controversy sinks into one of minor importance. It is only the old idea of Protection, *alias* Fair Trade, *alias* Reciprocity, *alias* Retaliation, which has been continually paraded before the British public for more than a generation. But, if the Colonial preference and the consequent tax on food are persisted in, Great Britain is embarking upon a contest in which her very life is at stake. It is an attempt to place upon the back of the people a burden which they cannot in their present condition bear. If they are deluded by the oracles of false prophets into attempting to undertake it, they will be crushed to the ground.

JOHN E. GORST.

THE PROPOSED BRITISH ZOLLVEREIN.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

To any one acquainted with the supreme indifferentism of the average Briton towards political affairs, outside questions of local import, the wave of excitement which is now passing over the country must afford a certain grim amusement. It is as though the Colonial Secretary had thrown a bomb into the arena of national life, and yet many people have been working long towards such a point as is now reached, and there is nothing absolutely new in what is being termed "the New Fiscal Policy." The secret of this great awakening does not lie in the profound attachment of the British people to Free Trade principles—indeed, of late years, we have heard Protection urged from many quarters; it is due rather to the startling form in which Mr. Chamberlain makes his proposal and to the fact that, oblivious of party tactics. he is prepared to go to the country on this issue alone. Although the attitude of Mr. Chamberlain and his personality are, after all, only incidents in what is really a great epoch in our history, and should not be allowed to bulk too largely in the discussion which is now beginning, a few words may be said on the subject.

The Colonial Secretary has always stood to his fellow Britons, admirers or detractors, as the type of audacious, successful, and not too scrupulous cleverness. He has, moreover, acquired a reputation for backbone which has commended him to men in the Colonial service, who had suffered from the wobbling of previous chiefs, and in the same way to the unconventional and daring Colonials in all quarters, who have no sympathy with kid-glove diplomatists. There is good reason to believe that Mr. Chamberlain counted on this reputation when he took the bit between his teeth and made the announcements which have plunged the whole country into confusion; but his motive for acting as he has done

seems to me to be simpler than is usually supposed. He has so long been credited with Machiavellian designs that even some of his quondam supporters, who condemn his action as a tactical mistake, are casting round for some deep-laid scheme in connection with it. My own belief is, that Mr. Chamberlain has fallen under a spell which all of us who know Greater Britain at first hand must feel, sooner or later. For some time, his connection with Colonial affairs had been modifying his views on many matters; but a visit, even a brief one, to the "illimitable veldt" came as a vivifying flash to his brain. The change of focus in his views, of which he spoke in one of his speeches, is a thing many of us have felt. Downing Street ceased to be the centre of the universe and became a mere dot on the horizon of empire. Those of us who have breathed this wider atmosphere can appreciate the difference it made to a man ripe with experience of Colonial affairs, able to read into the whole the spirit of a single part. We see, therefore, no longer the taciturn, adroit, successful party leader, but the statesman with a great idea, ready to stake all on a single throw; for there can be no doubt that on this issue will depend Mr. Chamberlain's future career.

It is not my desire in discussing the proposals to pronounce summarily on any of the points of view from which the economic side of the question has been set forth. Up to the present, there has been no very convincing pronouncement, and it will be, I think, more satisfactory at the present stage to clear away some of the tangled undergrowth which seems to have sprung up so plentifully as to obscure the essential points at issue.

It is obviously necessary for any one who wishes to arrive at a clear understanding of the proposals to put on one side all considerations of party. This, under our Parliamentary system, is a practical impossibility for those actively engaged in party warfare; but there is no reason why the nation at large should not view the question entirely on its merits, since it is not a party measure at all and, whichever way it may be decided, must result in a great deal of reconstruction in party organization. The next essential is the realization that this is not a matter which can be settled by appeal to classical authorities. Any argument based on the decisions of fifty years ago is so open to objections as to be useless. A glance at the discussions which have already taken place in Parliament, on the platform and in the press shows that

the "classical authorities," such as Adam Smith or Ricardo, can be quoted with relevance on both sides. The principle of Free Trade is incontrovertible, but it has not acted in the way in which its early dogmatists predicted, and their hypotheses, therefore, fall to the ground or afford material for "heretics." It is a significant fact that the followers of Cobden have always chosen to call those who dissent from them "heretics." Cobden himself spoke of pushing his idea by introducing into it "a religious and moral import." Now, Great Britain has always been noted for its distaste for dogma, and we need not be frightened because a self-constituted hierarchy accuses us of being, in fact, Protestants. The burden of proof, to my mind, lies not with the dissenters but with the orthodox, who have to show, first, the infallibility of their prophets and, secondly, the practical application of their creed to the altered conditions of the world. We are waiting for this pronouncement on the part of the Cobdenites; so far they have educed only one argument—the prosperity of the country under Free Trade.

By "prosperity" is meant, presumably, the increase of trade and national wealth, and the consequent rise in the general standard of living. No one can deny these, but it has to be remembered that almost simultaneously with the repeal of the corn laws, in 1846, and the adoption of Free Trade principles came the utilization of steam for mechanical purposes and the immense impetus to inventions, industries, and communications given by the "Great Exhibition" in 1851. All these things, which wrought a revolution, must receive their due share of credit for the increasing prosperity of the Empire. We must also remember that, in speaking of the Empire as flourishing under Free Trade, many people leave out of account the fact that the United Kingdom alone has been a free-trader. We are not and have never been a Free Trade Empire; nor have our Colonies been built up on a Free Trade basis.

Free Trade in the United Kingdom was a stage in our historical development, just as necessary and beneficial as the Commonwealth period, but no more essentially permanent. "The spirit of Britain," wrote Herman Merivale, "is volatile, not fixed." We are pledged to nothing save to act in the way most consonant with our interests in the year 1903.

Party considerations and ancient shibboleths are, however, but

ripples on the surface, compared with the deep waters of the real question. Commercial people as we are, we should not find ourselves shaken to the inmost fibre of our being by the proposal of a change in our fiscal policy, were it not for the belief that the future of the Empire is bound up with it. Mr. Chamberlain puts the matter on this ground. "Do something to unify the Empire," he says, "or be content to lose the Colonies, and with them the dream of Empire." The "something" proposed is a reconsideration of our fiscal policy, and it must be noted that, granted the necessity for unification, we have absolutely no other practical proposal for attaining it. Many of us believed that the union might have been attained by a system of Imperial defence, which must be an integral part of any scheme for the future. This has been urged with great force, not only by the Colonial Secretary, but by some able Colonials themselves, though without success; and, although a strong supporter of the scheme, I have come to the conclusion that it is impracticable at present. The arguments used by Colonials against the adoption at present of a system of Imperial defence are certainly plausible. In answer to the statement that the Mother Country bears practically the whole burden, which must increase year by year to keep pace with the growing interests of empire and the ambitions of other Powers, they assert that, even were the defence of Colonial interests left altogether out of the question, Great Britain could not decrease her navy by one ship. Then, they can see no way of sharing the burden save by taxation, and taxation without representation is contrary to all the principles of Anglo-Saxondom. These are but two of the arguments used; and a still more cogent one is that of an actual lack of means, not unusual in young communities occupied with the opening up of new countries and its attendant expense. It must be remarked, however, that it is not the amount of their contribution which we are anxious to secure, but an acknowledgment of the principle, and this they sturdily refuse. At the bottom, however, is always the subtle consciousness that the interests of the Mother Country are not identical with those of her offspring. That is the crux of the question. It is to create this common identity of interests that we must address ourselves.

There are two arguments which, so far, seem to be the principal weapons in the hands of the Free Trade party.

First, the Empire is prosperous internally and externally, and

does not need unification; and, second, even if it does, the proposed change will not help to unify it.

The first point takes many of us rather by surprise. We have heard so much of late years which made us gloomy as to our present condition. The newspapers and reviews, month by month, have given voice to dismal warnings about the drifting away of our Colonies, the decline of our prestige in foreign countries, the inefficiency of every branch of our public service, the decline of our industries, the depopulation of country districts, the overcrowding and disease of cities, the degeneration of the race; indeed, every side of our national, social, and economic existence has been painted in the blackest colors. We now hear a more flattering tale; but it comes with less conviction when we remember the recent conversion of its principal exponents. Britain, we are told, was never so prosperous; the proportionate rise in prosperity of other Powers only serves to show the superiority of our own country. We hear no more of trade depression, the decay of industries or the flooding of the country by foreign goods. It is true that the inevitable reaction after war has put us all in specially good spirits, but this wholesale optimism does not seem quite justified while so many disquieting social and economic problems remain unsolved. Even Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in exalting the horn of Free Trade, could not avoid the admission that, of our forty millions, twelve are living on the edge of starvation.

It is not my purpose to attempt to hold the balance between these extremes; but I must point out that there is nothing in our present condition to make us feel confident that we have reached the height of national prosperity in its true sense. This is a point at which comparisons are usually drawn with the internal conditions of the United States and Germany; but we are told that the comparison is misleading, because of the difference of conditions between a scattered empire and one whose constituent parts are contiguous to each other. This is the argument used when people point to the prosperity of those countries; but the Free-Traders are willing to permit the analogy when it is to the advantage of the free-trading, as opposed to the protectionist, working-class. I am inclined to think the analogy is one which may now be profitably dropped out of the discussion altogether. The data for forming conclusions are insufficient, and the opinions expressed are almost all biassed. Germany, as a unified empire, has pros-

pered as a nation, though it is possible that her individual workers have not. The same may be true of the United States, though that is contrary to a general impression. In both cases, however, the countries are free-traders within their borders, and only protectionist as regards foreigners—a contrary state of affairs to our own, in which we have partial protection both within and without the borders of the Empire.

Our internal condition will have, of course, a strong influence in deciding the question. The electoral power lies largely in the hands of the working-man, and Demos is king in monarchical England. It must be conceded that there are many aspects in our internal condition which must give rise to misgivings, but if the working-man is satisfied with Free Trade he will be the last to change it. It may be said that it is characteristic of the working classes that they are never satisfied, and that is true; but, though we may deplore it we must allow that it has its roots in the law of human progress. On the whole it cannot be denied that our working classes have made strides in mental development; no one can look back fifty years and deny that. Their tendency, however, is strongly protectionist. The very vitality of trades-unions, of socialism, lies in the principle of protection, and we may therefore expect a large measure of support for Mr. Chamberlain from the industrial centres. Manufacturers in Britain have also a protectionist bias, most of them having suffered from foreign competition. Agriculturalists to a great extent share the belief, ignorant perhaps, but founded on a bitter experience, that Free Trade has ruined them. It is impossible to enter into these different phases, but the general conclusion seems to be that, when he goes to the country, there will be a large party to back the Colonial Secretary from self-interest, apart from those who are touched by the wider Imperial view of the question.

To turn now to the wider view, the relations of the Mother-Country with the external parts of the Empire. This is a subject which can best be considered under two heads,—the practical and the sentimental.

Sir Robert Giffen, whose testimony bears more weight because he has hitherto been a confirmed Free-Trader, says that the Empire is not on a good business basis. He points out that the condition which allows foreign nations to deal separately with each fiscal unit of the Empire has an injurious effect on the minds

of Colonials and foreigners alike. In short, he allows that the Empire is commercially disintegrated and, for that reason, is unable to formulate policies for its own advantage. We can go a good deal farther than this and say that, undoubted as are the prerogatives of the Imperial Government as regards foreign relations, treaties, peace and war, and though all the responsibility rests with it, the Colonies reserve absolute freedom of action in all contingencies, and would refuse to be bound by any arrangement which did not appear to them to be advantageous. This being the case in practical matters, we fall back upon the bond of sentiment which is being largely invoked at the present moment. That there is a great deal of Imperial sentiment in the Colonies, I should be the last to deny. There are hundreds of people in the oversea dominions to whom their connection with the Mother Country is dearer than life, and it is not for nothing that so many of our oversea kindred call this little island "home." Community of language, religion, customs, fashions, and many other points are strong ties, though, be it remarked, some of these are equally strong in the case of the United States. Aside from these sentimental considerations, we have the fact that, in giving Free Trade to the Colonies, the United Kingdom is doing far more than any foreign country will do for them in the event of separation. And yet, despite a strong conviction both here and overseas that separation would be bad policy for the Colonies, as well as a tearing of sentimental bonds, there is a strong general impression that the Empire is lacking in cohesion—to put the matter plainly, that we may break up. Whence does this impression come?

First, from the attitude of the Colonies towards Imperial defence, which has already been discussed—our Empire is not on a sound defensive basis. Secondly, from the anomalies and discrepancies in our fiscal system—our Empire is not on a sound commercial basis. Thirdly, on the general ground that the attitude of the Colonies as a whole towards us is no more satisfactory than was our attitude towards them some twenty years back. We have lately seen a wave of Imperialism in which the Colonies have received, perhaps, more recognition and laudation than was necessary; but it is not long since our foremost statesman called them "millstones about our neck," and under the circumstances we must not be surprised at an element of suspicion in the way our overtures are received. There are several points in their attitude

which we should like to see modified, for instance in the matter of Australian emigration; but first we want to prove how genuine is our Imperialism, and that we are prepared to make sacrifices, if necessary, for the welfare of the Empire as a whole.

We must now turn, despite unavoidable *lacunae* in the argument, to the second reason against a change of fiscal policy.

Supposing the Empire to be in need of unification, say the objectors, the measure proposed will only tend to disintegrate it still further. The most obvious answer to this is, that at present we have no definite scheme, only a demand for inquiry, and that, if it be granted that the Empire falls in any way short of our ideal, we are perfectly justified in demanding a full inquiry. But this is more or less of a quibble, since most of us are rapidly making up our minds as to what direction any change must take. The Zollverein has met with no support in the Colonies, and it is conceivable that the ideal of Free Trade within the Empire would work out badly in connection with young and struggling communities at long distances from the parent. The ideal need not be abandoned, however, and in its most perfect form it can well be expanded into an Anglo-Saxon commercial union, which would bind all the people who speak the English tongue, and be the greatest Power the world has ever seen. It is therefore in the direction of preferences that public opinion is tending. The premise of Free-Traders that, to give such preferences to the Colonies would be fatal to the Empire, is based on various grounds.

First, they say, the bonus to the Colonies would be too small to materially increase their purchasing power, and the bonus they would give us in return would be infinitesimal. Second, the foreign trade of the Colonies is so small that the displacement of it would be of comparatively little advantage to us; in fact, to sum up the arguments, founded entirely on figures of the actual existing conditions of trade, there would be no visible advantage in these mutual preferences. Added to this is the contention that the United Kingdom would be called upon to make appreciable sacrifices in order to obtain these nominal advantages. They also point out that, were the preferential treatment to prove successful and the Empire to become more or less self-sustaining, the revenue for social reforms, which are promised as a compensation for sacrifices, would disappear. One of our ablest publicists speaks of the reversion to "the old 'plantation theory,' only reversed, the

Mother Country to be exploited instead of the Colonies." This embodies in epigrammatic form the fears of many who would disclaim the epithet of Little Englanders, but whose arguments smack strangely of that school.

The most powerful answer to these arguments, which find their focus in the oft-repeated fact that we should sacrifice forty millions at home for ten millions overseas, is that we look very shortly for a great alteration in the proportion of those figures. It is the *potentialities* of the Colonies which must decide this question, and no student of American history can fail to appreciate what those potentialities are. To the contention that the successful working of preferential tariffs would defeat its own ends, as far as increase of revenue is concerned, we can reply that this may well be the case, but that on the contrary we look to a great increase of our taxable area and a decrease in the burden of defence, if not to improved industrial conditions. As for the sacrifices we shall be called upon to make, these resolve themselves on the whole into one great question—that of food supplies. Duties on imported food are allowed to be the *clou* of the situation. Mr. Chamberlain opened his proposals with the announcement that he should probably have to ask the British workman to pay more for his bread, and therein he showed himself the skilful Parliamentary hand, for he, partially at all events, took the wind out of the sails of his opponents. Mr. Chamberlain is not an economist, and in dealing with this side of the question he does not seem to feel his feet on very safe ground. There is no doubt that the cry of "dear bread" will be used for all it is worth in the election, but it is a notable fact that over this point there is considerable disagreement among the economists. It is pointed out that bread did not fall in price for twenty years after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and there are other circumstances which make the operation of Free Trade in the matter somewhat obscure. It is less my desire to discuss the economic issues than to focus attention on the conditions which make inquiry absolutely necessary.

The question of the cost of food rests on other things besides the free importation of corn. It is obvious that, to secure a steady permanent supply, we should spread our area of supply as widely as possible. This we are not doing; we are drawing more and more from the United States, and she is rapidly reaching the period of diminished returns. Great as are her corn-producing

areas, she will, at the present rate of increase in the urban population, be obliged shortly to limit her exports in order to supply the home market. A second disquieting circumstance is the possibility of a corn famine caused by war, for we are dependent for our food on foreign sources. In any case we see no reason to believe that the present rates will continue indefinitely; rather that, with the growth of industrialism all over the world, food prices must rise. If under present conditions we saw any prospect of a corresponding increase in our industrial prosperity, we might regard this with indifference, but it seems obvious that we have reached the high-water mark of industrial success, and owe our position very largely to the fact that we had a long start over other nations. But the idea of a self-sustaining empire precludes all possibility of failure of our sources of supply, for we have in Canada alone unlimited resources. It is estimated that well within ten years she could produce enough wheat to supply all the needs of the United Kingdom, and the tide of emigration has set towards her shores and will soon make the development of her vast resources possible.

Would the bestowal of a preference on Canadian wheat stimulate the development of that country? Canada thinks it would, and very few of us have any real doubts on the point; and with a vast increase of our trade with her would come an era of prosperity for Canadian farmers, a still stronger current of emigration from the old country, and a renewal of the bonds both of commercial interest and of sentiment. I can only note here one phase of Colonial unification, nor can I enter deeply into this side of the subject. The granting of preferential tariffs I regard as merely the first step towards federation, which would lead inevitably to common defence and representation. The means for securing these should not take the form of driving a bargain, but the strengthening of a powerful bond of common interest. To my mind the onus of proof lies with those who say that this step towards commercial unity would disintegrate instead of federating the Empire.

There is, of course, a half-expressed thought in the minds of many of the opponents of the new proposals. Even if—a very big "if"—we lose the self-governing Colonies, what will it matter? We shall still be an Empire, with India, the Crown Colonies, our world-wide trade and our unrivalled navy. It is difficult for me

to enter into the spirit of this contention, perhaps because I have lived so much on the fringes of our Empire, and have always felt myself integrally a part of the whole, that I cannot imagine Britain as a more successful Spain, a richer Holland. And I look to our oversea dominions as the nurseries of our race, as the heritage of our children, who will, I think, be immeasurably the losers if the fate which drives them from this overcrowded island forbids them to live in white man's countries under the British flag. I have purposely refrained as much as possible from quoting "authorities" from the desire to present the case from an unbiassed point of view. I must, however, conclude with a passage from a speech of Lord Salisbury's, in 1889, feeling that the reproach of "Jingo" cannot be hurled at him:

"If we have been able to maintain at one time an almost fabulous prosperity . . . it is because we have been the centre of a splendid empire and a converging trade. . . . If you once allow our imperial strength to fall, if you once allow our imperial fabric to be shattered . . . then, depend upon it, your imperial power will vanish like a dream. In every part of the world your weakness will be known, your great dependencies, on which your strength rests, will learn the lesson that it taught them, and you will be left to meditate in fear, in affliction, in destitution, and under the loss of all the commercial and economic advantages by which this country has been distinguished, on the folly of neglecting the truth that commercial greatness depends on imperial strength."

To the consideration of this momentous question, Lord Salisbury continued, we must bring "minds not biassed by the reflections of the past. We have to deal with a different state of things, with a different set of problems, in respect of which names, political connections and traditions of parties will help us very little."

For this reason, and because I am convinced that we need a new policy to revivify our Empire, a new bond to bind it closer, and a new spirit to animate the whole British people, overseas and at home, I welcome Mr. Chamberlain's proposal. In the inquiry which has already begun we shall take stock of our Empire, we shall learn how we really stand and what our possibilities are. We do not want to live in a fool's paradise. We want, all of us, home-born and Colonial-born, to learn our true position and to take our places accordingly.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S IMPERIAL TARIFF PLAN.

BY HENRY LOOMIS NELSON, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN has been a dramatic personage in English politics since the time when he was the efficient socialistic Mayor of Birmingham until now, when he is the central figure of Mr. Balfour's Imperial Conservative government. He has attracted the attention which he has seemed to court, but there is, nevertheless, a serious question as to his value to the state. He improved Birmingham physically; has he also bettered the British Empire? He has left to it the legacy of the Boer war; he is striving to unite the Empire commercially for political purposes. Will he accomplish his purpose, and would his theory make for good?

Like all of Mr. Chamberlain's political policies, there is a twisted thread in his plan to found Imperial patriotism upon a market, which, in turn, is to rest upon a false economic basis. Men are not patriotic for economic reasons, for patriotism is a sentiment which cannot be bred merely by pecuniary gains. It is true that nations may possibly come to fight for the retention of a profitable market, but experience teaches us that impassioned love of country has not yet been fired by the prospective loss of a preferential tariff, and it is probable that Mr. Chamberlain will find, if his efforts come to any conclusion at all, that nations are not built up on his commercial plan.

The British Empire is as shambling a political institution as was the Anglo-Saxon monarchy; it may need unifying, but Mr. Chamberlain's device to accomplish this end lacks the essential grace of spirituality.

In short, the theory which he has advanced and which Mr. Balfour has supported in a rather hesitating way, is wholly political and not of economic value.

Three different plans have been outlined, as Mr. Armitage-Smith points out in "The Free Trade movement and its Results," for a trade-union between the Mother Country and the Colonies. It is naturally of Canada that we think and write when we mention the Colonies, and when Mr. Chamberlain's proposition is discussed, for Canada is not only the greatest of Great Britain's largest self-governing Colonies, but is our nearest neighbor and by far our best American customer. Mr. Chamberlain's projected union would include all of the British Colonies, but Canada is the Colony in which we are chiefly interested. The three plans are as follows: the first is, that the Colonies should adopt the British policy of Free Trade, which would be for the benefit of the people of the Colonies, and, for a time at least, to the especial advantage of the English manufacturers; the second plan is, that Great Britain and all her Colonies should raise a protective wall against the outside world, and establish Free Trade between the Colonies themselves, and between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and this would make the British Empire the largest free-trading community in the world, as the United States is at present; the third, or Mr. Chamberlain's present proposal, is, that England and her Colonies should give to one another a trade preference, the Colonies to England by reducing their rates of duty on merchandise imported from England, and England to the Colonies by imposing duties on goods taken there from foreign countries.

In passing, it is to be pointed out that this is a scheme which not only must excite international trade conflict, but which will sharpen the wits of exporters to England and to her Colonies, and must invite efforts to defeat the preferential tariffs which, if successful, will be at least detrimental to the Colonies.

The scheme is confessedly political. The British Empire hangs together loosely. England's successful Colonies are in reality great self-governing countries, which reap an enormous advantage from the maintenance of the bond with the Mother Country. They are thereby relieved of much of the cost of maintaining armies and navies, while the Mother Country has no power to demand the services of their men for the preservation of her life. No doubt there is loyalty manifested toward the Empire by Colonials, but it is the sentiment of a limited number, and even in the Boer war, the Home Country was disappointed in its manifestation.

Mr. Chamberlain desires to create and foster Imperial patriotism in the Colonies, and it is to accomplish this purpose that he proposes mutual trade advantages for certain classes in England and for certain other classes in the Dependencies. The Colonies which have had charge of their own affairs have heretofore shown a marked independence of the Home Country. When they have established their tariff duties for the protection of their home industries, they have not excepted England from their operations. The wall has been raised against the manufacturers and exporters of the Free-Trade mother, as it has been raised against the products of the protectionist United States. It has seemed wise in the eyes of the Colonial statesmen that the manufacturers who are their constituents should be protected from the competition of the manufacturers of England. Mr. Chamberlain now suggests that the English market for Canadian agricultural products, for example, be enlarged at the expense of the farmers and manufacturers of the United States; that, in turn, English manufactures shall be admitted into Canada more cheaply; and that, furthermore, the Canadians shall become more enthusiastic Imperialists and contribute more generously, or feel like contributing more generously, to Imperial defence.

It is this last consideration which weighs most heavily in Mr. Chamberlain's mind, and therefore is it that his plan is political rather than economic.

It would be easy to show, as an economic suggestion, that Mr. Chamberlain bases his hopes upon a fallacy. It is very doubtful if he could stimulate the spirit of patriotism by any trade arrangements, but probably he could enormously increase the prosperity of the Colonies by inducing them to adopt, not his present proposition, but the proposition to establish mutual Free Trade for all countries ruled by the British government. A policy looking to the fostering of mutual love and affection by means of protection and the consequent restraint of trade, is, however, as an economic proposition, an absurd dream. It is for us, of the United States, however, to consider the possible effect which the adoption of this policy would have upon us, and upon our commerce.

It does not follow, because this policy would be of doubtful value to the people whose patriotism is intended to be stimulated by it, that it would have no effect upon the industry and commerce of this country.

The truth is that, as a nation of producers, we are deeply concerned in Canada; that our trade relations with the Dominion are not what they should be, and that they constitute a subject for serious consideration.

Mr. Chamberlain proposes to give to Canada a better market for its products than the Dominion now enjoys. At the present time the Canadian producer of wheat, of cheese, of meat products, meets the producer of the United States as a competitor in the English markets, while the American manufacturer is handicapped in the Dominion. Mr. Chamberlain's plan is to lighten this competition in agricultural products to the advantage of the Canadian, and to help the English manufacturer in Canada. Even if a preferential tariff were granted to the Canadian producer, it does not necessarily follow that he will greatly injure us in our market, although it is probable that he will. Some years ago, this country tried the experiment and made a treaty with Brazil by means of which we obtained preferential rates of duty on some of our manufactured articles over the rates charged on the goods of other countries. The device did not help us. Great Britain continued to manufacture cotton cloths, for example, which the Brazilians liked better than they liked our goods, and, therefore, Great Britain continued to hold the trade notwithstanding our supposed advantages under the treaty. But, supposing that the device does succeed, as it well may, for conditions that made our device a failure do not prevail here, and that the British consumer buys Canadian wheat and flour and Canadian cheese and bacon, because they are cheaper than like products from the United States, while the English manufacturer increases his trade with Canada. Do we want Canada to become more and more alienated from us; do we deem it wise that she should be more and more strongly tempted to trade with other people than her neighbor? Since the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with Canada, we have been building higher and higher our wall against her farms, and Canada has been looking for a market elsewhere, and offering her market to England. In order to tempt concessions from England, the Laurier government has made tariff preferences to English producers.

Meanwhile, our export trade to the Canadian market has been growing enormously, for the Dominion is our natural customer and market, while our interest demands that the trade

advantages should be liberal. In 1902, as in the years before, we were the largest exporter to Canada, but the second importer from Canada. In 1902, the value of our exports to the Dominion amounted to $120,815,000, while that of the exports of Great Britain thither aggregated only $49,206,000. Great Britain, however, purchased from Canada products to the amount of $117,320,000, while we followed with purchases valued at $71,198,000, more than $1,000,000 less than our imports from Canada in 1901. The Dominion is growing rapidly, and its market is therefore becoming more and more valuable. In 1871, its population was only 3,635,024. In 1901, it was 5,371,315. This population is a little more than one to the square mile, while the population of this country is nearly 27 to the square mile. A comparatively small part of Canada's acreage is in cultivation. In a word, it has enormous opportunities for growth, and, of recent years, its growth has been both large and healthful. The kind of immigrant who is now going to Canada is of advantage to the country. The Dominion is receiving the energetic people of the Northern races, and chief among those who are seeking homes there are people from the United States. In 1898, the number of immigrants to Canada from the United States about equalled the number which went there from England. Since then, the United States immigrants have exceeded those of England, Ireland, and Scotland combined. In 1902, out of a total of arrivals numbering 64,634, the United States sent 24,000 and Great Britain 17,000. The remainder, a little more than 23,000, went from the Continent of Europe. These new settlers in 1902 obtained 2,250,000 acres of free land.

Since 1868, the imports of merchandise by the Dominion for home consumption have increased in value from $67,090,000 to $196,480,000, and, during the same time, the exports have increased from $45,527,000 to $172,611,000. When we compare the population of Canada with the value of its foreign commerce, we appreciate the enormous quantity of the latter. While the population of the United States is thirteen times greater than that of Canada, our imports are less than five times and our exports less than eight times as valuable.

The Government of the United States is now called upon to consider what our future relations should be with the second most important country in America, our largest American customer.

Not only, indeed, is Canada this, but, in some respects, it is our most valuable customer in the world. It has been the fashion for more than twenty years to dream and to talk much of our future trade relations with the American countries south of us, but the trade between this country and Canada is the most important to us on the continent, and is now, in many important articles more valuable than our trade with the whole of the Continent of South America, combined with that of Mexico, and with that of the West Indies.

Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, if adopted, would probably build up the agricultural interests of Canada, and make our northern neighbor a more important rival than it has yet been in the largest foreign market which our own farmers possess. It is estimated that the twenty per cent. which Canada furnished of the total amount of food supplies imported by Great Britain in 1902, can be increased to eighty per cent., and this is quite within the range of probability, as we will see, when we consider that Canada has actually more unoccupied agricultural lands than we possess.

If the food supplies which we export to Great Britain were to be made dearer to the importer or to the consumer than the food supplies sent from Canada, our exports would naturally decrease, provided that the supply from Canada proportionately increased. This, however, would not be wholly the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's device. If importers paid for breadstuffs produced in the United States the price paid for Canadian products minus the English tariff tax, the American farmer would suffer directly in pocket. He would then pay the tariff tax, or part of it, out of his own pocket. In view, however, of the present English demand for foreign food products, the price of United States breadstuffs would be increased to the consumer. This increase would carry up the price of the Canadian products, in which event the British citizen would find his food more expensive than it has been.

The chances of the British corn factor for profits would be greatly increased by a tariff tax imposed on wheat from the United States, Russia, the Argentine, and other foreign countries, and the bread of England would cost more. The prospects for the Canadian farmer would, however, be brightened, for the simple reason that the demand for his products would be increased if he could

keep up the supply. The British consumer would, of course, be obliged to put his hand in his pocket in aid of Mr. Chamberlain's political design, but what is more important to us is, that the gains of the Canadian farmer would be at our expense, and at the expense of that class of our population upon which the burdens of our tariff now weigh most heavily. There is no reason to oppose the enrichment of the Canadian farmer. On the contrary, the richer he grows the better for us, provided we change our trade relations with him and make them more natural, make them, for example, like our own inter-State relations. We ought, however, to do everything in our power to prevent the growing prosperity of Canada from operating to our injury, and we can accomplish this only by aiding that prosperity through exchanging free markets with her.

In this way, we would not only help Canada, but we would help ourselves as well in a variety of ways, not only industrially and commercially, but by the promotion of a neighborly feeling which has been sadly lacking for many years.

If we insist upon shutting Canada out of our markets,—and the statistics of our imports from the Dominion show our success in this respect—we invite the trade war with which Mr. Chamberlain threatens us. As matters stand, the Canadian is to be prospered, and whether this is to be at the expense of the British consumer as well as of the farmer of the United States is not in point. By leaving our tariff as it is, so far as Canada is concerned, we would make it possible for the Chamberlain policy to increase the riches of the Canadian farmer, to make of Canada a better market, and, then, to give the primacy in that market to the British manufacturer.

Mr. Chamberlain proposes to increase the ability of the Canadian to buy, and to offer him for his money English-made goods at prices lower than those which he would pay for United States goods. This result he expects to accomplish by imposing a tariff tax upon goods going from this country to Canada higher than the tax imposed upon English goods. If the United States manufacturer meets this effort by underselling his English competitor in Canadian markets, he will strike a serious blow at the whole fabric of protection. He will increase the hostile feeling against him due to the fact that he has long undersold the foreigner in his own market, thereby making United States protected

products cheaper to the foreign consumer than they are to the home consumer.

Indeed, in underselling the preferred English manufacturer in the Canadian market, under the Chamberlain Imperial policy, our own protected manufacturer would not only discredit his assertion that his cost of production demands for him tariff protection, but would prove his ability not only to undersell English competitors when on even terms with them, but to pay the preferential Canadian duty into the bargain.

The fact is, as is shown by recently compiled statistics, that Canada's very propinquity makes her our customer, and that if our tariff should enable us to increase our purchases from her, the sales of our manufactures in the Dominion must keep step with growing Canadian prosperity. Already, notwithstanding our comparatively small purchases from her, Canada is the largest buyer in the world of our agricultural implements, and her imports of farm machinery from this country are annually increasing; she is the largest buyer in the world of our books and other publications; she takes of us about as many colored cottons as are bought by the United Kingdom, and comes, therefore, in importance in this trade close behind China and three or four tropical countries. She takes more uncolored cotton cloth than does the United Kingdom; she is a very large purchaser of our cord and twine, and of our manufactures of iron and steel. It is thoroughly well known that if we should enter into reciprocal tariff relations with her, Canada would depend upon the United States for most of her imports of manufactured articles. For several years, as is indicated by the statistics concerning immigration already given, the interests of individuals of the United States in Canada have been growing more intimate. This indication becomes certainty when we examine the interests held by citizens of this country in Canadian lands, in mines and in forests, and in Canadian industrial enterprises. A like story may be told of the interests of Canadians in the United States. On each side of the border, there is a strong feeling for closer commercial relations between the two countries, and this is as should be expected, for free trade between the two is as natural, and would be as beneficent, as is free trade between Ohio and Pennsylvania, or between New York and Louisiana or Texas. Mr. Chamberlain proposes to take advantage, for political purposes, of an artificial

trade condition which we have built up, and this advantage is likely to be at the expense of the English consumer, and of the United States farmer and manufacturer. The power rests with us to protect the American farmer from artificial and injurious competition in England, to enlarge the market for American manufactures, and, at the same time, to promote those friendly international relations which make directly for the increase of civilization, and which would do more for the welfare of humanity than could possibly be accomplished by Mr. Chamberlain's proposed employment of a tariff war against the outside world for the purchase of fighting loyalty for the British Empire.

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON.

RESULTS OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

BY WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

THE most pressing economical needs of Germany are new commercial treaties. In that respect the result of the German general elections, held on June 16th and 25th, has met the expectations of the Imperial government.

Bismarck's immediate successor, General Count von Caprivi, in consonance with the Kaiser's own ideas, broke with the outspokenly protective and agrarian tariff policy of the Empire, and in lieu thereof substituted the present system, which may roughly be described as a protective system tempered by reciprocal regard for the interests of those Powers with which the new chancellor concluded special commercial treaties. Since the treaties for which Caprivi was responsible went into effect, Germany has taken rank as a great commercial and exporting country. When that bluff soldier-chancellor went to the Kaiser with the news that the Reichstag had just ratified the series of ten-year commercial agreements with Russia, Austria, Italy, Roumania, Argentina, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and some other countries, that monarch was so impressed with the importance of this step that he embraced the gruff old general, conferred on him on the spot the highest Prussian decoration, the Black Eagle, created him a Count of the Empire, and said: "That is a real saving deed!" And subsequent events have borne him out. A few figures, taken from German official sources, tell the story best.

Between 1892 and 1900, Germany's exports rose from 3,150 million marks to 4,752 millions, and her imports from 4,227 millions to 6,043 millions. Trade with several of the treaty countries more than doubled, and the volume of trade increased remarkably with every one of them. At the same time, exports and imports to the other countries—including both those with

which previous treaties had been made and those with which no specific agreement of any kind was in force—did not suffer; on the contrary, they, too, showed a rising tendency, especially in the case of England and the United States. It is safe to draw the conclusion, that the new tariff system was responsible for the rapid yet steady increase in the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the young Empire.

Now, these ten-year treaties expire, nearly all of them, on December 31st, 1903. Not one has so far been renewed. The older treaty with England did expire some time ago, owing to Chamberlain's initiative, who in 1897 took the first tentative steps in that policy of inter-Imperial reciprocity which he has lately made the corner-stone of his personal ambition. He gave notice to Germany of the termination of the existing treaty, and no new one has taken the place of it, although, as a *modus vivendi,* the terms of the old one are still adhered to on both sides, with the notable exception that they do not apply to the trade between Germany and Canada. With the United States, the old treaty of 1828, originally made with Prussia and the Hanseatic Republics, is still in force.

For several years past, however, Germany has been, commercially speaking, in an unsettled condition. This has, in part, been owing to other causes, such as inflation and overspeculation; but it has also been largely due to the widespread doubt of the German commercial classes as to the Imperial government's ability to renew the commercial treaties on anything like as favorable terms and for as long a time as were provided by the old ones, and to the lack of confidence and security engendered thereby. For such doubts there seemed ample ground. The last Reichstag, elected for the period 1898-1903, fell during the last two years of its existence completely under the domination of Agrarian principles. It may be well to explain here that the Agrarian Party, so called, is really no political party in the ordinary sense, but rather is formed of the adherents of several factions in the Reichstag, the Prussian Diet and the legislative chambers of other German states; on other questions they differ widely, and they vote and act as a unit only on that one question of adequate protection to the agricultural products of the Empire. In the national parliament, the Reichstag, the followers of Agrarianism are made up of the members of the Conservative faction, of the Centre (or Ultramontane Catholic) party, and of the right wing

of the National Liberals, and together they were a majority in that body. There is, however, a separate Agrarian organization within Germany, called the Husbandry Federation (or *Bund der Landwirthe*); this organization represented extreme Agrarian views, and in certain rural districts managed to elect to the Reichstag a few of its officers and spokesmen. Once in the Reichstag, this handful of ultra-Agrarians—Baron Wangenheim, Hahn, Rösicke, Oertel, Lucke—by the violence of their language, by their uncompromising attitude, by their unmeasured demands, and by their skilful tactics, contrived to attain a degree of importance far out of proportion to their actual strength. They made their allies, the Conservatives, Centrists and National Liberals, believe that they represented in their mode of thinking a much more considerable part of the rural electorate than was really the case, and they thus succeeded in imposing their will on the rest of the Agrarian army in the Reichstag, the "Moderates." They organized a system of terrorizing the great body of the last-named section, both in the Reichstag proper and in the Prussian Diet and outside of it. A subsidized press, laboring in the service of these ultra-Agrarians, was particularly active in inculcating their doctrine. Not alone that, however. These Agrarian fire-eaters, small in number though they really were, by their strategy also completely misled the Imperial government itself, including Count von Bülow, the Chancellor, giving him a wholly erroneous and exaggerated notion of their influence with the great body of rural voters. Under these conditions, the Imperial government, honestly believing that their excessive demands for protective duties on every kind of agricultural produce really represented the wishes of the great bulk of the soil-cultivating classes, framed a new tariff bill. This was high enough, imposing, for instance, duties on cereals of from thirty to fifty dollars a ton. But it was not high enough to suit these Agrarian "ultras." Under their fiery rhetoric, the Agrarian majority of the Reichstag greatly modified the original bill, increasing the rate of duties on foodstuffs, making them in part prohibitive, and rendering the provisions of the bill much more stringent. In that shape, the bill became a law not long ago.

The point of this new tariff law was largely and avowedly aimed at the United States, the intention being to greatly curtail or, if feasible, entirely do away with those American imports

in cereals, meats, lards, bacon, ham, sausage, petroleum, etc., which together had for years reached the German market to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars, and which in large measure formed the staple nutriment of the laboring classes. However, before the law could go into effect, certain formalities had to be complied with; and so it happens that it has not yet been enforced.

And then came the election. These Reichstag elections in Germany occur but every five years, and one of the disadvantages of this system, as may be incidentally gathered from the conditions described above, is that the fluctuations in public opinion remain more or less a sealed book during this interval of a lustrum. The Socialists and the Liberals made "bread usury" their slogan. At the polls, the rural electors emphatically repudiated these ultra-Agrarian leaders, and this notwithstanding the fact that the latter had stood for those constituencies in the Empire which seemed the most likely to succumb to their reasoning, and which appeared the most completely under their sway. They were defeated outright, every one of them, and not a single extreme Agrarian leader will make his appearance in the new Reichstag. Thus an incubus has been removed from Germany which, for several years, had come near to strangling her young industries and involving her in a fierce and pitiless tariff war with all her neighbors and customers. The way is now clear for the government to pursue its original purpose without let or hindrance, to conclude new commercial treaties in lieu of expiring ones. The rule of the Agrarian majority is broken. The composition of the new Reichstag is as follows: Centre, 102; Socialists, 81; Conservatives, 52; Free Conservatives, 19; National Liberals, 51; Richter Radicals, 21; Barth Radicals, 9; South German Radicals, 6; Poles, 16; Alsatians, 9; Anti-Semites, 9; Husbandry Federation and Peasants' League, 7; Guelphs, 3; Danes, 1; Independents, 11.

The Agrarians in it are to be reckoned thus: Conservatives, 71; Right Wing of Centre, 62; Husbandry Federation and Peasants' League, 7; Anti-Semites, 9; Guelphs and Alsatians, 12; Poles, 16; Independents, 5; and scattering, 5—total, 187. Of these, however, a small number, probably about 15, may be won over by the government for commercial treaties.

The majority in favor of the government's commercial treaty

policy consists of: Socialists, 81; National Liberals, 51; Radicals, 36; Left Wing of Centre, 40; and Independents and scattering, 2—total, 210.

There being in all 397 members in the Reichstag, the Pro-Treaty delegates have a narrow, but still working, majority of 23.

One feature deserves particular mention. The Socialist body of 81 (an increase of 25 over 1898) is the largest in the make-up of the Pro-Treaty party. Without them, the government could not carry this series of important measures which are to vouchsafe a recrudescence of Germany's young industrial prosperity. German politics present many curious features, but none so strange as this. For the Socialist party has been antagonized mercilessly by the Kaiser ever since his accession to the throne fifteen years ago, and he has repeatedly applied to its followers the strongest possible language. He called them once: "A horde of men unworthy to bear the name of Germans"; and in hundreds of his public utterances he has branded them the enemy of the Empire above all others. And now the irony of fate has decreed that the Socialists are to be the mainstay of the government, in that part of its policy which is to be of most far-reaching import.

This does not mean, however, that the Socialists in Germany have advanced to the dignity of a government party. It so happens that this commercial treaty part of the government programme meets the convictions and requirements of the Socialist masses, inasmuch as these treaties will furnish steady employment, at living wages, to the millions of industrial toilers, the latter being none other than the bulk of the Socialist party. In working for themselves, the Socialists incidentally and unavoidably work also for the German manufacturers and exporters, and at the same time for the nation at large, whose well-being is bound up in their own. It is not the first time that the Socialist programme has redounded to the best interests of the country and of the government, a government which spurns them. The situation was similar in 1891-94, when Count Caprivi inaugurated the commercial treaty policy and forced his measures through the Reichstag. He was able to do this only with the assistance of the Socialists, who numbered then about two score in that body, for the Conservatives and the other Agrarians opposed his policy most vigorously.

On most other measures which the German government will

present to the Reichstag during the coming four years, such, for instance, as bills for the maintenance or enlargement of army and navy, and of the whole administrative apparatus, the Socialists will be in the opposition ranks, as they have been in the past. On that class of measures, in fact, and on nearly all which are meant to strengthen and perpetuate the present monarchic and class system in the Empire, the government will find its support in those who oppose its tariff policy—the Conservatives, Centre, etc.; and a sufficient number of the Liberals and Independents can always be won over on every bill of that character to pass it.

This is one of the anomalies of German internal politics. It is the system which Bismarck once described to the writer as involving constant annoyance and anxiety to him during his long régime. There is in the strict sense no such thing as parliamentary government in Germany. There is no hard-and-fast government majority, whence measures originate and which represent the dominant trend of public opinion. It is a constant "see-saw"—now one party forming the majority on a bill, now another; the government meanwhile remaining as immovable as the polar star, no matter what the national parliament does or refuses to do.

For the service the Socialists are going to perform for the Empire, they will, of course, receive no thanks from either Kaiser or cabinet; no more than they did ten years ago for a similar service. And yet the position of their party within Germany is a much more powerful one than it was then. Their strength at the polls has been doubled since 1893. They represent three million voters, or three-eighths of the total vote cast. They have captured every Reichstag constituency in Berlin and its suburbs, save one, and that one they missed very narrowly. Their candidates triumphed in the three districts of Hamburg, in the two each of Breslau, Dresden, Leipzig, Munich. They represent, wholly or in large part, nearly every other populous and industrial centre in the Empire, like Königsberg, Kiel, Dantzic, Stuttgart, Magdeburg, Mayence, Frankfort on the Main, Barmen, Chemnitz, Stettin, Erfurt, Nuremberg, Weimar, Bremen, Lübeck, Altona, etc. Every one of the 23 election districts of the Kingdom of Saxony elected a Socialist delegate. They have demonstrated surprising strength even in the very strongholds of Catholic clerical power and in the rural Agrarian districts.

The Reichstag election districts were laid out thirty-one years ago, in conformity with the census of 1871. At that time, the rural population outnumbered the urban by sixty per cent. To-day, the urban population far outstrips the rural one. The cities have since grown enormously, while the country districts have either remained stationary or have actually lost in population. Berlin would now be entitled to eighteen seats in the Reichstag, instead of six, if redistricted according to the last official census of 1900, Hamburg and Leipzig to six and five, respectively, instead of three and two; and so on in proportion. It is precisely in these large industrial centres that the Socialists are strongest. Yet no redistricting has been ordered all this time, although the Socialist delegates have often taunted the government with the fact, and although the Radical and Liberal leaders, whose party representation likewise suffers in consequence, have formally demanded it as their right. Kaiser and government turn a deaf ear to this plaint. At any rate, by their vote of to-day, the Socialists would be entitled to about 160 seats out of the 397 in the Reichstag, instead of their 81. But, even under existing, very unfair, conditions, it was only by consolidating and voting jointly against the Socialist candidates, that the other parties in many districts snatched victory out of the jaws of defeat.

Nevertheless, as before hinted, the Socialists will remain emphatically a non-government party, and they will exert, during the Reichstag quinquennial period of 1903-08, no more influence over the internal or foreign relations of the Empire, than they have during the term just closed. This, it is not necessary to point out, is an unhealthy political condition. When the feelings and aspirations of almost one-half of the entire population are completely submerged and ignored, nay, directly and studiously antagonized, when their spokesmen, editors, and other representatives are sent to jail on every technical chance that presents itself, the political and social development of a nation cannot proceed normally.

Such, however, are the facts. We need not look, therefore, for any important alteration in Germany's foreign policy, and we may expect no modification in her internal policy except such as the exigencies in each individual case will render absolutely unavoidable. As a sop to the Socialists and to the whole laboring class the existing legislation on compulsory old age and injury insurance, invalid pensions, etc., will probably be enlarged. On

the other hand, it may be expected that all the reactionary elements in the Empire, during the coming five years, will bend their efforts towards some legislation intended to take away the general franchise, the "secret, unrestricted and cowardly ballot," as a Conservative spokesman stigmatized that institution.

For the ensuing twelvemonth and more, however, it will tax the combined skill of Kaiser and Chancellor, Count von Bülow, to the utmost to effect new commercial treaties. That task will consume the larger part of the government's energies, and other issues, unless they be weighty and admit of no delay in their adjustment, will be shelved.

There are some persons who think it likely that the Kaiser, now that the nation over which he rules has itself answered his bitter invectives and his wholesale abuse of Socialists by depositing nearly a million more ballots in favor of the latter than was done five short years ago, will turn over a new leaf. He assuredly has done this on other matters and occasions. In fact, it would be hard to name an important foreign or domestic issue on which he has not changed his mind during his reign. He is, too, open-minded on many topics and does not hesitate to publicly proclaim modifications in his faith and views. But I deem it very improbable that Wilhelm II. will change his mind about the Socialists—as yet. There is too much venom in his soul against the Socialists, venom which has been gathering, drop by drop, since 1888. He is a good hater, this Kaiser, and a rather vain and, one might almost say, conceited person, and the Socialists have hurt his feelings too often to be so soon forgiven. Still, fate is stronger than he. Not long ago, while in Copenhagen, he conversed for an hour with the Socialist mayor of that town, whom he had met at that extraordinary little Danish court—a guest there like himself. Perhaps circumstances ere long will compel him to abandon his illogical attitude towards that party whose men shape, despite all he can do, the destinies of the nation in no small degree.

But be that as it may, to conclude and ratify commercial treaties is the most urgent matter for Kaiser and cabinet just now. Of most importance in the list of these prospective treaties are those with this country, with England, with Russia, and with Austria. In each instance, the case is somewhat complicated. The commercial treaty with the United States is the old one of 1828, which concedes to both parties the rights of most-favored nations.

On both sides, though, complaint has been made that this provision has been violated again and again, not only temporarily but permanently—that is, on treaties or similar agreements concluded with other countries, or in the interpretation of tariff laws and regulations. There has been some cause given for this on either side. On the part of Germany, however, much dissatisfaction has been expressed at these conditions for years, and the wish has been insistently presented of concluding a new treaty with this country, one more in consonance with present-day requirements. The Washington government has given, years ago, adhesion in principle to this desire, and preliminary negotiations for a new treaty have been under way, both in Berlin and in Washington, for years. Owing to various causes, nothing tangible has come of this so far. One of the chief reasons which led to the appointment of so young a man as Baron Speck von Sternburg to the responsible post of German ambassador in Washington was his thorough familiarity with tariff relations existing between the two countries, and it is expected that an earnest mutual effort will now be made to conclude a new treaty between the United States and Germany. One of the main points Germany insists on is to obtain better terms for her big beet-sugar exports to this country than have been conceded to her hitherto. With the present temper of Congress, however, the work of framing a treaty which will be deemed acceptable to our interests will be an arduous one.

With England, the case is still more involved. She and her colonies have been all along Germany's most valued customer. For a number of years past, Anglo-German imports and exports have about balanced, with 200 million dollars each, to which figure trade with the British colonies has added another annual 50 or 60 million dollars. The treaty between the two countries, though, expired some time ago, notice of its termination being given at the instance of Mr. Chamberlain. No new treaty has taken its place, but the validity of the terms of the old one, saving in some particulars, is temporarily conceded on both sides from year to year, as a makeshift, of course. Meanwhile a German-Canadian tariff war broke out, owing to Canada's giving England a preferential tariff, discriminating in favor of the latter to the extent of 33 1-3 per cent., and against which Germany—under her construction of terms of the old treaty—first protested and

then took retaliatory steps. Trouble of a similar kind seems to be brewing in both South Africa and New Zealand. Of late, Mr. Chamberlain's proposed radical changes in British tariff policy have further muddled the situation, so that it is difficult to predict anything as to the ultimate outcome of the Anglo-German negotiations for a new treaty. Probably, the present precarious conditions will continue until the tariff situation in England shall have cleared.

Germany's chances in the case of Russia are distinctly brighter. For Russia has notified her neighbor of a perfect willingness to renew the existing treaty on the present terms. Under them, however, Russia has sold Germany almost twice as much as she has bought — sending rye, oats and other cereals, hemp, flax, tar, cordage, petroleum and other rawstuffs, and cattle, horses, linseed-oil, timber, and taking German dyestuffs and chemicals, machinery, dry-goods, woollens and cloths, in exchange. In Russia the competition of American manufacturers is being greatly felt of late; and, on the other hand, the German agricultural producers deem present tariff terms with Russia too favorable to the latter. If Russia could get decided concessions on her petroleum in the German market, she would agree on her part to favor German manufacturers.

With Austria and Italy, though political allies, tariff conditions are not so favorable to German interests at present as they were a decade ago. In Austria, the manufacturers have suffered greatly from German imports, while the Hungarian cereal exports to Germany have shrunk, owing to American competition. In Italy, the recent political and tariff readjustment with France has made the former less dependent on exports to Germany. But, nevertheless, Germany's existing commercial treaties with these countries will probably be renewed, substantially on the old terms.

Then, there are treaties to be renewed with Holland—the best *per capita* consumer of her goods Germany has—Belgium, Switzerland, Roumania, Argentina, and some less important countries. The whole task thus devolving upon the statesmanship of Count von Bülow and his men is one demanding much tact and skill; and, until it is completed, it will be Germany's cue to foster as much as in her lies international peace and universal prosperity.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

AN OLD STORY.*

A ROUMANIAN FOLK SONG.

BY R. H. STODDARD.

If I could only have known
I might not suffer so;
But I was only a woman,
And how was I to know?

It is woman's fate to love,
And where she loves to believe;
Till she learns too soon and too late,
How lightly men deceive.

I was young, young, and alone,
And fond and fair to see;
But I opened my heart to a man
Who shut his heart to me!

When that which is coming shall come,
At noonday, or midnight, or morn,
He will not be by my bedside,
Nor care when his child is born!

Should I say to the child—, "Thou art born!"
Before its small voice cried,
It would answer in pitiful looks,
"It were better I had died!"

* This poem was written by Mr. Stoddard at a date which cannot now be accurately determined. In October, 1897, Stoddard, whose health was then failing, dictated it to Mr. Henry Edward Rood, who at that time was associated with him in work of literary criticism, telling Mr. Rood to publish it or withhold it from publication, as he deemed best, after Stoddard's life was ended.

Much better. So die, child, die!
  This world is no place for thee;
And since thou art mine, poor thing,
  No longer the place for me!

Show me the road to the churchyard,
  For surely the dead will be,
Once I am there, more kind
  Than the living are to me.

And whether I come alone,
  Or with a child at my breast,
They will let me lie among them,
  And share their lasting rest!

R. H. STODDARD.

ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM H. CARTER, U.S.A.

Among many adventures which have fallen to the lot of the army since the declaration of war with Spain, none seems more strange than that American regiments were found lined up as allies with British regiments in far-away China. In an expedition composed of representatives of many nations, it was but natural that the English-speaking troops should fraternize; yet, judged by the occurrences of the century which followed the Declaration of Independence, it would not have been surprising if the reverse had been the case. Nevertheless, there was genuine satisfaction in this country in the knowledge that American and Briton stood, self-respectingly, shoulder to shoulder in that heterogeneous army.

"Blood is thicker than water" is a sentiment which has been so often repeated of late, that it may not be unprofitable to consider why it should have been necessary ever to invoke the aid of such a catch-phrase to awaken and cement the ties of friendship between Americans and Englishmen. Descended, as were most of the early colonists, from long lines of British ancestry, it is hardly possible that all ties of kinship would have been forgotten by the colonists by reason of any of the real or imaginary grievances which brought on the conflict for independence.

It is not intended to discuss the idiotic policy which forced the American colonies to annul their political allegiance to the Mother Country; but it may be worth while to point out some of the causes which led to an estrangement so bitter that, for nearly a century, the school histories intended for American children were considered as entirely justified in encouraging everlasting distrust and bitterness concerning Great Britain.

There was much to cause irritation and a sense of injustice in many of the laws of the Mother Country, as applied by officers

and agents far from the source of power. American manhood, having resented attempted oppression by force of arms, and having won out in fair fight, would have extended the hand of honest friendship to England, if there had not been deep scars seared in the hearts of the colonists and unhealed wounds re-opened at every opportunity through a long course of years.

Intelligent Americans knew full well the hell which follows in the wake of war. Many of the colonists had served with British troops, and a conflict with these troops meant to the colonists only that honorable fight which might have been expected to be waged between men of the same blood. Had the war been fought out on fair lines, there would have been no more estrangement between Englishmen and Americans than exists to-day between men of the North and men of the South, who, for four long years, engaged in that battle royal which decided the fate of the Union.

Americans bore no special ill will to the Hessians; but the contempt which all freemen have for the hireling naturally manifested itself on occasions. For the ruler who sold their services, and for the British kindred who authorized and paid the hire of the mercenaries, there was engendered a scorn and hatred which children for half a century absorbed with their mother's milk.

Not satisfied with this act of folly, the evil counsellors of George III. continued to embitter the colonists through the infamous policy of using Indians to harass and murder those of their own English blood, scattered in the sparse settlements of the border land. Thus there was implanted in the breasts of Americans a feeling of deep resentment against the men from the Mother Country who did the bidding of their ill-advised rulers. Here and there, instances of British manhood cropped out to show that all sense of fairness had not departed from the gallant regiments which had been sent to crush the Revolution; but, what with prison ships, Hessians and Indians, the minds of the colonists were gradually closed to the belief that any generosity or consideration was obtainable, except at the point of the bayonet.

Common school histories of the events of an hundred years ago contain accounts of all the well-known actions of the period. An incident, not so commonly known, may be fairly cited to show the state of mind of the average British officer, and the contempt in which he held his American cousins. There was a gallant young gentleman from Prince George County, Maryland, Otho

Holland Williams, by name, who, by virtue of his education and soldierly ability, so commended himself to his superiors that he was rapidly advanced to the grade of Major of Riflemen while yet a mere boy. He was wounded in the groin during the attack on Fort Washington, and was captured by Hessians. While in prison in New York, he was exchanged for a young officer of the British service, Major Ackland. The two gallant young officers became warm friends. On one occasion, after dining with the Acklands, Major Williams was invited by the host to accompany him to an assembly, the fashionable ball of the period. Major Williams was treated with such contemptuous scorn, that Major Ackland boldly said: "Come, Williams, this society is too ill-bred for you and me; let us go home."

After returning to England, Major Ackland attended a mess dinner at which the courage of Americans was questioned. Ackland defended Americans, and, in the heat of argument, gave the lie direct to Lieutenant Lloyd, who challenged him. In the duel which followed, Major Ackland was shot in the head and killed. Major Williams survived the war, and for many years filled high public office in Baltimore. This incident is related in an old work published in Philadelphia and London, the general character of which justifies the belief as to its accuracy.

Tarleton was a brave, young cavalry officer, of high spirit and great enterprise. His methods of waging war caused him to be feared and cordially hated by the colonists; yet he would have been singled out for promotion in any modern army because of his excellent service. Time has mellowed the asperities of feeling engendered by conflict, and Tarleton's delightful military memoirs have won for him many admirers amongst American officers of to-day. He waged real war with his troopers, and a right gallant enemy he proved.

Coming along down the years, British officials did little to ameliorate the bitter feeling which had been left along the trails of suffering during the Revolution; and, when the States could no longer tolerate the humiliation to which they were subjected, the War of 1812 was accepted as a last resort. It is not intended to go into the historical details of this epoch; for, even though the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, joined the army in person on the northern frontier, there were few features of the operations on land to which Americans can point with much soldierly pride.

Some incidents of this struggle show that British sentiment had not changed in the lapse of the thirty-odd years which followed the Revolution. Before news of the declaration of war could reach Fort Michilimackinac, the small American garrison, consisting of fifty-seven officers and men, was surrounded by a British force of one thousand and twenty-one, more than seven hundred of whom were Indians. The garrison was coolly informed that, if a single gun was fired in honorable defence, all would be massacred by the savages, and in his report the commander of the British forces said: "It was a fortunate circumstance the fort capitulated without firing a single gun, for, had they done so, I firmly believe not a soul would have been saved."

When the tide of war on the northern frontier had changed in our favor, no less a personage than General William H. Harrison addressed a letter, under date of November 3rd, 1813, to Major-General Vincent of the British Army, commenting upon General Proctor's conduct in sending a young subaltern, under flag of truce, to ask humane treatment for prisoners and the restoration of private property and papers, after having subjected his American prisoners to "all the indignities and deprivations which human nature is capable of supporting." After reciting numerous instances of barbarity, perpetrated by parties coming directly from the British camps and returning to them with plunder and such prisoners as were not murdered, General Harrison says:

"To retaliate, then, upon the subjects of the King would have been justifiable by the laws of war and the usages of the most civilized nations. To do so has been amply in my power, nor have instruments of vengeance been wanting. . . . You are a soldier, sir, and, as I sincerely believe, possess all the honorable sentiments which ought always to be found in men who follow the profession of arms. Use, then, I pray you, your authority and influence to stop that dreadful effusion of innocent blood which proceeds from the employment of those savage monsters, whose aid (as must now be discovered) is so little to be depended upon when it is most wanted, and which can have so trifling an effect upon the issue of the war. The effect of their barbarities will not be confined to the present generation. Ages yet to come will feel the deep-rooted hatred and enmity which they must produce between the two nations."

This excerpt is but a fragment of the long communication from this distinguished soldier and citizen.

In conveying, by flag of truce, his courteous acknowledgment, General Vincent said:

"Believe me, sir, I deprecate, as strongly as yourself, the perpetration of acts of cruelty committed under any pretext; and shall lament equally with yourself that any state of things should produce them. No efforts of mine will be ever wanting to diminish the evils of a state of warfare, as far as may be consistent with the duties which are due to my King and country."

But, nevertheless, the savages were continued in service under the British flag.

A British proclamation, under date of August 22nd, 1814, contains this language:

"Natives of Louisiana! On you the first call is made to assist in liberating, from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil; Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians and British, whether settled, or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you also, I call to aid me in this just cause; the American usurpation in this country must be abolished and the lawful owners put in possession. I am at the head of a large body of Indians, well armed, disciplined and commanded by British officers: . . . rest assured that these brave red men only burn with ardent desire for satisfaction for the wrongs they have suffered from the Americans."

There was not much of martial success to comfort the Americans during most of the period covered by the war of 1812-15, but the result of Pakenham's defeat at New Orleans, after the war had been officially closed, took away some of the sore feeling left by a succession of military blunders. Matters drifted along, but with a feeling amongst Americans always that they could expect neither friendship nor justice from British officials. Several years after the close of the war of 1812-15, the depredations of the Seminole Indians of Florida became so annoying that General Jackson invaded that country, which belonged to Spain, and having captured two British subjects, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, he caused them to be tried by court-martial for inciting Indians to murder American settlers. Arbuthnot was hung and Ambrister shot. The adjustment of the Nova Scotia boundary was prolific of crimination and recrimination as far back as 1838, when Great Britain organized a considerable force of Canadian militia and quietly increased the garrison of British regulars in Canada to about 20,000 men before communicating to the American govern-

ment the result of a new boundary survey by British commissioners. The northwestern boundary dispute ended in a way which left a sting of bitterness, for "54-40 or fight" had become a slogan of no mean proportions.

The course of trade flowed steadily on during the first half of the century, and the development by Americans of a merchant-marine of first-class proportions naturally made many British ship-owners and public men encourage secession in 1861. Notwithstanding the constant appeals of John Bright and many true-hearted Englishmen, the dullest of Americans soon learned that the weight of British influence was thrown into the balance against the Union. So bitter was the prevailing opinion on this subject, that all that prevented war was the knowledge of President Lincoln and his advisers that to crush secession was a big enough undertaking for one generation.

The adjustment of the Alabama claims smoothed the way somewhat, but did not wholly remove suspicion. The long series of fishery troubles, followed by the slaughter of seals off the Alaska coast, the constant strengthening of the naval base at Esquimault, and the encroachments of the Canadian mounted police along the American boundary as soon as the gold fields in Alaska became valuable, led many intelligent Americans to consider whether arbitration was not reaching the limit of indulgence. A feeling of resentment ran very high amongst Americans in Alaska, and many improbable and absurd stories found ready believers bent on resisting the Canadian authorities. The war with Spain came to occupy public attention and turned away the threatening clouds.

The course of England generally in our war with Spain, the conduct of the British naval contingent at Manila, and the cordial treatment of Americans by Englishmen in all parts of the world have at last turned the tide; and now an international friendship backed by the intelligence and best blood of both nations bids fair to start down the new century in earnest approval of the sentiment that "Blood is thicker than water." God speed the movement which tends to dispel forever the misunderstandings and bitterness of the olden days—misunderstandings and bitterness which should never have continued between nations of the same blood, the same language and the same aspirations for the highest form of liberty.

WILLIAM H. CARTER.

AGGRESSIVE FOREST RESERVATION.

BY JAMES P. KIMBALL.

INCIDENTALLY to the remarkable progress of the cult for the protection of forests, which, as said by Mr. Henry Gannett, has come to be "almost a religion," there has strongly developed at Washington a cult which has for its object progressive sequestration from the public domain of expansive areas, sometimes in units of thousands of square miles, as forest reserves, by the sole authority of the President, under the acts of March 3rd, 1891, and June 4th, 1897. Forest reservation under these acts presents two sides, an obverse and reverse. Only the side represented by the statutes is at all recognized in the East. Apart from their delegation of power to the President, these are vague, specious, general, and mainly declaratory of intent and purpose. The opposite side, represented by administrative rule, from which qualification of law has been omitted, is the side manifested to the West. It is the object of the present writing to indicate briefly the difference between the two sides of forest reservation; the one, altruistic in theory, the other aggressive in practice.

However well-meaning or influential may be most of those who adhere to the principle of forest protection, there are few who are able or sufficiently interested to keep constantly informed of the acts of forest reserve aggrandizement, whether proposed or effected. While the cult holds undisputed sway at Washington, all the material interests affected are local to the Western States, and the alarm which is felt in these States at the enormous occlusion of forest reserves within the public domain finds popular expression nowhere near the seat of the individual power by which these reserves are created. That is feelingly voiced only in the localities affected by them, by a majority or minority of the residents as the case may be—that is, by the persons immediately con-

cerned. The sense of injury felt by such persons often transcends the complacency of those who, in the successful pursuit of the cult, take no thought of local interests which must suffer from the inordinate application of its principles, though exploiting to the utmost all local interests of a different character.

Upon the proclamation of a forest reserve, which cancels all rights of further entry thereupon under the general land laws, land-holders and mine-owners who reside in the reserved region suddenly find themselves in a new and unexpected environment. They are bound hand and foot to strange general rules and special orders, under formal authority of the Secretary of the Interior, but administered primarily by bureau and division officers of the Department of the Interior, through local supervisory officers of several grades, some of whom may be non-resident. No longer a free agent, as an American citizen should be, the settler is called upon to submit his avocation and daily acts to the control of personal authority, exercised without form or force of law. To stand up against this, implies conflict with United States authority, which, though unsupported by specific laws, is not wanting in means for annoyance, sometimes equally effective as an instrument for coercion. In a contest with authority, the settler's only recourse is to a United States District Court, and in most of the Western States such recourse can be had only at a single point, often remote from the settler's residence.

While the dweller within a forest reserve is not absolved from his duties as a citizen of the State in which the reserve is situated, he practically ceases to enjoy benefit from public or county improvements. In the ratio of the depopulation of reserves which, sooner or later, generally follows their creation, county taxes are necessarily increased.

For all vested rights which have been acquired by the settler under the general land laws, payment has been fully made, including the cumulative price of his labor. Security in the enjoyment of these rights is among the prerogatives of the American citizen. Yet, when his property comes to be encompassed by a forest reserve, all that is conceded to him under forest reserve rule is permissive privileges at the will of a Department at Washington. According to the text of the statute, "Settlers are *permitted* to utilize their property under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior."

True, the settler may surrender possession, including all increment of value in buildings, irrigation, fences, or other improvements, in exchange for "lieu selections" of unimproved vacant lands in still unreserved parts of the public domain, wherein desirable selections have come to be few and far between. Whatever the increment, the rate of value per acre of lieu selections can rarely exceed the current negotiable value of Land Office scrip. Accretion to local possessions is no longer practicable. One of the greatest incentives to exertion is, therefore, hopelessly removed. Thousands of worthy settlers within the borders of territory summarily set aside for forest reserves at a stroke of the pen, have elected to abandon an environment which has suddenly become intolerable, and to surrender homes, however well established or even cherished they may have become.

Grazing of sheep is prohibited in most of the reserves. For want of upland pasturage and water for their flocks in dry seasons, resident and near-by wool-growers are suddenly confronted with complete subversion of their occupation. Grazing rights that are preserved to other stockmen are restricted within designated limits for a given number of live stock, which must be counted in and out of reserves on given dates. Timber may be cut for construction or for fuel only by measure, also within prescribed limits. Notwithstanding the precedence over forestry purposes clearly given by the statute to his industry, the mine-owner is cut off from necessary uses for timber, except in small doles, adequate only to purposes of the prospector. Further supplies are far from being assured, even after much circumlocution and suspense in the process of application for them. Timber privileges, which are granted within limits to individuals without cost, are explicitly denied to corporations, legally paradoxical as this may be. In the Cascade Forest Reserve of Oregon, where timber is redundant, important mines and mills have been closed down during the past winter for want of fuel for steam, on the dictum that timber cut on one mineral location cannot be used on another of a group of locations under one and the same ownership. Strict compliance, clinched by signed promises to comply, with all rules and regulations, is made a condition to the granting of a privilege under any one of them.

As a mode of coercion practised by local forest reserve officials where United States courts have not been found on the side of

Department exactions, probably none has proved more effective than successful intimidation of the employed when the attempt at intimidation has been unsuccessful with the employer. Woodcutters or herders, threatened with arrest (their principals, perhaps, having vainly sought arrest in order to initiate legal tests), are not unlikely to take alarm, even in the absence of power to make arrests, and desert their jobs.

The initiatory act in the creation of forest reserves and of additions thereto rests with the President. All further initiative falls to the Secretary of the Interior. For withdrawals by the President, as provided by the statute, are only on recommendation by the Secretary of the Interior. Appeals to the President, through the Department of the Interior, for withdrawals, reach the President only in case of affirmative action. Direct appeals to the President are accordingly referred—presumably unread—to the Department. Negative action on the part of the Department is practically final.

What, presumptively, are the influences brought to bear upon the Executive, tending to the creation of forest reserves? In view of their enormous encroachment upon the resources of at least eleven Western States during the last decade, that is a pertinent question. Before suggesting an answer, it will be proper to note that existing reserves differ widely among themselves, from the luxuriant and redundant forests of the humid belt, as in Washington and Oregon, to the scant and scattered growths of the arid belts on the lower slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Most of them are essentially mountain areas, including culminations of ranges often far above the timber-line.

It will also be well to note the recent advancement of the cult of forest protection as perhaps most strikingly shown by the notable increase of schools of forestry, professorships of forestry in colleges and universities throughout the United States, and also by the number of periodicals devoted to forestry. In a more special way, the growth of the forest reserve cult, tending to aggrandizement of forest reserves, is evidenced by the number of divisions of the administrative departments of the Federal government devoted either to forest protection or to forest reserves. The most active division of the kind is within the organization of the United States Geological Survey, whose three quarto annual volumes, already issued, attest the scientific importance given to

forest reserves by the Interior Department. Another forestry division of the same Department is that of the General Land Office. A third forestry division is within the organization of the Department of Agriculture. The functions of this division are non-administrative, but like most of the divisions in that Department advisory and for the spread of special knowledge. Each division named is at present in charge of a specialist of well-known attainments. All division chiefs act in harmony, at least to the end of forest reserve aggrandizement.

Returning to the question above proposed, it may be remarked that, as the forest reserve is commonly assumed to oppose at present the one more or less effective measure against grazing of sheep on the open ranges, growers of cattle, when at a comfortable distance from reserves, themselves enjoying immunity from grazing prohibitions, as well as benefits from prohibitions against a collateral industry, are found almost to a man on the side of forest reservation. Behind its propagandism thus stands an alert and influential solidarity, which, while seeking its own ends alone, gives local support to efforts primarily extraneous centering first and last at Washington.

Expressions in favor of forest reserve extension may, from some special personal motive, occasionally be heard from resident flock-masters, especially from such as have been crowded by nomadic flocks or by other unscrupulous herding. Even from mines outside the borders of reserves may come appeals for protection from "timber sharks," such as forest reserves unquestionably can give. Such a precedent is apt to be cited by zealous officials in proof of the general acceptability of forest reserves as a public boon, and in refutation of special pleas for withdrawals.

Changes in boundaries of forest reserves from time to time have generally resulted in net increase. No withdrawals have been reported, except to enable a certain county of Washington to resume business, two-thirds of whose area had been turned into a reserve. Withdrawals have been vainly sought by many, under terms of the statute, for the sake of release from the dictation and domination of forest reserve officials, in favor of territory immediately or closely within reservation boundaries and shown to be more valuable for agricultural or mining purposes than for forestry uses. But few if any applications of the kind have ever passed the Department of the Interior.

The area of forest reserves, thirty-five in number, on March the 1st, 1900, as officially stated, was 71,697 square miles, distributed in eleven States west of the 103rd meridian. With the additions of 1902 by President Roosevelt in Wyoming and Montana, the area foots up at present to over 80,000 square miles, an area equal to the combined areas of the New England States together with the area of Maryland.

With the forest reserves of 1891 and 1897, 3,332 square miles in area, the additions of 1902 by President Roosevelt enclose the Yellowstone National Park on all but the western side, constituting an expanse of over 9,000 square miles in Wyoming and some 2,200 in Montana. On the 29th of January, 1903, the President, not yet satisfied with his startling additions of nearly 8,000 square miles to the Yellowstone reserves, was further induced to sign a third proclamation, within eight months, merging the Teton, Absaroka and Yellowstone forest reserves with additional territory of several hundred square miles yet uncomputed, all to be known as the Yellowstone Forest Reserve.

This united area comprises several divisions of the Rocky Mountains, culminating in fields of perpetual snow and glaciers, unfailing sources of powerful streams, which furnish copious irrigation to the Big Horn and Yellowstone basins. From their first settlement these basins, including large expanses of bad lands, fit for nothing else, have been given over to stock-growing, and, incidentally, to wool-growing, the two branches of industry, as divided between cattle and sheep with the wool clip, being of about equal relative importance. Distribution of forests, or rather of more or less timbered areas over such an expanse, is of course most unequal. The resources of both basins in no small part have come from the privilege of grazing stock over vacant surfaces of the public domain, including upland plateaus and untimbered bottoms, in periods of drought. Under forest reserve dispensation, it is now undertaken to curtail this privilege for cattle and horses, and to withdraw it wholly from sheep.

Under the general land laws, it is true, land-holders acquire no extra lateral rights as against the United States. But what are the equities from environment in favor of the settler in the arid belts, where agriculture as an end rather than as a means offers but a precarious and inadequate substitute for stock-raising? To this industry, along with the mining industry, both

so vital to the existing prosperity of the United States, the eastern arid belt owes its wonderful social and material development. While accretions and combinations of capital have resulted in a few acquisitions of areas sufficient to support large herds and flocks within legal fences, the sum of prosperity in stock raising, the initial industry to so many other industries, is to the credit of comparatively small land-holders, who have won titles to home ranches, but whose main dependence is upon surrounding open ranges which otherwise would go to waste, and of which the major part is unfit for improvement or other occupation or uses. Under other conditions, the Great American Desert could never have been reclaimed or mapped into proud commonwealths, the homes of a people second to none in public spirit, thrift and intelligence. No homesteader or settler upon a desert claim can do more by irrigation than provide for winter forage and garden supplies. Access to the open ranges has hitherto proved the great and practically the only incentive to settlement of the great West, and must be recognized as still the basis of its prosperity, in relation to which mining developments, extensive as they are, are clearly of subsidiary importance. Ranges at elevations too high for entry or improvement, but perennially renewed under unfailing precipitation, are not the least part of the vanishing resources still remaining to the stock-grower. Upwards of a thousand square miles of grazing upland, destitute of forest in any measured sense of the term, and mostly above the timber-line, and partly on the outer border, like the Bear-tooth Plateau, have been taken into new reserves now united. Parts of this contiguous territory have been the last resort of stock in times of drought, such as has prevailed during the last few seasons. Neither water supply nor reforestation here comes into question, nor are forestry purposes of importance subserved, except in control of grazing limits and in policing against fires. Whether game protection may be fostered to a small or large degree by thus surrounding the National Park with a rugged margin of over eleven thousand square miles, culminating in an inaccessible mountain barrier, it should be remembered that game protection is no administrative concern of the federal government, beyond the preservation of certain wild animals in the National Park to which the federal government has acquired title by purchase. Even within the National Park, so effectively policed by the United States army, infractions of

game laws are punishable only by the State. That protection of game, however, with other purposes more remote from forestry purposes, has been of moment in considerations at Washington, leading to recent proclamations of reserves, is well known.

That the federal government is actually preparing for the enterprise of game protection on its own account is shown by Senate bill number 6689, favorably reported February 28th, 1903, by the House Committee on Public Lands, authorizing the President to designate areas in the public forest reserves to be set aside for this specific purpose. Views of the minority of the Committee, as expressed by Mr. Mondell, take strong grounds against the measure, than which, says the member from Wyoming, "it would be difficult to conceive of a measure which more contemptuously ignores and insolently disregards the rights and wishes of the people of the States in which the preserves provided for are to be located."

On the same date a favorable report on Senate bill number 7123 was also authorized by the same Committee, giving persons employed on forest reserves, as well as in national parks, power beyond that of United States marshals to make arrests without warrant.

While undoubtedly providing additional means for annoyance and intimidation, such arbitrary power, if ever conferred, can scarcely be legally employed, except at the instance of the Department of Justice in process of criminal prosecution of the kind which several United States courts have refused, on constitutional grounds, to sustain.

In an interview upon the present subject recently given out by the late Governor Richards of Wyoming, it is remarked that:

"The policy now being pursued by President Roosevelt is causing the withdrawal from entry of much of our best lands. It is restricting possibilities of immigration and, if continued, will keep Wyoming and other States similarly situated in the class of arid States. We wish to depart from the class and make Wyoming one of the foremost in agriculture through the operation of the irrigation laws, as it is possible to do. We want to raise agricultural products, not wolves, bear and other game for the purpose of making Wyoming a game preserve for Eastern sportsmen."

Against the same policy and the recent additions to the forest reserves in the State of Wyoming, the present Governor, soon

after assuming office, addressed a formal protest to the Secretary of the Interior in similar spirit.

The plenary power delegated to the President by the act of March 3rd, 1891, for the creation of forest reserves, was restricted by the act of June 4th, 1897, to the "purpose or intent" of provisions for improving and protecting the forest within a reservation, "or for the purpose of securing favorable conditions of water-flows," or for furnishing "a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States," from which purpose or intent was disavowed "inclusion therein of lands more valuable for the mineral therein or for agricultural purposes than for forestry purposes."

Notwithstanding the restrictions like the above, the power of the President has been successfully invoked for vast extensions of forest reserves, already expansive enough for all prescribed forestry purposes. By repeated exercise of this power, supplemented by Departmental authority, domination of the cattle interest over the wool-growing interest was practically secured in a wide section, with the open design, on the part of those most active in invoking such power, of summarily, not impartially, deciding, as far as could be decided, the irrepressible conflict between the two interests. Not only was the enormous reduction of grazing limits in Montana and Wyoming urged upon the President by cattle-growers as a measure for banishment of sheep, but two cattle-growers were appointed to supervise the new reserves.

To what length conflict over distinctive uses of the public ranges may be carried, is witnessed by such lawless deeds as one reported from Thermopolis as late as February 3rd last, when a prominent flock-master was fatally shot through the lungs by a band of masked cattle-men, his camp burned, and two hundred of his flock clubbed to death, the rest being stampeded.

That prohibition of sheep-grazing in the Yellowstone Forest Reserve, imposed on non-residents and immediate and near-by residents alike, was not without excess of zeal in behalf of local cattle-growers, now appears from the fact that, at a mass meeting at Cody on January 31st last, the federal government was petitioned, without dissent, by over a hundred merchants and representative stock-growers, mostly cattle-men, of Big Horn county, to rescind prohibition orders so as to exclude from grazing privileges none but nomadic flocks. It is scarcely to be supposed that

this convention was attended by the masked riders who in another part of the county, three days later, expressed in their own way their view of the equities of the conflict.

By an almost unanimous vote, the National Live Stock Association, in convention at Kansas City, adopted resolutions on January 16th last requesting Congress to authorize the President to appoint a commission to determine the respective rights of resident cattle-men and sheep-men on the public ranges, and to devise the best means to settle amicably the range war. Resolutions were also adopted asking for rescindment of the exclusion order, the transfer of administration of forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture, and protesting against the setting aside of vast tracts for game preserves in the name of forest reserves.

In the year 1901, permits were issued for grazing 1,180,318 sheep in eight of the forest reserves, or 84 per cent. of the limited number. The number grazing without permits is not reported. To settlers living within and immediately adjacent to thirty-three reserves, permits were issued for grazing 277,048 cattle and horses, each horse counting as two head of cattle, or 64 per cent. of the limited number.

So far at least under previous administrations appears to have been borne out the statement of a chief of one of the forestry divisions of the Interior Department, that "the main purpose of the reserves is not exclusion, as is still so often claimed," but that "they merely provide the means and men to give the much-needed care and protection which private enterprise at present could not afford, and probably would be unwilling to furnish for a long time to come." To such profession, *prima facie*, there can be no demur.

That fires are purposely set to the woods by herders of sheep, as is so often charged, is denied by the same authority, who says:

"To charge the sheep-men with the many burns seems hardly fair, since ungrazed portions of a reserve are not without as many burns as the regular ranges. While carelessness in the management of camp-fires, etc., is possible with sheep-herders, as with other persons, it must be granted that their experience, together with their material interests, would naturally check and correct such deficiencies. In addition, it seems proper to state that the experience with fires in the Big Horn Reserve during the summer of 1900 clearly proves that, with a cordial co-operation of sheep-men and rangers, the former furnish a very desirable body to draw from in case of emergencies. Where it requires

from two to four days to fetch men from beyond the limits of the reserve, such assistance from sheep-men may be of the greatest importance. In denying the charges of firing the woods, the sheep-men correctly point out that the closely-fed park lands are less liable to be fired, and that in many cases fires have actually come to an end when reaching closely cropped sheep ranges."

The timbered area of Wyoming is officially estimated at 12,500 square miles, or thirteen per cent. of the area of the State; yet over eleven per cent. of the area of the State is occupied by forest reserves, and over three per cent. by the Yellowstone National Park. Hence it appears that of unwooded area in national reservations, there is included two per cent. of the State area, plus the percentage of the wooded area of the State still left outside of reservations.

As publicly stated by the supervisor of the Yellowstone Forest Reserve, one mountain trail in Wyoming (Boulder Basin) has recently been destroyed by dynamite, in order to facilitate control and surveillance over the passes within the united reserves. That the same will probably be done to the Deer Creek Trail was also announced. Guaranteed as the public is by statute in the right of entering upon forest reservations "for all proper and lawful purposes, including that of prospecting, locating and developing the mineral resources thereof," such indignities upon the public are to be condemned and resented.

The rules and regulations governing forest reserves can not here be discussed. As conceded by the Attorney-General, with reference to them, "Congress can not delegate its legislative power so as to authorize an administrative officer, by the adoption of regulations, to create an offence and prescribe its punishment."

In cases involving criminal prosecution for violation of grazing prohibitions and of timber-cutting restrictions, and of prohibitions not imposed by the general land laws, a demurrer to the criminal information filed by defendants has commonly been sustained in the United States courts, where the plea of "guilty" was not entered—at least in California, Montana, Utah and Washington. How far such an adverse record on constitutional grounds may serve to restrain the Departments concerned from criminal prosecutions under the statutes remains yet to be seen. That prosecutions have ceased in States where judicial decisions have reversed the claims of the Departments is well known.

From a recent decision in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, in California, successful restraint of sheep-grazing seems to open up a prospect of governing forest-reserves by injunction.

Where exactions of forest reserve rule on matters of importance become intolerable, test cases in the United States courts offer the most promising relief, especially in view of numerous decisions against them. But even such recourse fails where the government of forest reserves or the Department of Justice refuses to join issue by process of law.

To citizens persisting in the enjoyment of rights long exercised under the general land laws, but denied within forest reserves by discretionary rules, both administered by the General Land Office, or else granted at the cost of much circumlocution, suspense and delay, no little trouble and annoyance, in localities remote from United States courts, may be caused by United States district attorneys who are not unable to employ official process to that purpose with or without support of law, though scarcely without instigation by superior authority at Washington.

For this reason, if for no other less personal motive, most persons having relations with forest reserves are naturally anxious for further specific legislation supplementary to the statute. For it is a general belief on the Pacific coast, as in the Rocky Mountain region, that the declaratory clause of the statute, without which it could scarcely have been enacted, is rendered nugatory by Departmental practice. This may be affirmed from common experience in both regions of the country where agricultural and mining interests, to which the declaration gives precedence over forestry purposes, have been subordinated by administrative officers to forestry purposes, and so continue to be, in spite of appeals through the Department of the Interior for remedial measures at the hands of the President, as provided by the statute.

That opinions and recommendations are apt to be conceived and prepared in a technical spirit conformably to the more scientific purposes and doctrinal theories of forest reservation, is not improbably in accord with the zeal expected from all bureau officers. Of such spirit no criticism is here intended, however difficult it may be for extraneous and material interests to stand up outside the pale of authority against it.

No preventive mechanism of law has yet been devised to deal with abuse of the wild ranges of the West. From reasonable use

they suffer notably less than from disuse. Even from bunched or herded stock no serious abuse would follow, if resident growers were alone the occupants. No one is so conscious as themselves of the improvidence of close cropping, especially of arid, champaign and bad-land areas, which are the first to suffer from incursions of nomadic stock, often from beyond State borders. Upland ranges bearing only coarse grasses, low in forage value, are no more the choice of one class of growers than another, though all classes sometimes are compelled to make the best of them, when suffering from drought or from unscrupulous herding over better parts of the public ranges.

Desirable as it is to discover a legal preventive for abuse of the public ranges, if practicable under State laws, let it be sought by direct means in specific legislation, not by indirect or disingenuous methods, exploited from the license and crudities of undeveloped statutes like those thus far designed for the government of Forest Reserves. In common with other citizens of the United States, dwellers within forest reserves and upon their borders demand government not by men but by laws, and also, as far as may be, by home rule.

To the accepted theories of forest protection and the avowed purposes of forest reservation, no popular objection is seriously opposed.

Until reserve laws be wrought into specific provisions, it is urged that unforested grazing territory on the outer margins of reserves, as well as certain mining territory, be restored to the unreserved public domain. For such restoration existing statutes amply provide. Restoration of interior tracts is commonly regarded as out of the question.

The general public of the Western States, as voiced by the press, further asks that protection of game shall not weigh at Washington in the creation of forest reserves, but be left practically, as it is formally, to the States; also, that no forest reserves be created or maintained, except within the limitations of the declaration of the statute, and with due regard to all as well as single local industrial interests of importance, impartially and relatively considered.

JAMES P. KIMBALL.

RUSSIA'S FLEET.

BY ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

It is common knowledge that Russia's fleet of late years has been greatly strengthened; but it is doubtful if the full significance of the developments of the last twenty years, and especially the past five years, has been fully understood even in England and America. Japan has had her eyes open to the trend of events, and step by step she has endeavored to checkmate the Muscovite Power. Only this spring, on the announcement of a new Russian ship-building programme, all parties in Japan buried their differences and agreed to the expenditure of £11,500,000 on new ships of war! It looks as though the future would witness a duel between Russia and Japan for the supremacy of the Far Eastern Seas; but if the issue can be decided without recourse to force, by the gentle and insidious arts of diplomacy, Russia will not fight, because fighting is expensive and she needs all her resources for developing her vast Eastern and Western Empires. But Russian policy has dictated the provision of the wherewithal to fight if the wiles of peaceful negotiation fail to accomplish her ends.

In the world to-day, there is no more remarkable and significant movement than the haste which is being shown in strengthening the naval forces of the Tzar. Born in England, cradled by English hands, that fleet has lately received accessions from some of the chief shipyards of the world, so greatly have Russia's political dreams outrun the industrial means by which to give them substance. For five years past, the United States, England, France, and Germany have been busy building ships, which, in consequence of her haste for power, the resources of Russian ship-building establishments could not construct. Such world-wide activity at the bidding of one single ambitious government,

which knows what it wants and the instruments which it needs to accomplish its purpose, is unparalleled. With daring audacity, which has passed almost without comment, she has called upon the friends of the "open door" in the Far East to help forge the weapons, which she, the opponent of the "open door," will use against them if they hinder her. By every means in her control, Russia has built up and is building up a great fleet, and the striking fact in this expansion is that her navy is not concentrated, as ten years ago was the case, in the Baltic and the Black Sea, but is massed largely at the new sea outlets of the huge dominions of the Tzar, Port Arthur and Vladivostock.

It was regarded as a truism some years ago that Russia needed no navy, and could not afford one if she did, owing to the immense capital expenditure which was necessary for the development of her territories. She had a small navy, but Europe, remembering its genesis, refused to regard it seriously. It was remembered that Peter the Great had visited England and watched the ship-building in progress at Deptford, had gained an insight into the methods of the craft, and had taken back with him to his dominions a small army of artisans and sailors to lay the foundations of a fleet, intended as a protection, not against either of the Great Powers, but against Sweden. Much has happened since then; but this is the story of the birth of the navy of a country which is impregnable against attack by sea, and, if we may judge from Napoleon's experience, not easily touched vitally by land. Ashore and afloat, Russia has had a general and an admiral who has never been really defeated, General Winter and Admiral Winter, one and the same. Her coast-line is icebound throughout most of the months of the year; and, apart from the danger from Sweden, her near neighbor, Peter the Great feared no foe at sea. But this neighbor needed to have the fear of the Muscovite put into his heart; and so the Russian fleet, under the fostering care of English shipwrights and sailors, came into being. It was a defensive force, and, throughout most of the year, it was frozen into the Baltic, inert and useless.

Subsequently there came a new development. By the Treaty of Kainardji in 1774, the Russians obtained the right to trade in the Black Sea, and in this instance the flag followed the trade; and gradually Russia created a Euxine force to defend her commercial and territorial interests. When the Crimean War closed

and the Treaty of Paris specified that the Euxine should be open to the trade of all the world, but shut to ships of war, it looked as though Russia's dreams of ascendency in these waters had been buried. But Russia was merely biding her time; and, in 1870, when there was no one at liberty specially concerned to say her nay, she brushed aside this provision. The world's diplomatists met in London and decided that the neutralization of the sea should be abrogated; but, in order to leave Turkey and Russia in its sole enjoyment with as little danger to the general peace as possible, it was agreed that the Dardanelles and Bosphorus should be closed to ships of war, thus completely isolating the fleets of the two Powers in these waters. In this manner Russia has become mistress of the Black Sea, and it is but a few months since she felt the pulse of Europe by sending on two occasions torpedo-boats through the Dardanelles. In resorting to this action, Russia bore in mind Lord Salisbury's admission that, at the time of the Crimean War, England "put her money on the wrong horse." The Tzar's advisers know full well that, when the fitting time comes, the ships in the Black Sea will pass through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean with absolute freedom. In the Black Sea she has accomplished her purpose and knows it and is content, and Europe knows that she has achieved her object and that, when she cares to tear up the last fragment of the Treaty of Paris, no one will do more than protest. She will choose an opportunity when rivals are too busy to interfere.

Throughout these many years of growing power in the Baltic and the Black Sea, the Russian navy continued to attract large numbers of English officers, and the fame of Admirals Elphinstone and Greig in particular will not soon be forgotten. But the feature of the Russian fleet since the introduction of steam and steel was, that the ships were largely of the coast-defence type, that they were unfitted for action far from a base. They were designed to operate in the Baltic and the Black Sea, to give protection against the Northern Powers of Europe and to overawe Turkey, but not a ship bearing the Russian ensign cruised in far-off waters where the Union Jack and the Tricolor, to a less extent, were seen. In all these years, Russia remained at her own doors, ready to defend them, with no weapons for offensive war afloat.

In the early nineties, Russian policy began to turn eastward. What Bismarck did for the German Empire, Russia decided she

would do for her vast Eastern and Western Empires—bind them together by a great intercontinental railway, connecting Moscow with Vladivostock. Time alone could show Europe the fresh dreams which this scheme cloaked, and time did show. With immense energy the task of laying the rails for nearly five thousand miles was taken in hand in sections, and the world applauded the project, holding that such a trunk line from Europe through Asia would be in the highest interest of civilization. England, of course, had a suspicion that this great railway development brought Russia nearer India and Persia, but she was alone. Japan was only slowly emerging out of a barbarian state; Germany was still without definite aims in the Far East; and the United States, with slight commercial attachments in the Eastern Seas and a determination not to be drawn into the vortex of the quarrels of European Powers, was comparatively unconcerned. Russia was encouraged in her task, and its accomplishment was hastened with all speed. The Fates conspired in her favor, and China began to attract the attention of the world. It had been intended to take the railway only to the Chinese frontier, and Russia then purposed sitting quietly until a chance arrived of driving on down to the warm water, and thus accomplishing her desire to find a back door free from ice. The way was paved by diplomacy, and the world only slowly realized that the Muscovite Power was becoming the dominant factor in China. Russia showed her hand in 1895, when she objected to the Shimonoseki treaty which was being negotiated between Japan and China on the termination of hostilities, and she robbed the victor of the spoils of war—the province of Manchuria. Soon afterwards, the world expressed itself as amazed at the definite seizure of Port Arthur and the arrangement with China for carrying through the railway from Moscow to the long-desired back door of Russia. From a European Power, with a great army and a defensive navy, Russia became a Power in the Far East, with a base for her fleet and a jumping-off place for any further enterprises. England might protest, but the deed was done, and the work of laying the railway to the sea was immediately pushed on with feverish haste, for such a line has a high strategic value. The task was well forward, when China again blindly played into the hands of Russia by failing to crush the anti-foreign movement, which, judging by results, might be styled pro-Russian, for it gave that Power an

opportunity to tighten its hold on Manchuria, nominally for the protection of its railway. Of course, when the clouds for the time dispersed, Russia seconded the efforts of the other Powers to withdraw from China, and promised that she would hand back Manchuria to its rightful owners. The promise was accepted in good faith, and her allies brought home their troops and many of their ships of war, but Russia remained in Manchuria in full force. Dr. Morrison, writing recently to "The Times" after spending two months in this province, said:

"Russia has transformed Manchuria from a Chinese possession to a virtually Russian province. I saw the Russian city of Harbin upheaved bodily in the most fertile plain in the heart of Manchuria, and saw the thousands of solid buildings for permanent Russian occupation being built simultaneously by armies of Chinese workmen along the entire length of the railway. From the western frontier to Harbin is 605 miles, from Harbin to the eastern frontier 335 miles, from Harbin to Port Arthur 615 miles. So cleverly has the railway been traced, that there is not one important roadway in Manchuria which it does not command. In every case, evacuation means the removal of Russian troops to a point from which the city evacuated can be struck immediately and without resistance. Manchuria is absolutely dominated by Russia. All the officials are absolutely in her power."

In this wise has Russia made firm her grip on this slice of China; and, if she evacuates, her soldiers will still remain to guard the railway, which, in the opinion of Dr. Morrison, means that "she will be stronger after she has fulfilled to the letter her pledges of evacuation than she was before." Evidently, judging from more recent events, Russia does not entirely hold with this view, and her disposition is not to act in accordance with her pledges if a plausible excuse for their repudiation can be found, when England and the United States are occupied elsewhere and the opportunity is otherwise favorable for consummating her work in China by the final and avowed seizure of Manchuria, to the exclusion of the commerce of other Powers.

One can but marvel at the cleverness with which this work of Russifying a whole Chinese province—a territory larger than either Germany, France, or Austria-Hungary, and twice the size of Italy, with a population of 21,000,000 and immense undeveloped resources, especially timber and minerals (including gold and silver and coal), representing wealth beyond the dreams of

avarice,—has been accomplished. Russia has conquered this desirable land without striking a blow, and at the same time has found time to tighten her grasp on Turkey, to spread her influence in the Persian Gulf and to feel her way surely but cautiously along the frontier of British India. Protests she has met with cool reliance on time to efface the newness of her footsteps, and she has never been disappointed.

Her policy in the Far East has been calculated to a nicety; every movement has been planned with care and circumspection, and every provision that forethought could suggest has been made in advance. Assured of her impregnability in Europe against a vital blow though the navies of the world combined in arms against her, Russia foresaw four years ago that in the Far East she would have to secure a naval supremacy if she were to carry out her policy. To overawe China with visible evidence of her power afloat was her aim; while, by means of her strategic railway, she would be able to demonstrate her ability to pour in troops from Europe. At the same time she needed a fleet to keep Japan, newly awakened to her future, in check. Ten years ago, as a naval Power in Far Eastern waters, Russia was an inconsiderable factor, and the British squadron had no serious rival. To-day, no fleet, if even the British and Japanese squadrons in the Far East combined, equals hers. It is on this foundation of a great fleet that the policy of Russia rests.

A navy cannot be improvised in a day or a month; an army of a kind can be readily raised and drilled into some order. For the past ten years, Russia has been acting on this truism of defence. Prior to the war between China and Japan, her naval expenditure had been slowly increased from year to year, but it was not until 1897 that she realized the full responsibility of her expansion in the Far East. It was in that year that the Tzar gave his sanction to a great naval programme, which was to be put in hand at once and pressed on with in all haste. With her own resources, even if she continued as in the past to draw on England for a portion of her machinery, she could not hope to build the new fleet in time to serve her purpose, and it was resolved to call in the aid of the other countries. In a few months, Englishmen, Americans, Germans, and of course Frenchmen, were busily engaged in the construction of war-ships for the Russian navy. The programme was spread over seven years and included the construction of

eight first-class battle-ships, six large cruisers, ten smaller cruisers, twenty torpedo-boat destroyers, thirty torpedo boats, one submarine mine transport, one torpedo transport. One battle-ship and one cruiser were assigned to Cramps at Philadelphia, one battle-ship and two cruisers went to French yards, two cruisers were placed in Germany, while England received an order for a torpedo-boat destroyer.

With all speed the programme was put in hand and at once the naval expenditure leaped up at an astonishing rate. This fact may be appreciated from the following figures taken from the published Russian statements of naval expenditure, but they do not represent the full increase, because, apart from the sums included in the naval budget, large sums are spent from various sources which do not appear for the world's eyes to scan:

1887–9, £3,500,000 was the average sum spent;
1890, £4,234,000, rising to £6,102,000 in 1895;
1896, £6,388,000, rising to £7,089,000 in 1898;
1900, £9,121,000 rising to £10,815,000 in 1902.

The true significance of this augmentation in the expenditure on the fleet, marking a greater percentage than any other European navy since 1889, can be fully appreciated only if it is remembered that each new ship, as it has been completed, has been despatched to the Far East, that upwards of about one hundred millions, sterling, have been expended on the railway communications, while immense sums have been laid out in developing and fortifying Vladivostock and Port Arthur. Not for a moment has the policy of Russia waited for money, for the countries which have been building the ships have also been lending vast sums to carry on the policy of Eastern expansion.

In feverish haste Russia has practically completed her great naval programme; and last summer she was able to send as reinforcements for her squadron in the Far East no fewer than two of the new first-class battle-ships, and four cruisers. The naval force in Eastern seas has been increased year by year as the new men-of-war have been completed, with the result that Russia now has in those waters, six battle-ships, two large armored gunboats, twelve cruisers, including four armored, a large torpedo flotilla, three sloops, three torpedo gunboats, two torpedo vessels, two mining transports, and several small special-service ships. This

is the formidable force already in these Far Eastern waters, ready to support the action of Russian diplomatists at every turn, and fresh reinforcements are frequently despatched. Russia's dreams are of the East, and she has had no ships for some years past to spare for the increase of her fleet in the West. Her present naval expenditure amounts to a charge equal to £15 13*s* 9*d* on every ton of her shipping, a sufficient indication that her navy has not been built, even in part, to protect her mercantile marine.

The policy of expansion which has been worked out with as little commotion as possible in the past few years, is apparently nearing completion; and, by the time Russia throws off all reserve, she will have secured her position in the Far East so well that any attempt to hinder her will only be possible at the cost of a terrible war; it cannot be doubted that, after so great a financial sacrifice, Russia will not permit herself to be deprived of her spoils. She is in China, and there she will remain, mistress of Manchuria, mistress of the neighboring waters, and the dominant military Power also in this section of China, since her railway will enable her to pour troops into the peninsula at the shortest notice, to reinforce the huge garrison which has been quartered there for years past, housed in new permanent barracks.

The growth in the naval armaments of Russia can be illustrated with sufficient accuracy by taking the number of battle-ships ten years ago, with their displacement, and we thus get the following comparison:

	1893		1903	
	No.	Tons	No.	Tons
Battle-ships	15	133,000	21	230,700
Large Cruisers	10	63,400	15	116,300

This increase has been achieved in spite of the process of weeding out old ships which has been in progress in these ten years; all the battle-ships in the navy now, except one small one, are less than twenty-five years old, and only two of the cruisers exceed that age; whereas, ten years ago, anything that could float was good enough to be counted a man-of-war, battle-ship or cruiser as the case might be. Now a nicer discrimination is shown, and yet Russia is able to claim a great advance; in fact her strength in big ships has been almost doubled, and the process of augmenting her forces is still being energetically pressed forward. Including only the ships which were actually in hand on

January 1st of this year, and casting forward to the date of their completion, it appears that on January 1st, 1907, after eliminating all vessels more than twenty-five years old, her fleet will comprise 25 battle-ships of 302,900 tons, and 14 large cruisers of 110,100 tons.

In this connection, it may be interesting to append some comparative figures, showing the numerical strength (with total displacement in parentheses) of the other great navies at the same date, 1907, apart from any new ships which it may have been decided to lay down since January 1st last, none of which can, however, be at sea under ordinary circumstances by the beginning of 1907:

	Great Britain	France	Germany
Battle - ships	54 (749,300)	31 (344,900)	19 (213,000)
Large Cruisers	76 (681,800)	30 (255,500)	11 (82,100)

	United States	Italy	Japan
Battle - ships	21 (260,500)	14 (171,800)	6 (86,500)
Large Cruisers	16 (181,200)	5 (35,300)	6 (59,000)

These figures are taken from the recently published "*Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten,*" and may be regarded not only as generally accurate, but free from that form of special pleading to which even statistics are liable in biassed hands.

Even now, the Russian government is not satisfied with its naval strength; and in the present year it has been decided that, as the 1898 programme has been practically completed, another programme shall be put in hand forthwith. This scheme includes six battle-ships, larger and with a much greater radius of action than any which have been built hitherto. As Russia's need for ships in the Far East has grown, she has recognized the disabilities of the ships with which she was satisfied ten or fifteen years ago, ships of small displacement with little coal and small room for ammunition and stores; and every ship which is now ordered is designed to be as self-supporting as any ship of war can be. The new battle-ships, consequently, are to displace 16,000 tons. All Russian ships are well designed down to the minutest detail; they have good speed and are more heavily armed than the vessels of most navies. Moreover, they are well kept in all details, as is evident from the most cursory glance betweendecks.

Thanks to her conscriptive system, Russia has no difficulty in

finding men, but the demands of late years have outrun the supply in her maritime provinces. In ten years her personnel, now standing at 62,000, has been nearly doubled. She has been compelled to go inland, with the result that to-day her fleet is manned to some extent by agricultural laborers and other landsmen with no liking for or familiarity with the sea. It remains to be seen how these men develop during their five to seven years' training, but of their comrades from the maritime districts it is sufficient to say that Napoleon thought highly of the qualities of Russian sailors drawn from the sea coast. The conditions of war have changed in the past hundred years, it is true. The battles of Nelson's day were, to some extent, sailors' battles, while those of to-morrow will be admirals' battles in a large degree. Still, it is the sailors who feed, aim, and fire the guns; and it is the guns which deal the blows at an enemy. No one who knows the Russian naval officer doubts his courage and capacity, and his men are as children, savage but obedient children, with a wild zest for the excitement of war.

Is it not true that the development of the Russian navy along the lines indicated is one of the most significant movements of the past few years? It has really been accomplished without seriously offending any one, for even in England to-day, where trade is said to govern policy, there are those who urge that there need be no cause of quarrel between the two countries.

In ten years Russia has concentrated her attention on Turkey and the Balkans, on Persia and on the Far East. She sits ever watching the absorption of the other Powers in this or that enterprise or quarrel, and seizes the right moment to pull one or two of the strings. In face of Turkey, decrepit and bankrupt, she has had no need for a greatly increased navy in the Black Sea; and thus it has come about that she has merely maintained at reasonable strength her European squadrons, with an eye on Germany, while she has massed her new ships in the Far East, and poured out millions of money in developing her new bases, Vladivostock and Port Arthur, making firm the foundation of her ascendency in China. It has cost her already more than the South-African war cost Great Britain, but she has been able to meet the strain and believes that the future will amply recompense her.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

FEDERATED LABOR AS A NEW FACTOR IN BRITISH POLITICS.

BY J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

THE Independent Labor Party is a Socialist, and not, as its title might seem to imply, a purely working-class organization. It aims at the creation of a Co-operative Commonwealth, founded upon the socialization of land and capital. Its methods of realizing its objects are, to educate the community in the principles of Socialism and to secure the return to Parliament and to all elected bodies of members representative of its principles. Since its formation in 1893, it has been regarded as the stormy petrel of politics, and has kept itself well in evidence mainly by running its own candidates and by missionary zeal and activity. The actual paying membership of the party is returned at 13,000, including a fair proportion of the educated and well-to-do classes who see in Socialism the only hope for solving the social problem. The yearly income of the party averages £25,000. As the bulk of this comes from the wage-earning classes, and as the payments are purely voluntary, this sum argues a considerable degree of sincerity. In addition to the regular membership named above, the party commands the active political support of that very large and rapidly growing section of the community which has lost faith in the Liberal Party as an effective instrument of reform. The energies of its members are tireless, and its political resources are apparently inexhaustible. It is a standing illustration of the truth of John Stuart Mill's axiom, that in politics one man with convictions is equal to ninety-nine who have only interests.

Prior to 1893, there had been no sustained effort to create a Labor Party in Britain. In the early sixties, the old International Working Men's Association promised for a time to become a power, but it went down under the Continental influence by which

it was dominated. During the seven years ending 1874, there was great political activity among trades-unionists, who were at that time endeavoring to secure full legal recognition for their organizations. The effort culminated with the running of seventeen Labor candidates at the General Election in the year named and the defeat of the Liberal Party. The year following saw the passing of the Bills which secured full recognition to the trades-union movement; and, the object aimed at having thus been gained, the leaders of the movement lapsed back into the ranks of their ordinary political allegiance and there the matter ended.

Nothing more was done until 1887, when the Labor Electoral Association came into being. It succeeded in existing, in struggling fashion, for a few short years, and then collapsed, without leaving any indication of its ever having been. At that time, there was considerable ferment in the Labor world, and the Labor Electoral Association, with its half-hearted policy, alienated the support of the active spirits by its feverish anxiety not to offend orthodox political opinion.

Somewhere about 1880, William Morris and H. M. Hyndman commenced their Socialist propaganda; and the Social Democratic Federation, modelled largely on the lines of the German organization of that name, was formed and for a time enlisted in its ranks most of the men who have since become powerful in connection with Labor politics. But it failed to hold them. William Morris withdrew and formed the Socialist League, and John Burns and others of equal standing left owing to disagreement with the tactics which were being pursued.

The great Dock Strike of 1888 may be taken as the starting point of the new Labor movement, as, with the single exception of John Burns, all the men who came to the surface during that convulsive period were subsequently identified with the inception and propaganda work of the Independent Labor Party. At the General Elections of 1892, a number of Labor candidates were run by local organizations in various parts of the country; and, the year following, at a conference held in Bradford in Yorkshire, at which one hundred and twenty representatives of various Labor and Socialist organizations attended, the Independent Labor Party was definitely launched and entered upon its career.

At that time, the Liberal party was in office, with a small and precarious majority. Trade was much depressed, and tens of

thousands of workmen were roaming the country in fruitless search for employment. As is usual at elections, great hopes and expectations had been formed as to what would happen if the Liberals were returned. In the very nature of things, it was impossible that these hopes could be realized; and, as the months slipped into years, enthusiastic Radicals, finding that their party in office was apparently as unable or as unwilling to do anything effective for Labor as their Conservative opponents had been, deserted in thousands and cast in their lot with the newly formed Independent Labor Party. At every by-election in an industrial centre, the Independent Labor Party ran a candidate, with results which surprised friends and opponents alike. In only one case did the Labor candidate come within measurable distance of winning; but in every case the number of votes polled showed the strength of the feeling of discontent which existed in the constituencies. In those days, the hand of every man was against the Independent Labor Party, which had dared to set itself in opposition to the cherished political traditions of the nation. The press, the pulpit, and the platform fulminated and stormed against the new movement; whilst the usual misrepresentations and silly inventions were freely indulged in and, of course, as freely believed. The party, however, held on its way unswerving. Its members were enthusiasts, but not mere theorists; there was always a method behind their apparent madness. Inspired by a Socialist ideal, they yet managed to keep their feet firm on solid earth; and the politicians learned that the British workman, despite his well-known proclivities, could be a practical kind of idealist when properly led. At the General Election of 1895 the party ran twenty-eight candidates of its own, every one of whom, including the present writer, was defeated. As showing the state of feeling at that time, I may remark, in passing, that the return of my Conservative opponent was announced, at the National Liberal Club, as a Liberal triumph. The Independent Labor Party vote represented just under thirty per cent. of the electoral strength in those constituencies which its candidates had contested. In 1900, we had the Khaki election, when, despite the fact that all its candidates were Pro-Boers and as such anathema to every "patriotic" voter, the party vote showed a largely increased following, and in one case, my own, won a seat from a Liberal who had given an enthusiastic support to the war in South Africa.

Up to this stage, 1900, the idea of seeking to create a Labor Party had, in the main, been confined to the ranks of the Independent Labor Party. Where a trades-union had sought representation in Parliament, the candidate was put forward as a working-man Liberal or Conservative, as the case might be. Recent events, however, chiefly the decisions of the law courts in trades-union cases, have led to a new and startling development. The trades-unions have practically cut themselves adrift from their old political moorings, and they are heading direct for the open sea of Labor Representation and a Labor Party. I have already indicated how the Houses of Parliament gave full recognition and legal standing to the trades-unions. For close upon thirty years, the law was assumed to regard trades-unions as voluntary organizations, in the nature of clubs, which could neither sue nor be sued, and as not being entities known to the law, since they were not an individual, a corporation, or a company. Picketing, it was assumed, had also been fully legalized, including the power to "peacefully persuade" men to abstain from working. The strike in all its phases, it was supposed, had been legalized. The decisions of the law courts in recent cases have upset these suppositions. Employers of labor have been able to sue trades-unions as such and obtain damages from the funds, in one case amounting to £23,000 for the alleged illegal acts of the union officials. Peaceful persuasion whilst picketing has been held to be clearly illegal, rendering the pickets liable to imprisonment; whilst the sympathetic strike has been once again brought within the definition of the common law of conspiracy. These facts have naturally alarmed the trades-unionists and forced them into the political arena. With the very existence of trades-unions imperilled, they instinctively feel that they cannot trust either of the political parties to see justice done them.

For years past, the feeling in favor of a direct Labor Party has been making steady headway within the trades-union movement, but it was held in check by the fact that the ranks were about equally divided in their allegiance to the Liberal and Conservative parties. Many of the leaders of the unions, on the other hand, had been brought into political conflict with the militant spirits of the Independent Labor Party, and, as a consequence, were none too well disposed towards that movement. To the onlooker, the result seemed to be a tangle, escape from which was almost hope-

less. Where the will exists, however, the way will usually be found; and so, when legal necessity compelled the trades-unionists to face the situation, they resolved, at their annual congress in 1889, to call an open conference of representatives of Trades-Unionism, Socialism and Co-operation, to consider what means could be devised for securing more adequate representation of Labor interests in the House of Commons. The conference was held, and what has since been known as the Labor Representation Committee came into existence. Perhaps its objects will best be defined by quoting from its constitution, as amended by the annual meeting this year:

"1. The Labour Representation Committee is a Federation of Trades-Unions, Trades-Councils, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society. Co-operative Societies are also eligible for membership.

"Object. 2. To secure, by united action, the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an Affiliated Society or Societies in the constituency, who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on Labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative party, and not to oppose any other candidate recognised by this Committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, to abide by the decisions of the Group in carrying out the aims of this constitution or to resign, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only."

The Labor Representation Committee is financed by each affiliated organization paying ten shillings for each thousand members. This is for working expenses. In addition, there is a Payment of Members fund, to which each affiliated organization contributes one penny per member *per annum,* and from which it is expected each member returned to Parliament, under the auspices of the Committee, will be paid £200 a year.

That the time was ripe for this new movement is fully evidenced by the fact, that in England and Wales—Scotland having a separate organization—over 900,000 trades-unionists are now affiliated. The movement, as stated above, is a federation, the basis of which is, that each affiliated organization shall finance its own candidates and become responsible for their maintenance if returned to Parliament, each, however, combining with the others to secure the return of their respective nominees. Thus far, a considerable amount of success has attended the new move-

ment. Since the General Election, it has fought four Parliamentary vacancies, two of its candidates being successful and the other two just missing success. From the outset, it has assumed an attitude of rigid independence towards the orthodox parties, with surprising results. The Conservative working-men and their Liberal fellows are finding in the new movement a platform upon which they can stand whilst working for the realization of an object common to both, the protection of their unions and the promotion of their interests as wage-earners. The financial difficulty, which at one time bulked so large when the question of Labor Representation was being considered, has been solved by a contribution of one shilling per member *per annum* to a Labor Representation Fund. By this means, an annual income of not less than £50,000 has been secured. All the principal trades-unions have selected candidates, and these are being eagerly sought after by industrial constituencies. The National Liberal Federation, at its annual meeting a few weeks ago, fully recognized the strength and importance of this new development in Labor politics, and practically advised Liberal Associations in industrial constituencies to stand aside in favor of Labor nominees when these were put forward. Unless the election be rushed, it is a safe estimate that not less than fifty Labor candidates will enter the lists at the next General Election, under the auspices of the Labor Representation Committee, a fair proportion of whom are certain to be returned. They will not all be Socialists, but they will all be Labor members pledged to the formation of a Labor Party in the House of Commons, and to the raising of the Condition of the People question as a distinct political issue.

Circumstances are favorable to the development of the new movement. Apart from the trades-union demands, already referred to, wider issues of greater importance are being opened up daily. The questions of the hour are no longer political but industrial and economic. The growth of the trusts, the precariousness of employment, the increased cost of living and the growing desire on the part of the working class for a larger share in the prosperity of the nation, are all tending to foment a spirit of unrest. Nor is this to be wondered at. On every hand, there is evidence of a surplusage of wealth, in which the worker has little share. If there has been a slight increase in wages, there has also been an increase in house-rent and in certain articles of food,

which has more than redressed the balance. In the staple industries of the country, broken time has become almost chronic; and, whilst this does not diminish the nominal weekly wage, it plays sad havoc with the actual income. Even for the well-to-do artisan, therefore, there is much in his lot of which he has good reason to complain. It does not help him at all to be told that the wealth of the nation is growing at an unprecedented rate; that last year the income of the rich, as shown by the income tax returns was £40,000,000 in excess of the previous year; or that in five years the revenue brought to the exchequer from a penny rate on incomes of £160 and upwards, has gone up by £600,000, or from £2,000,000 to £2,600,000. This may be evidence of national prosperity; but, as an individual, the wage-earner does not feel any the richer, nor is his lot in life made any the more easy.

When we leave the skilled artisan, however, we begin to sound an unfathomable depth of poverty. Wages of agricultural laborers are returned by the Government as averaging, for the whole of England and Wales, thirteen shillings and eightpence per week. Out of this miserable pittance, house-rent has to be paid and a family maintained. Only in very rare instances is the agricultural laborer permitted to eke out this sum by the cultivation of a little plot of land. The farmers, who have the control of the machinery by which the Allotments Act could be put into operation, are strangely averse to giving their laborers opportunities for improving their condition. There are those who argue in favor of a protective duty on corn, as a means of enabling the farmer to pay his laborer better wages; but these are forgetful of the fact that, in the days of high protection in England, the agricultural wages were little over half what they are now, and that, in common with other workers, the laborer's lot, in so far as it has improved, has done so under the operation of Free Trade. It is not alone the agricultural laborer who is living on the verge of starvation all the year round. Recent investigations, conducted by merchant princes like Mr. Charles Booth in London, and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree in York, the results of which have been since given to the world with a wealth of detailed evidence which permits of no dubiety as to the conclusions, prove that close upon thirty per cent. of the working class are not in receipt of sufficient income to enable them to obtain, for themselves and their dependents, the standard of comfort which they would receive as paupers

in the Poor House or as criminals in gaol. This fact has startled and alarmed people. The comfortable theory that formerly existed, that, but for drunkenness and want of thrift, the working class would all be contented, prosperous and happy, has been shivered to atoms; and, for the first time in her long career of self-delusion, England has been brought face to face with the fact that, despite her world-wide trade, her unparalleled wealth and prosperity, her growing bounds of empire and her political, mechanical and intellectual progress, there is at the foundation of her society an amount of misery and destitution, due to low wages, which casts a dark shadow over the whole national life, and shows how insecure are the foundations upon which the whole structure of her wealth has been raised. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the leader of the Liberal Party, in a recent speech, declared his belief that twelve millions of our population were always living at or under the poverty line. In plain language, this means that twelve millions of the British people are improperly fed, insufficiently clothed and inadequately housed. The Census returns tell us that 480,277 houses of one room are registered in England, Scotland and Wales, and that these contain a living population of 1,571,504. From one to two rooms is a very short step in the social scale; but, on the same authority from which we have just quoted, we learn that forty-four per cent. of the people of Scotland are accommodated in houses of one or two rooms. Speaking with a good deal of practical experience, I assert that, in three cases out of five, the householder of two rooms will be found to be indulging in one or two lodgers, from which it follows that a worse form of overcrowding occurs than when there is only one apartment. With this condition of things staring them in the face, with no hope perceivable of any improvement, there is little wonder that the more thoughtful leaders of the working class have made up their minds to see how far a Labor Party can be instrumental in securing reform. Many of them, although not all, accept Socialism as being not only inevitable but desirable. They reason that, if commercialism, in the heyday of its prosperity and with the markets of the world at its unchallenged disposal, has produced such results as those indicated above, it has little chance, now that it has passed its zenith and is being faced with the ever-increasing competition from other countries, to succeed in the future where it has failed in the past. To men

who are Socialists, an independent Labor Party is a logical outcome of their economic faith.

But even those trades-union leaders who are not Socialists—and there are many—are equally convinced of the necessity of the new departure. The break-up of the Liberal Party has been an important influence in leading them to this position. Free Trade, despite Mr. Chamberlain, is at present the accepted creed of both great parties. On the subject of Imperial expansion, there is little to choose between the two sides; and it is doubtful whether, even with the Liberals in office, the military and naval expenditure, which in a dozen years has gone up from £28,000,000 to £70,000,000 a year, would be materially lessened. There is no evidence whatever that either party has the remotest idea of how to grapple with the social problem and remove poverty from the land. Added to all this, there is a growing feeling that the interests of Labor cannot be adequately safeguarded or protected until there is a Labor Party charged with that particular responsibility. Therefore it is that all true trades-union leaders who are not Socialists are equally determined to wean Labor from its political dependence on some other party, and to place it in a position where it can formulate its own demands. These men see how, in twenty years, an Independent Irish Party has succeeded in convincing, not merely the Liberals, but also the Conservatives, of the justice of their claims. The Irish Land Bill now before the House of Commons, pledging the credit of the state to the extent of hundreds of millions of money to enable the Irish farmer to buy out his landlord, is a standing evidence of what can be done by an independent and resolute party, knowing its own mind and acting entirely in the interests of the classes it represents, and Labor leaders are determined to make an effort to copy this example.

To conclude, the British working-man is for the movement, thoroughly in earnest about the formation of a Labor Party, and he will not be easily turned aside from his purpose. He is realizing as he has never done before, that, with seven-tenths of the voting power in his hands, he is master of the political situation. With a party of his own, he will play an ever-increasing part in the great drama of politics, and be less easily led than heretofore by the charlatan and the office-seeker.

J. Keir Hardie.

WOMAN'S INFERIOR POSITION IN A REPUBLIC.

BY MRS. KATE T. WOOLSEY, AUTHOR OF "REPUBLICS *versus* WOMAN."

THE most serious humiliations, I remember, which my sex pride endured were suffered—first, when, yet almost an infant, I heard my father say that he was ashamed to record, in the law-book he was writing, the fact that the legal status of the white wife in his State was little better than that of the former negro slave; second, when, still a tiny girl, I heard an African member of Congress, who had been a slave in our family, say that he was opposed to adding an Amendment to the Constitution which would place the white women of the nation upon a public equality with negro men; third, when I heard native-born American ladies address a foreign-born committee of a Legislature to plead for their enfranchisement; fourth, when I witnessed a man who had emigrated from Ireland throw a petition, which was presented by numerous American ladies to his Legislature, into a Legislature's waste-paper basket, with the remark that "legislators have more important matters to attend to than the affairs of women"; fifth, when, after paying more taxes than the thirteen Colonies were expected to pay to England in six months under the stamp-act, I was told by a foreign-born member of Congress that the founders of the United States Republic had meant that "taxation without representation is tyranny" for *men* only; sixth, when I witnessed at Washington a Presidential Inauguration: as the President drove through the streets, escorted by thousands of men and witnessed by tens of thousands of citizens, I noticed that there was no woman at his side, no women in his escort, no women as attendants upon the platform, and that the whole proceeding was one of males, males, males. I fully realized then that the United States Republic is a monstrous regimen of men

—a strictly masculine monopoly, a purely male oligarchy. I fully realized then that my government was one of men, by men and for men; that I lived under the absolute and arbitrary rule of millions of male rulers, and that there were millions of women therein whose political status was no higher than that of the subjects of Turkey or China. Never before had my pride of *sex* been so cruelly humiliated.

I then recalled the fact that my Colonial ancestors, on both sides of the family, had taken up both arms and pen against English rule in America, because that government had refused them its highest recognition. I then remembered that the Colonies had possessed municipal and local self-government, with every right except representation in Parliament. But, notwithstanding all this, they repudiated English supremacy and established a new government. I then decided that I would not be a worthy descendant of my progenitors, if I did not rebel against a government which refused my sex its highest recognition, and which placed its women under the dominion of millions of males, of every condition and degree of life, from every land under the sun.

Within a few days thereafter I landed in England. The first notable sight I witnessed was Queen Victoria passing through the streets of London upon a state occasion. I observed that a state occasion in a monarchy is not an affair of males, males, males. I noted that here, in an aristocracy, a woman was at the head of the government, and I saw that woman receive more homage and honor in a few hours than the combined womanhood of the combined republics of the world had received in a hundred years. As the Queen-Empress drove about the city, I noted that there were women in her coach, that there were women in her escort. There were women in attendance when she opened Parliament; and it was obvious that this government was *not* of men, by men, and for men—a strictly masculine monopoly, a purely male oligarchy. For the first time in all my life, I lifted my head with pride of sex and was even ready to face the world! I realized that day that a woman can be the political head in a monarchy, but that in no republic can a woman ever reach this zenith and pinnacle of power.

This sharp contrast between the "first lady" in the largest democracy of earth and the first lady in the largest aristocracy

of Christendom burned into my memory. I saw that the former was the political inferior of even the lowest man in the land, and that the latter was the political superior of any of the two hundred million men in the Empire. I then looked about the city of London, and found that here, in the metropolis of a monarchy, there were streets, boulevards, parks, markets, libraries, railway stations, theatres, opera-houses, ships of the navy, regiments in the army, holidays, and other things which bore the names of native women as tributes of esteem; and I recalled the fact that in the metropolis of the Republic no such things were named in honor of American women. I soon discovered that there was not a single right, liberty, or privilege enjoyed by women in the United States Republic which the women in the British Empire had not gained; and I found that these latter had not endured the delay, the humiliation, the self-sacrifice in gaining recognition or power which the former had had to pass through. I soon saw that the United States Republic had added nothing to woman's power, influence or opportunity, either political, legal, or civil beyond what women possessed in British territory, and that it had robbed its women of many of the powers, glories, favors, honors and opportunities from which woman is not excluded by her sex in the British Empire.

I kept my counsel, however, and, as I have never been identified with the "woman cause," I said nothing publicly about it.

About ten years ago, I met a Russian lady of pre-eminent rank and great wealth who congratulated me upon being a citizen of a republic. As my allegiance to my sex is greater than it is to any theory ever established by men, I replied I could not see that being a citizen of a republic was a matter for any woman to be congratulated upon. She was amazed at this and asked me for an explanation; whereupon I asserted that I was confident that our sex had not fared so badly, either politically or legally, at the hands of the Russian government as at the hands of the United States Republic. Each of us wagered that the other was wrong; and, to settle the question, we agreed to gather certain data concerning women in our respective countries. We found—that, while in America millions of wives had no individual control over their property, for about two centuries every wife in Russia had been the legal mistress of her own fortune; that, while every woman householder in Russia had had the

right to vote on all municipal matters for several centuries, millions of women in the American Republic had no such rights; that 9000 wives were deserted by husbands in the Republic to 500 in Russia; that thousands of tiny girls were employed in factories in the Republic, while no little girls can be legally employed by Russian factories; and that more women work in the fields of the Republic than in the fields of Russia.

But I still kept my counsel. Several years ago, while again travelling in Europe, I addressed a body of women, most of whom were anarchists. Some of them were willing, however, to temporize or to compromise with constitutional and representative governments. I first addressed myself to these. I showed them that the United States Republic was a constitutional government and was based upon "no taxation without representation," but that its Constitution excluded women from its scope of justice, and that it taxed them without representation. I showed them the desperate, disheartening, cruel sufferings which women had undergone in constitutional and representative governments to gain recognition, justice or power. To the women who were uncompromising anarchists, I held up to view the anarchies in South America. I showed them that in those countries, which are anarchies pure and simple, the status of woman was far lower than that of the sex even in Oriental lands. I convinced them that the risks and efforts they were incurring in behalf of anarchism were senseless and useless, from the standpoint of being useful or beneficial to their sex, and I revealed to them that the bird they sought to capture was of the same species as that captured by republican women—the Vulture, and not the Bird of Paradise.

After delivering this lecture, I thought no more of the matter until after President McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist, when the ladies who had listened to me prevailed upon me to publish the same. I have just done so in a book called "Republics *versus* Woman." My motive in publishing the book is to convince women that neither republicanism, socialism, nor anarchism is or can become a benefit to their sex. I have shown the discontented women in the British Empire that the Colonies which broke away from English rule had seriously injured and handicapped woman thereby—that, in a British white population of only fifty million people, over five million women pos-

sessed more liberal municipal suffrage than even five hundred thousand women in the United States Republic of eighty million people; and that one million five hundred thousand women in British possessions enjoyed more liberal general suffrage than even one hundred and fifty thousand women in the United States Republic. I am also showing therein the women of Italy and Spain, who are trying to foster republicanism in those countries, that in the Latin provinces which seceded from monarchical rule and set up republics, women had not advanced but had instead been lapsing back to primeval conditions. I show women anarchists the status of their sex in the republics of South America, where the very reverse of what anarchists promise in theory has happened upon experiment.

KATE T. WOOLSEY.

THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH ITALY.

BY LUIGI LUZZATTI.

I.

GREAT nations, like great geniuses, although possessing the consciousness of their power, do not entirely comprehend the active influence which they exercise in the world. This is a providential circumstance, since otherwise their arrogance would become overwhelming and their exertions would be attended by less profit to themselves and to humanity at large. The importance attached by Europe to the marvellous economic development of the United States of America exceeds that attributed to it by Americans themselves, as may be seen from the publications, inquiries, enactments, and precautions which it has called forth in the states of Europe, and by the dread of it displayed in International Congresses.*

When, about 1879, regular cargoes of American corn began to be landed in Europe, they produced an absolute agrarian revolution, the effects of which soon became universally apparent; it was as though immense new territories, more fertile and productive, while less heavily burdened, had been added to the lands of ancient Europe, which were already cultivated to the last inch at a very heavy cost. Ricardo's formula of rent was reversed. Bread became cheaper, and the prayer of the Gospel, "Give us our daily bread," flowed more easily from the hearts and lips of the poor; but landowners found their circumstances altered.

* At the last International Congress of Roman Agriculturists in April of the current year, the representatives of the German Agrarians presented themselves with the intention of organizing a League of European States against the competition of the United States. The writer has pleasure in saying that he successfully opposed this project, as will be seen later.

Rents were reduced, and almost everywhere, in order to lessen the reduction, protective tariffs upon grain were imposed or increased,—means of defence which are more obvious, if not more efficacious, than improving the method of cultivation and varying its objects.

This was the greatest economic revolution ever accomplished in the space of a few years; that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, caused by the discovery of precious metals in America, took a longer time to make itself felt.

Now, face to face with the marvellous industrial activity which keeps pace with the agrarian prosperity of America, face to face with the mysterious organization of trusts, powerfully supported by strongly protective tariffs, and with the existence of a war navy and mercantile marine of equal strength, the people of Europe ask themselves anxiously whether they are not upon the eve of a new economic revolution, no less formidable than that produced in 1879 by the export of corn. Governments, economists and producers keep watch and ward as if they were in the presence of some imminent danger, and those who are least judicious or most heavily involved are already raising the cry to mobilize economic Europe against America.

And, indeed, the economic powers of the United States possess something naturally invincible, like the primitive and inexhaustible forces of Nature herself; they are potentially as strong as those of the whole of Europe, nor is the threat of a European league far from becoming a serious one.

The greatest diversity of climate and of productions—of metals from the most precious to the most useful, of gold, of silver, of petroleum, of coal, of iron, of cotton, to the most varied products of the earth and of manufactures, a territory as large as Europe, connected by a greater number of kilometres of railway lines,—it is, in very truth, "the blooming youth of the world and of life," of which Lucretius spoke: "*Ista florida novitas mundi.*"

The European economists of the classical Manchester school objected to the protective system on the ground that it dulls the intelligence of the producers, and arrests the progress of science in its application to the soil and the factory, and blunts the inventive faculties. But Americans appear destined to disprove the most firmly established economic doctrines with the powerful originality of their operations. They have drawn from the pro-

tective system the assurance necessary to intensify in the most stupendous fashion the application of science to production. The system of protection, instead of checking their inventive imagination, has lent it wings. The American nation makes better use of tools, machinery, physics, and chemistry, to shorten and improve the processes of production, than do England and Germany. This renders possible the steady output of goods in a manner unknown even to England, with the incentive of rewards for the best workers and participation in the profits of the undertakings. Protective tariffs, trusts, technical perfection of production, immense output of goods—these terms, which appeared to be contradictions in Europe, have been reconciled in the United States by means of singular compensations operating spontaneously.

The fact is that to-day Europe is awaiting the invasion of manufactures, as formerly she underwent the agrarian invasion and made terms with it; and the protective tariffs, together with trusts and other combinations, which permit of sale at a higher price in the immense internal market of the United States, are being transformed in their turn into export duties. And in Europe many inquiries are being made for means of defence proportionate to this danger, not only by the German Agrarians at the Congress of Rome, but by many influential statesmen.

A point which is not easy of comprehension is, how, with such a prodigious increase of economic powers, the United States show so much hesitation in competing with the European market, and in opening at least a small loophole of free competition by moderating in some degree the semi-prohibitive system.

The late President McKinley, who was certainly not an advocate of free trade, and regarded the subject of tariffs with great reserve, concluded commercial treaties, based upon the fourth section of the Dingley tariff, with France, the Argentine Republic, Jamaica (by arrangement with England), etc., etc. In spite of the signature of McKinley, which should be now more than ever sacred, these treaties have been mouldering for four years in the archives of the Committees of the Senate. These conventions are anything but the expression of Free Trade, since by the tariff law of 1897, as is well known, the high duties of the Dingley tariff cannot be diminished by more than twenty per cent. This hesitation it is impossible to explain; it is not to be believed that such a powerful nation would shrink from such a slight diminution

of duties, which could certainly not give free play to European competition. And, in fact, at the recent Congress of Rome, Méline, in his own name and that of his friends, gave utterance to scruples as to the acceptance of the convention on the part of the French Parliament, thus expressing the well-known timidity of the Colbertian French spirit in matters of tariff. I venture to explain this attitude of mind of the United States towards tariffs in the following manner.

On the one hand, there is the knowledge that the exports of the United States to all countries of the world have something inevitable and irresistible in their nature; that they will continually increase, and cannot be impeded by foreign tariffs any more than rivers in flood can be controlled by insignificant dams. How can bread, petroleum, etc., be declined by states which require these articles? How is it possible to reject agricultural machines of the greatest ingenuity and utility, which lessen the cost of production? On the other hand, the reduction of duties might perhaps have, or at least so it is feared, the first effect of cutting down wages, and that is undesirable; upon this point there is a sort of "holy alliance," as in the English colonies, between capital and labor, agriculture and industry, in the protective American system. The writer is not judging these conditions, but merely seeking to explain them, as he believes, correctly. He is speaking as a European and an Italian; if he were an American he would feel less hesitation in speaking plainly.

It may be added that, in the United States of America, the consciousness of international obligations is less keen and delicate than in the methodical and more ritually disposed Governments of Europe. With us, when a government contracts a commercial treaty, it is impossible for Parliament to refuse to examine it, and rarely is such a treaty rejected. Only four times since 1878 has a commercial treaty been rejected by the French Chamber of Deputies. On the contrary, in the United States there is a wall of division between the President of the Republic and Congress; every one follows his own sweet will, and the refusal to discuss treaties, which in Europe would have produced crises of government or dissolutions of the Chambers, appears the most natural thing in the world in the United States, where the Constitution excludes Cabinet crises and dissolutions of parliament. Americans are inviolable, unassailable, as much by reason of their

natural strength as by their innate indifference to diplomatic forms. And this peculiarity, which would be regarded as an infirmity in a European state, in them assumes the appearance of superiority. To a young nation which has no history but what it has made for itself, and which is separated from the jealousies and *etiquette* of Europe, much may be pardonable; and if some European Government resents it, the United States pronounce their own absolution. But if the menaces of the German Agrarians are not sufficient to alarm the United States, the latter should yet seriously think of examining their fiscal conscience, in order to avoid irritating reprisals and unpleasant discussions at their expense.

II.

A great prejudice against Italy is shown by the manner in which the United States apply the formula of the most-favored-nation treatment to the treaties of commerce which they contract. It is this which differentiates the method of the United States from that of Europe. In Europe, with a few exceptions for the frontier trade, extended sometimes to an extreme degree and with a very wide interpretation between certain States to the exclusion of others, the principle of the most-favored nation has no limitations. A state treats with another only upon a certain number of heads; but it knows that the concessions made in the future to other states upon those heads or upon others will be also extended to itself. This is a species of participation of profits, which absolutely excludes differential tariffs so long as the treaties hold good. In the course of negotiations all this is taken into account, and a reduction of tariffs in return for other concessions is not insisted upon when it is considered probable that it will be obtained by other governments. These operations offer tactical scope for much strategic skill in the field of negotiations. But this method has the inestimable benefit of rendering it possible to treat upon equal terms, and of admitting under similar conditions the competition of all those with whom treaties have been contracted. It confers a species of general uniformity upon genuine competition. The matter is not regarded thus by the United States. They demand that they shall be treated in negotiations with more favor than any of the states of Europe, and push this claim to the farthest possible extreme; hitherto, very great concessions have been made to them, but they do not

consent to reciprocity of terms. They receive in practice, as they are so often accustomed to do, the application of the formula of equal treatment, but they do not apply it to their own case. In the last negotiation concluded with Italy on February 8th, 1900, according to the third section of the Dingley tariff, the United States demanded and obtained from Italy the unlimited "treatment of the most-favored nation," so that they will profit by all tariff reductions which we have made in our former negotiations; but they have not conceded the same to us. The writer is not aware whether they were requested to do so by the Italian negotiator; but if they were, the American negotiator probably replied that the United States are in the habit of demanding certain concessions which they do not grant to others.

The absence of this formula, denied by the United States to Italy, was of great prejudice to the latter country; and it is well to explain the matter in its technical particulars, in order to illustrate the difficulties in which their friends are placed when defending them from certain criticisms which are anything but groundless, and which were felt recently by the writer when replying to the German Agrarians at the International Congress of Agriculturists in Rome.

Leaving other negotiations out of the question, the two agreements concluded by the President of the United States with France and Jamaica possess a very great interest for Italy. France has obtained from five to twenty per cent. reductions of duties upon 135 categories of goods, according to the fourth section of the Dingley tariff; England has obtained for Jamaica a reduction of twenty per cent. upon oranges, lemons, etc. If the Senate ratifies the treaty with France concluded July 24th, 1899, which has since then been waiting for confirmation, the consequences will be serious for Italy. In exchange for the concession of one part of her minimum tariff made to certain American products, France obtained, as stated above, a reduction of duties of between five and twenty per cent. upon 135 categories of French goods. As was shown in my statement to the Italian Chamber of Deputies, France has done a good stroke of business, since, only conceding in exchange a part of her minimum tariff for 25 millions of goods exported from the United States into France (the economy of duties is little more than a million), she obtained for almost 137 millions of French goods sold in the United

States, an economy of duties of 5,219,294 francs. But this is the least point. Since it refers to French products, of classes which other countries (and, among them, Italy) now send to the United States, and since to these countries the formula of the most-favored-nation treatment does not apply, the convention with France would result in differentiated duties to her great advantage and to the great detriment of other countries. Upon running through the reduced duties obtained by France, in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, the writer indicated several articles of Italian production, which, if Italy were unable to obtain a reduction in the duties upon them by the negotiations at present proceeding, would be little by little excluded from the market of the United States by reason of lower duties upon rival products sent from France. In comestibles, for example, France has obtained the following reductions: Ten per cent. upon preserved vegetables, peas, etc., including mushrooms; ten per cent. upon macaroni; twenty per cent. upon nuts; ten per cent. upon prunes; fifteen per cent. upon olive oil; ten per cent. upon liqueurs, etc., etc.

And in regard to French manufactured products which may compete with those of Italy in the market of the United States, we note, among other things, the following reductions of duties obtained by France: Twenty per cent. upon raw feathers; ten per cent. upon felt hats; ten per cent. upon straw plaits and hats; five per cent. upon artificial flowers; ten per cent. upon wooden furniture; ten per cent. upon paper and manufactures of paper; ten per cent. upon cements and paving-stones; ten per cent. upon gloves; five per cent. upon silk goods, etc.

The decadence of this Italian trade in the United States would inevitably result if the treaty with France were approved, without its benefits being extended to Italy. The same may be said of the orange trade of Jamaica, to which a twenty-per-cent. reduction of duties would be granted to the detriment of the orange trade of Italy!

The United States would be constrained to buy the products indicated above in France and in Jamaica, respectively, on account of the privilege of the lower duty.

In the treaty with France the most-favored-nation clause applies to all further reductions which might be made to other states upon the 135 duties already reduced. And although France has not succeeded in obtaining special reductions upon

her sparkling wines and the products of her wool industry, she would at least have the pledge of the government of the United States that she would participate in the benefits of any reduction of duties made upon those products to other states.

The Italian Government, as soon as it had received notice of the convention between France and the United States (and this took place very late, about a year after its conclusion!) immediately commenced negotiations based upon the fourth section of the Dingley tariff, with the object of obtaining the same concessions made by the United States to France and Jamaica, and of protecting certain of its exports (marble, cheese, almonds, essences, silk goods, etc.,), which have a more especial importance for Italy.

We shall say more below of these negotiations, which are still going on, and seem as though they would never be concluded! But, meanwhile, what wonder is it that the interested parties in Italy are agitating to demand from the United States an equality of treatment with France and Jamaica? What wonder if sometimes the wish has arisen that, in the event of Italy's being unable to obtain the treatment accorded to France and Jamaica, those treaties might perish forgotten and dishonored in the Committee of the American Senate? M. Cambon, formerly French Ambassador to Washington, has informed me more than once that he considers the Franco-American treaty as a species of advance-guard; if it were to pass the Senate at Washington, others would pass afterwards. This is a very acute observation, and worthy of an eminent statesman. His own labors have been successful; but he must not be surprised if the Italian point of view is different from his own, and if we fear that, where the advance-guard has difficulty in passing, the rest of international trade may be cut off altogether! In a word, our fear is that if France succeeds in passing her treaty by means of the fascination which she always possesses for the United States, to whose independence she contributed, the same Congress may, by a motion or an enactment, oppose an anticipatory barrier against the conclusion of other treaties based upon the fourth section, alleging that the President is henceforth no longer empowered to conclude new ones. And thus Italy would remain the victim of differentiated duties, cut off from the market of the United States.

For international trade, just and equal tariffs are indispen-

sable; and heavy tariffs are less injurious than differentiated ones. This is easy of comprehension. But what point have the negotiations reached between Italy and the United States? A point which would be the better for a speedy definition, considering the mutual interests at stake.

The special trade between the United States and Italy is displayed in the following table, from which it may be seen that last year (1902) the two sides were more nearly equal, and that the two countries find the same interest in developing their trade:

SPECIAL TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY.

	Exports from Italy to the United States.			Exports from the United States to Italy.		
	Italian Statistics.	American Statistics.		Italian Statistics.	American Statistics.	
	Italian Lire.	Dollars.	Italian Lire.	Italian Lire.	Dollars.	Italian Lire.
1897..	93,045,000	20,165,600	104,000,000	124,886,000	21,336,700	110,000,000
1898..	107,291,000	21,907,100	113,000,000	166,175,000	24,572,100	127,000,000
1899..	118,115,000	26,459,400	137,000,000	168,449,000	25,763,100	133,000,000
1900..	121,411,000	27,051,100	140,000,000	226,316,000	36,731,700	190,000,000
1901..	139,849,000	27,631,200	143,000,000	234,346,000	34,046,200	176,000,000
1902..	Not yet published.	33,612,900	174,000,000	——	33,135,500	172,000,000

There can be no doubt as to the advisability of aiding the development of this trade on both sides, and it is necessary to do this by all possible means. The frontier duties should on that account be diminished.

Italy asks of the United States the favored treatment stipulated in the conventions with France and with England for Jamaica; she asks that, for the products indicated in those conventions, any further reduction of duties upon the American tariff should be also extended to Italy; lastly, she asks for the reduction of twenty per cent., if no more is to be obtained, upon the duties registered in the fourth section of the Dingley tariff, upon marbles, cheeses, and certain others of her special products already mentioned above. Upon the other hand, Italy is disposed to make just concessions in her duties upon bacon, sago, agricultural machinery, and the writer of this article would not hesitate to make it also upon American petroleum, with important reductions upon the Italian duty, which now stands at forty-eight lire the quintal, in proportion to the corresponding compensations which Italian goods would obtain in the American market.

In these well-balanced proposals there would be, indeed, the character of equity, the only possible guide in conventions of a similar nature. Italy cannot comprehend why the economical

Colossus of the United States should hesitate to accept the small amount of goods which she offers; she cannot understand why a nation so powerful should feel the necessity of caution. There is no need for the power to pass from a Republican to a Democratic majority. The Republican party is not obliged to abjure its economic faith, as these matters are settled with an ease which hardly tempers the rigors of the protective system. This was fully comprehended by McKinley of blessed memory. But the United States, by conceding such legitimate satisfaction to the nations of Europe, would not only co-operate with them in a work of civilization, but would do much towards diminishing that feeling of anxiety, of ill-humor and of alarm which they arouse every day more and more by the example of their juvenile strength and exuberance. Why do they not think of the possibility of danger if all the other governments should unite for their common defence against the operation of trusts, by means of export duties, indirectly generated by this harsh protective system? Even the all-powerful should seek to prevent these natural coalitions which interest and desperation suggest to the weaker powers. And when the rule of justice is abandoned in international arrangements, a rule which is attended by mutual advantage, what else remains but resignation or a keen desire to inflict injuries equivalent to or greater than those which have been received?

Now resignation to the expectation that protectionist nations will be eventually converted to Free Trade is a virtue practised as yet only by the English nation, based more upon the intuitive sense of her own advantage than on an abstract regard for the principles of economy. And even in England, as is proved by the threatened policy of reprisals against duties on sugar and the so-called hygienic precautions against the introduction of foreign cattle, they are losing patience. All other nations, with more or less bitterness, do not hesitate to have recourse to economic revenge, to reprisals, to the Babylonian and Biblical law of revenge: "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." This is the principle acted upon by those states which have made the greatest progress in their boasted civilization!

The errors of the strong absolve or excuse those of the weak, and the economic relations of the nations are changing always for the worse upon the slippery incline of protectionism.

The fact is that the three Americas are all surrounded by fortresses of tariffs, every day becoming more fully armed against the trade of other countries, which would consider it an act of weakness not to follow their example. In fact, in this rage for new tariff duties which has broken out in France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary and Russia, the principal pretexts alleged for such harsh measures are summed up in the American danger.

Upon the one hand, the nations are invited to the Universal Expositions of Chicago, Paris, and St. Louis; the representatives of all religions at Chicago repeat together, with thrilling emotion, the same prayer of "Our Father," chosen with common accord from the Gospel of St. Matthew; and by these mystic paths our minds are raised to the sublime unity of universal brotherhood! In such hours of emotional abandonment the heart-beats of union are sincere, the assurances and oaths of mutual collaboration in the work of civilization exchanged by the nations are real. But it is a strange contradiction that none the less evident is the spectacle of national egoisms which are continually growing greater, of victorious Imperialism, and of isolating tariffs.

It seems almost as if the powers of Good and Evil had become reconciled in our consciences, having agreed to divide between them the hours in the lives of the people, who repeat with all the philosophy of the Preacher: "there is a time to love and a time to kill."

A study of tariffs has drawn us into these philosophical divagations, which lead us farther from our subject than is desirable. It is time to return to sincerity once more, and to put our principles into accordance with our actions. Either let us hold Universal Exhibitions celebrating the olympiads of labor in the peaceful emulations of science and commerce, or let us have the arrogances of Imperialism, tariff reprisals and the brutal victories of might over right.* Both one and the other of these methods have the merit of clearness; what ought not to be tolerated is the equivocacy of the mingling of barbarism and civilization at which we must blush, and which is no longer compatible with the approval of our conscience.

* Considered from this point of view, the German manufacturers of iron and machinery were right in declining the invitation to take part in the Exposition at St. Louis, as long as the American duties stand at 45 or 50 per cent. of the value of metal manufactures.

If only the United States, as they have the power to do, would summon to the approaching International Exhibition at St. Louis a Great Œcumenical Council of the Nations, with the mission of dictating the new canons of fiscal justice to the world, humanity would make a gigantic stride in the triumphal path of civilization, and from on high would smile the august shades of Christopher Columbus and of George Washington, who bestowed upon the Americas the exalted office of uniting the human races.

And, to return after this flight of fancy to lower levels, the writer addresses himself to the leading powers of the United States that they may consider in what a position they place their friends in Europe.

On April 16th, at the International Congress of Agriculturists at Rome, the writer alone openly opposed the German and Hungarian Agrarians, who demanded a league of European states against the products of the United States, and, if the league of European states were impossible, at least conventions between them as a defence against the United States, in order to impose reciprocity especially in the limits of the treatment of the most-favored nation; he overcame them, since the adjournment of their proposal to the next Congress was a courteous method of burying it. At that time, there passed through his mind the thought of the immense throngs of Italian emigrants, the flower of our Latin blood, to whom the United States offer generous hospitality; and since no American was at the Congress, he ventured to act as the representative of America. It was easy for him to demonstrate the fiscal disagreements of Europe, so embittered by the new tariffs that they offer insuperable difficulties to the conclusion of the treaties of commerce which have now lapsed; he also pointed out the impossibility of nations at variance being in a position to cope with the young giant. And he called upon the objectors to speak of the United States with the admiration inspired by grandeur, with the modesty due to a united and formidable power from the divided peoples of Europe.

He little knew that those who had assumed the greater responsibility in these divisions of the European nations would light-heartedly bring into a peaceful Congress of Agriculturists messages of strife against the greatest nation of the world, which represents the fusion of all other nations, the proof of the moral and material unity of the human race.

But, with the sincerity of the friend who has given recent proofs of his affection, the writer ventures to say to the ruling classes in the United States of America that, if they persist in schemes of fiscal error and caprice, it will no longer be possible to defend them against the excesses of the evil-disposed, and from the confusions which they prepare may issue at length the miracle of the necessity of certain conventions between the States of Europe—conventions neither desired nor desirable, because the United States are none other than an expansion of the nations of Europe, far-off brethren; and in these matters of international commerce we should aspire towards universal unity, not to set the Continent of Europe against that of America.

Certainly, the United States can twist these accusations in their turn, and show, as was done at the Congress of Rome, that trusts and combinations of values are also European evils; such, too, are the export duties which result from these artifices. We have all sinned and are still sinning, and hence an examination of our fiscal consciences, accompanied by a resolution of mutual repentance, should not be difficult to us. It is certain that all signs in Europe, and inevitably also in the United States, show that without the hyperbolical pretence of passing from the most rigid Protectionism to Free Trade, and without renouncing our own economic autonomies, the time is ripe for the revision of treaties of commerce founded upon principles of reciprocity, on safer and better established doctrines for the treatment of the most-favored nation, and on the agreement to prevent, as far as possible, trusts from degenerating into absolute infernal machines for the sudden abasement of some to the advantage of others. The final result of our civilization and of such stupendous and rapid means of communication as we now enjoy, cannot be merely that the strongest states invent snares in their international trade to their mutual injury, and to the detriment of the weakest. It cannot produce evils so unworthy of the high level of science and of morality to which our civilization has now attained.

LUIGI LUZZATTI.

LORD NORTH, THE PRIME MINISTER: A PERSONAL MEMOIR.—II.

BY LORD NORTH.

I BROUGHT my last article to a close at the moment when Lord North, at the call of the King, took the helm which had been abandoned by the Duke of Grafton. Lord North's tendencies were Tory: he came of a Tory family, and he had never attached himself to the interests of any of the Whig houses. In fact, his own rise to power was a triumph of personal merit over that system of patronage which had been for a long time the only path to preferment. The principle of the new Toryism was reliance on the Crown, together with a fervent loyalty and attachment to the person of the King. Tories asserted that the King had a right to choose his Ministers and to control their policy. George III. had been taught that his task in life was to free himself from the leading-strings of the Whig families and to govern as well as rule. To succeed in this, it was required that the nation should accept the principle of the Crown's selecting and influencing the Ministers. The King was not strong enough to impose it of his own will: it was necessary to associate himself with a phase of popular feeling. This opportunity was afforded him by the popularity which Lord North rapidly won for his administration, and George III. was prompt to make use of it. He henceforth superintended all the affairs of Government, and exerted all his influence in the councils of the Ministers to shape their policy and measures in accordance with his own wishes. George III. was an able and conscientious man, but he possessed a narrow, obstinate and bigoted mind. With his people to back him, he regarded the resistance of the American colonies to taxation as rebellion, and was prepared to abdicate his throne and seek refuge in Hanover rather than recognize their independence.

At a later period, he refused justice to his Roman Catholic subjects, declaring that the grant of Catholic emancipation would be a violation of his coronation oath.

Historians have agreed that to the baneful influence of George III. must be ascribed nearly all the disasters of the time. It is unfortunate for Lord North's reputation that he for so long yielded his better judgment to the King's unbending will, and remained in office to support a policy which is identified with his name, but for which he was not personally responsible. Yet, as has been pointed out, Lord North does not stand alone under this reproach. As Lord Brougham asks, "upon how many other great occasions have other ministers sacrificed their principles, not to the good-natured wish that the King might not be disturbed, but to the more sordid apprehension that their own Government might be broken up and their adversaries displace them if they manfully acted up to their well-known and oftentimes recorded opinions?" The long period of power enjoyed by the younger Pitt was due to the fact that he rested primarily on royal support, and, to preserve it, he abandoned measures which the King objected to.

Lord North at the outset of his administration had to face an opposition of a most violent character, led by Chatham, and supported by such chiefs as Rockingham, Grenville and Temple. He was assailed with every sort of charge both personal and political. Lord Chatham led the cry that he was merely the puppet of Lord Bute. This charge, although always effective at the time, scarcely needs refutation now. In 1768, Bute's son, Lord Mountstuart, wrote that his father authorized him to declare that he had had nothing to do with offices or measures directly or indirectly after 1765. But in this connection I may insert here some interesting remarks on Lord Bute found in a letter of Lord North's, dated 21st October, 1769.

"Lord Bute is extremely ill again. He has totally lost his stomach, and is vastly emaciated. He is so weak that he cannot venture upon another voyage at present in search of health. This is what I learn from a gentleman who visited him yesterday morning. According to this description he must be in a very bad way. Though he has been the cause of many, and the pretence of more, of our late disputes, yet I dare say it will be found that his death, if it should happen, will not produce any alteration in the system of Government, or be attended with any political consequence whatsoever. I am far from saying that sys-

tems will henceforth be immutable or ministries fixed and immovable, but whatever changes may happen in either, they will for the future arise from causes entirely independent of the sickness or health, life or death, inclinations or aversions, of that noble person or his party."

It was not expected that the Government could live long against the combined attacks of the Whig parties. As Philip Francis afterwards wrote, "North succeeded to what I believe he himself, and every man in the kingdom at that time, thought a forlorn hope." The result was a complete triumph to Lord North. His tact and ability were conspicuous; he commanded a large majority in both Houses; his popularity was steadily increasing in the country, and the Opposition leaders were as eager to oppose one another as to attack the Government. When Parliament assembled in 1771, the Opposition, so formidable the year before, was almost dissolved, and several of its members took office under Lord North, whose administration became firmly installed in power. The King in his letters to Lord North constantly expresses his gratification at the success of the Government, and he soon found an occasion to confer on Lord North a mark of his appreciation of his services. In a letter of 7th June, 1771, he says: "The sincere regard I have for you makes me, though much hurt at the certain loss of so amiable a man as Lord Halifax, yet with pleasure acquaint you that, whenever I receive the account of his death, I shall immediately appoint you Ranger of Bushey Park;" and he adds, "I cannot conclude without assuring you that every opportunity of shewing you the sincere regard I have for you is giving me the greatest pleasure." Two days later, yet another invitation for a far greater honor was received. "I have ordered," wrote the King to Lord North, "on Wednesday seven-night a Chapter of the Garter, when my second son is to have that Order, and the next vacancy, whether of a subject or a foreign prince, I mean to bequeath this Order on you, which I shall do with the greatest pleasure as I never have had any intimation from you that it is an honor you are in the least ambitious of."

At the close of the Session in June, 1772, we read that the affairs were now conducted with more regularity and a greater appearance of concord and firmness than had been hitherto experienced since the first resignation of Mr. Pitt. Nevertheless,

about this time Lord North reveals his own views of himself and his situation in the following letter:

"Downing Street, May 6th, 1772.

"My Lord,—I ought a long while ago to have returned my thanks for your most kind and affectionate letter, and to have repaid your congratulations in kind; but your letter found me in the midst of the distress and agitation of an approaching Budget, and in a state of mind which made me consider my situation and my office with less comfort, if possible, than I do at other times. If I have once in my life been so happy as to be able to serve my King and my country from the accidental situation in which I stood, it must always be my wish to be released from a station which is too great for my abilities before I have entirely forfeited the little reputation I may have gained, and done more mischief to the Public by my want of knowledge, activity and talents, than I did good to it by preventing the whole frame of administration from falling to pieces in a moment of trouble and danger. These reflexions, which are almost always the uppermost in my thoughts, are certainly most troublesome and uneasy to me in hours of perplexity such as those were in which I received your letter. I have since been deliver'd of my Budget, and having now more leisure and ease of mind, I cannot employ myself better than in acknowledging the repeated marks of your Lordship's goodness and affection towards me.

"I am, My Lord, your most dutiful son,

"NORTH."

In June, 1772, a vacancy having occurred, Lord North was invested with the Order of the Garter, an honor conferred on a member of the House of Commons in only one previous instance, that of Sir Robert Walpole, and of which there have been but two instances since, namely, Lord Castlereagh and Lord Palmerston. As a Knight of the Garter, he practised, we are told, the charity enjoined by the rules of chivalry, by a distribution, every Sunday morning, at the door of his official residence in Downing Street, of broken victuals and five shillings to each of twenty persons assembled by order.

The Government received an important acquisition to their strength from the ranks of the Opposition in the person of Lord Dartmouth, who succeeded Lord Hillsborough as American Secretary of State. He was connected with Lord North by marriage; they had travelled and studied together in their youth and throughout the stormy times of the contest with America he was the chief supporter and right-hand man of Lord North in the Cabinet. It is said of Lord Dartmouth that "no member of the

Ministry had more upright or candid views, or a more earnest desire to conciliate the Colonies."

Lord North expresses to his father his pleasure at this accession to the Cabinet.

"Bushey Park. August 18th, 1772.

"My Lord,—I feel as your Lordship may well imagine extremely happy in receiving your kind congratulations upon our late accession to the Cabinet. It is a very agreeable conclusion of one of the most foolish and disagreeable transactions that I have met with in the course of my ministerial life. Lord Dartmouth is so considerable in abilities, and so superior to most other men in character and integrity, that I am certain I never gave the King better advice than when I recommended him for his present office. Indeed, I can hardly say I did recommend him. As soon as Lord Hillsborough determined to resign, His Majesty began with mentioning Lord D. to me. The only person whose pardon I ought to ask upon this occasion is Lord D. himself. He is torn from much ease and comfort, and placed in a situation which he will find very bustling, and perhaps sometimes a little vexatious. His talents are, however, more than equal to any business which he is likely to meet with, and if he will but think of himself as well as he deserves, I have no doubt of his surmounting every difficulty with as much comfort as reputation. I wish we could have kept Lord Hillsborough too, and not been obliged to purchase one good man by the loss of another, but I trust we may find an opportunity of recovering him. He certainly left us unwillingly, though at his own request. He was not prompted to his resignation either by love of faction or of repose, but purely by notions of the necessity he was under of resigning which I own I could never see. In short, the whole of the business is difficult to comprehend or explain. The latter I will endeavour to do when I see your Lordship at Wroxton, but as for the former, I will not answer for your being able to do it even after my explanation.

"I am, My Lord, your most dutiful son,

"North."

In 1773, the East India Company being on the verge of bankruptcy, Lord North produced his great plan for regulating the Company's affairs. Among other privileges, they were given the right to export their accumulated stocks of tea to America free of English duties. The main object was to benefit the Company's finances, and it was thought that, as tea could thus be sold cheaper in the Colonies than in England, its cheapness would form an irresistible counteraction to the non-importation covenants. A grave mistake was made; for in America this arrangement with the Company was represented as an insidious attempt to enforce the hated taxation and as a prelude to other imposi-

tions, and strong measures were taken in all the Colonies to prevent the tea being landed from the Company's ships. Finally, at Boston, the tea was thrown into the sea.

The spirit of lawlessness manifested in Massachusetts had been giving the ministry much concern. In the agitation and conflicts which followed the passing of the Stamp Act, the people of that Colony had been the most turbulent. The news, then, of this attack upon the tea-ships produced great irritation not only in Parliament but also throughout the nation, and, with rebellion in the Colonies and exasperation at home, Lord North was brought face to face with a crisis in American affairs.

As the American war was really but a phase of the great struggle for political freedom entered into by the American Colonies, in order to better understand Lord North's position and determine his responsibility for the disastrous results which followed, I think it well to recapitulate the events which led up to this crisis.

At the close of the French war in 1763, France gave up her possessions in America, and a dangerous neighbor to the thirteen American Colonies was removed. As long as France held Canada, the colonies had to look to the Mother Country for protection; but, this danger gone, England ceased to be necessary to their safety. The immense territories and wealth of the new Continent, the increasing population, the amount of self-government enjoyed, fostered the desire for an independent national life. In England, according to the universal view at the time, Colonies, or Plantations as they were called, were regarded as existing solely for the benefit of the trade of the Mother Country. This limited view gave rise to commercial restrictions which provided a perpetual cause of irritation and dissension. Lecky says: "They (the Colonies) had, however, before the passing of the Stamp Act, one real and genuine grievance, which was already preparing the way to the disruption of the Empire." The colonists were not allowed to sell their produce outside of British dominions, and they were prohibited from importing any goods except direct from England; while every form of colonial manufacture which could compete with the manufactures of England was deliberately crushed. These revenue laws were badly administered, and every means of evasion was practised; but in 1761 the Board of Trade tried to enforce them more strictly in New England. Writs of assistance were issued empowering custom-house officers

to enter any house at any time to search. This measure aroused a storm of indignation, and James Otis denounced the writs as instruments of slavery. "Then and there," said John Adams, "the trumpet of the Revolution was sounded." Up to this time, the American Colonies had been left, almost in every respect, absolutely to themselves. It was afterwards said by a Treasury Official that "Grenville lost America because he read the American despatches, which none of his predecessors had done." When George Grenville succeeded to power in 1763, he resolved to enforce the navigation laws with unsparing vigor, to establish a portion of the British army permanently in America, and to raise by the Parliamentary taxation of America the money which was necessary for its support. "These measures," says Lecky, "produced the American revolution."

The commercial legislation of Grenville produced distress and discontent in the colonies; and in 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, by which Parliament for the first time imposed internal taxation on the people of America. Franklin called this act the "mother of mischief," and Lecky says: "The Stamp Act, when its ultimate consequences are considered, must be deemed one of the most momentous acts in the history of mankind." At this date, Lord North occupied a seat on the Treasury board, but his connection with the Stamp Act was purely administrative, and as a junior Lord of the Treasury no official responsibility rested on him in regard to a Cabinet measure. News of the passing of the Stamp Act was received with great excitement in the colonies, and the people rose *en masse*. Delegates from nine colonies met at New York and adopted a declaration of rights, asserting that England had no right to tax them without their consent. Stamp distributors were hung or burnt in effigy and compelled by mob violence to resign their posts. The country was on the verge of rebellion, and it was impossible to enforce the Act without war. Parliament had asserted its right, and the colonial assemblies had defiantly denied it, and the honor of England was concerned. On the other hand, the commercial classes, touched in their pockets by the resolve of the Americans not to purchase English goods while the Act was in force, were for repeal; and Pitt rose from a sick bed to justify the resistance of the colonists. Finally, the Stamp Act was repealed, but at the same time its principle was reasserted by the Declaratory Act, which affirmed the right

of Parliament to make laws binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever. The breach was healed for the moment, but the effects of the agitation remained; and the unfortunate blunder which followed completed the work of the Stamp Act and drove the Americans into rebellion. In 1767, Charles Townshend proposed impost duties on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colors, professing to raise a revenue without internal taxation. This course, we know now, was adopted without the authorization of his colleagues. Lord North was a member of this ministry, although not yet in the Cabinet; and in 1775 he said in his place in Parliament that he had no share in that measure and had never given it any support. Organized riots of a violent description now took place, Boston taking the lead; new importation agreements spread throughout the Colonies; and in the midst of the ferment Townshend died, leaving to Lord North, who succeeded him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the legacy of his disastrous policy.

An attempt at reconciliation was made by Lord North in 1770, in pursuance of a resolution arrived at in the Cabinet the year before. It was resolved to repeal all the obnoxious taxes except that on tea, which was retained to keep up the right so repeatedly affirmed by Parliament. Lord North had never been an advocate of taxation, but he was strongly of opinion that what he termed the valuable and essential rights of the nation should be preserved. He had, however, hoped that the spirit of revolt would calm down and the exercise of those rights be dispensed with. In his speech in bringing forward his motion, he made this solemn declaration: "Would to God I could see any reason from the subsequent behavior of the Americans to grant them further indulgence, and extend the proposal to the removal of the other duties which it was my intention at that time to do." But from the lawlessness, the terrorism, and the tarring and feathering at Boston and elsewhere, it was scarcely possible, he argued, for the Government to make any further concession. Popular opinion supported Lord North, and it was said that England had sufficiently humiliated herself. But the agitation did not cease, Acts of Parliament were defied, and representatives of the British Government were exposed to the grossest insults. Every mail brought news that New England at least was in a state of virtual rebellion. It is easy, therefore, to understand the feeling in England when the news arrived of the destruction of the tea at Bos-

ton. The Ministry were supported by the great majority of the English people when they determined to show that England still possessed the power to execute her laws and protect her officers. The Bill closing the Port of Boston was brought in and followed by other coercive measures, all directed against the Colony of Massachusetts to reduce it to obedience. The effect of these stringent measures in inducing all the Colonies to make common cause with Massachusetts is well known. A Congress of twelve Colonies met at Philadelphia and issued a Declaration of Rights. A Committee of Public Safety was organized in Massachusetts to direct resistance, enroll militiamen, and if necessary to conduct hostilities against the English Commandant, who in turn began to fortify Boston. "The die is now cast," wrote the King to Lord North; "the Colonies must either submit or triumph."

In the midst of the excitement produced by the resistance in America, a general election was held which gave an increased majority to Lord North. Both sides were rapidly drifting towards war; but, before blood was actually shed, Lord North made an effort, in February, 1775, towards conciliation. He got into communication with Franklin, and views were exchanged on certain proposals which were submitted by Lord North and Lord Dartmouth for the adjustment of differences, but it was found impossible to agree. Lord North then brought forward in the House of Commons a conciliatory scheme of his own—that, if and as long as any Colony thought fit of its own accord to make such a contribution to the common defence of the Empire, and such a fixed provision for the support of the Civil Government and administration of justice as met the approbation of Parliament, it should be exempted from all Imperial taxation for the purpose of revenue.

Lecky says, in reference to this effort of Lord North's to avert war: "The proposition appears to me to have been a real and considerable step towards conciliation. It was accepted as such by Governor Pownall, who was one of the ablest and most moderate of the defenders of the Colonies in Parliament, and it was recommended to the Americans by Lord Dartmouth in language of much force and evident sincerity." The cold reception accorded to this conciliatory measure in the House by Lord North's followers, and the revolt of his own colleagues in the ministry, who abused him for "betraying the cause," show that Lord North

acted on his own initiative and responsibility, and he must be credited with having shown a sincere desire for peace.

These proposals reached the Colonies too late to receive proper consideration; for, in the meantime, the affair at Lexington had occurred and war begun in earnest.

Lord North's connection with the American war may be considered in respect of two different periods, of which the surrender of General Burgoyne's army at Saratoga marks the division. At the outset he regarded the war as just because it was imposed on England by the necessity of preserving her sovereignty.

From a question of the regulation of trade had proceeded the resistance of the right of taxation, and out of this sprang in turn an agitation which, the Government had good grounds for believing, had for its aim the complete independence of the Colonies. Lord North had never himself imposed taxation on America; he had found taxation imposed and was not able to abandon it. The Coercive Act appeared necessary because it was evident that a plan of hostility and separation was meditated, but he had looked to pacification by these means, and when they failed he tried conciliatory proposals before the sword was drawn. Further, he had been led to believe by the reports of Government agents in America, including such men as Hutchinson and General Gage, that at the first display of armed force the Colonists would shrink from a serious encounter and soon submit.

The principle upon which Lord North thus entered upon the war was recognized, not only by the most decided majorities in Parliament, but by the voice of the nation. On the other hand, no Minister had ever to contend with so many difficulties—the blunders and incapacity of the military leaders, an Opposition in Parliament more distinguished for talents and personal consequence than ever appeared at one time, the disaffection of the Colonies applauded and encouraged in the House of Commons itself, and the intervention of the King in the conduct and management of the war. In every part of the series of difficulties, whether as mover of new measures or as defender of his Government, Lord North in debate after debate bore the chief burden of the fray, and it has been said that his talents never burned with a brighter lustre.

When the news arrived of General Burgoyne's surrender, in December, 1777, Lord North declared in the House that he was

sincerely desirous of peace, and was ready to give up his place if by that means peace could be obtained. In a letter to his father he reveals his innermost feelings at this period. Only a short time previously he had suffered from a severe illness, which was aggravated, if not caused, by anxiety and distress of mind.

"Downing Street, August 16th, 1777.

"My Lord,—In the course of ten years' hurry and vexation, I have never been so hurried or so vexed as I have been for these last two or three months. Indeed, I am almost worn out with continual fretting. It may very possibly be that my uneasiness proceeds from my own faults, but the fact is that so long a continuance in a situation which I dislike, and for which I am neither adapted by temper or capacity, has sunk my spirits, weaken'd my understanding, impaired my memory, and fill'd my heart with a kind of uneasiness from which nothing can deliver me but an honourable retreat. I am sorry to say that I do not foresee the moment when that happiness will fall to my lot.

"To this state of mind and to a more than ordinary hurry of business, your Lordship will be so good as to attribute your having waited so long for an answer to your letters, and not to any want of gratitude, duty and respect, and affection, where I am sure I owe them by every tie, and where I trust I have been always ready to pay so just a debt....

"My letter ends rather more pleasantly than it began, thoughts of seeing your Lordship at Wroxton have enlivened me, but my heaviness will, I fear, soon return.

"I am, My Lord, your most dutiful son,

"NORTH."

The effect in the country of the news from Saratoga was to re-kindle the warlike spirit, and large sums were subscribed and new regiments raised by private means. But Lord North announced in the House that after the Christmas holidays he would lay before it a plan for treating with the Americans. His plan appears to have received strong opposition from the King, and Lord North thereupon asked to be relieved from his office, urging upon the King the impracticability of obtaining unconditional submission. The King in reply wrote:

"I should have been greatly hurt at the inclination expressed by you to retire had I not known that, however you may now and then be inclined to despond, yet that you have too much personal affection for me and sense of honour, to allow such a thought to take any hold of your mind."

And he urges him in the same letter not to be in a hurry to produce his plan for restoring tranquillity in North America. In February, 1778, however, Lord North brought in his conciliatory

bills, which practically granted everything to the Americans except independence. When these passed into law, Lord North suggested to the King the propriety of replacing him by Lord Chatham, with whom the Americans might be better disposed to treat, but the King refused to accept the services of that "perfidious man." On Lord North's writing again, adhering to his purpose of resignation, the King wrote:

"I am grieved at your continually recurring to a subject on which we can never agree. Your letter is personally affectionate to me and shews no sign of personal fear; but, my dear Lord, no consideration in life shall make me stoop to Opposition."

Again the King writes:

"Had you the real duty and affection for my person that I know is deep rooted in your breast, common honesty, and that sense of honour which must reside in the breast of every man born of a noble family, would oblige you at this hour to stand firmly to the aid of him who thinks he deserves the assistance of every honest man."

In another letter he says:

"My dear Lord,—Your now always recurring to a total change of administration obliges me to ask you one clear question. If I will not by your advice take the step I look on as disgraceful to myself and destructive to my country and family, are you resolved, agreeable to the example of the Duke of Grafton, at the hour of danger to desert me?"

Finally, the King feels himself obliged by Lord North's "never quitting the subject" and his "avowed despondency," to ask Lord North to consent to remain in office until the end of the session. Lord North could not refuse this request; but, when the time came, the King continued to meet Lord North's applications to retire with alternate reproaches and passionate entreaties, and this continued, as the King's letters show, until 1780. And Lord North writes to his father:

"I always hated my part, and that aversion increases daily. It is very hard that when a man has no favour to ask but his dismission he is not able to obtain it in two years."

The difficulty was to find a successor. The King writes in June, 1779:

"Before I will even hear of any man's readiness to come into office, I will expect to see it signed under his hand that he is resolved to keep the Empire entire."

The distress of his royal master, to whom he was personally attached, and from whom he had received many proofs of favor and affection, was too much for the good nature of Lord North to withstand, and he suffered himself to be induced to remain at the post from which the honorable retreat he sought had become more and more difficult to obtain, as France, Spain and Holland joining America in war against England, rendered the situation almost appalling in its danger.

The publication in 1867 of the confidential letters of George III. to Lord North for the first time furnished a full history of Lord North's true position, which had not been understood by his contemporaries or by later historians, and by the aid of this private history the conduct of Lord North at this particular period can be explained if not defended. What Lord North himself suffered, his letters reveal. I find in the last year of his Ministry the following letter to his father:

"Downing Street, April 25th, 1781.

"My Lord,—Lady North has informed you of the gracious intentions of His Majesty towards the Bishop of Worcester upon the death of the Bishop of Winchester, which, I believe, is not far distant. I own I was a little apprehensive of the Bishop of Lichfield and his claims, but the King intends to give him the See of Worcester and to appoint him Clerk of the Closet. We shall not I suppose be very unwilling to give him that part of the spoils of my Lord of Winchester. The King was, indeed, very gracious upon this point. Upon the first mention of the Bishop of Winchester's illness, he did not permit me to say a word in behalf of Brownlow, but recollecting, of his own accord, his former kind intentions, he told me that he destined Worcester for the Bishop of Winchester, if it would be agreeable to him to make the exchange. I ventured to assure his Majesty that the offer would be very acceptable, and hope that I shall not be disavow'd. Indeed, I have not, for a long time, been so well pleased with my situation as I was to-day, if it has contributed to this arrangement. Brownlow comes to the enjoyment of this dignity in the prime of his life, and I hope he will, by God's blessing, enjoy it long. He may be assured that his success has given me great comfort in a station which, for a good while past, has hardly afforded me any other.

"I ought to have been beforehand with your Lordship in my compliments upon your birthday, but, to say the truth, I really did not recollect the day till I was reminded of it by your Lordship's most kind congratulations. I feel deeply your very affectionate expressions, and this additional instance of your constant and unremitting goodness to me, which has been one of my principal supports and comforts through life. Your partiality leads me to think that my conduct has been cred-

itable to myself and beneficial to the Public. I own I am afraid it has been otherwise, but, if I have not done well in my situation, I can truly say it is a situation which I never sought, and I have been severely punished for all the harm I may have done by the increasing anxiety and uneasiness I have undergone.

"I am, with great respect, My Lord,

"Your most dutiful son,

"NORTH."

The burden of a protracted war against the allied nations was beginning to convince the nation of the necessity of abandoning America; and, after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, the King saw himself forced to submit to the inevitable. In March, 1782, he acknowledged to Lord North that, considering the temper of the Commons, he thought the administration at an end. "Then, sir," said Lord North, "had I better not state the fact at once?" "Well, you may do so," replied the King. Lord North hastened to the House of Commons; and, interrupting a debate, amidst a scene of much excitement, announced the resignation of the Ministry, and in a farewell speech of much dignity and feeling thanked the House for the support, the kindness, and the forbearance which he had so long received from the Commons of England.

A story is told that, in crossing the Lobby on the arm of a friend, he met another of his friends whom he asked to come home and dine that evening. On the latter's pleading a partial engagement, Lord North said: "Come, come, put off your engagement, and have the virtue of saying you dined with a fallen minister on the day of his dismissal."

Owing to the expectation of a long debate, most of the members had sent away their carriages and were waiting in the Housekeeper's room. As Lord North prepared to enter his carriage, which alone was waiting, he turned and said: "I protest, gentlemen, this is the first time in my life I ever derived any personal advantage from being in the secret." Thus he quitted the House in which he had sat for twelve years as the supreme personage.

It is universally allowed that, as an upright public servant, the character of Lord North stands above all suspicion and reproach. At a period when principles were less strict than at present in regard to the prizes of office, the unselfish character of Lord North was proved by the fact that he had derived no pecuniary profit from the situations he held or the patronage he

commanded. He declared in one of the debates that he came into office a poor man and he would leave it still poorer. One of his letters exemplifies his abstention from opportunities of personal profit. It was the practice at that time to raise money for state purposes by means of lotteries, and it was commonly alleged that Ministers and their friends were allotted tickets which they sold at a large profit. A lady having got Lord Guilford to forward an application on her behalf for some of these tickets, Lord North replied as follows:

"I am sorry I did not receive your application for Lady Francis sooner, but I do assure her that it has not been usual for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give notice of an intended lottery to his friends, and that I had not myself in the last lottery, nor have I in the present, a single ticket. Whether I am doomed to the misery of continuing in my office another year I know not, but if I am I will venture to promise that it shall be as little profitable to me as the two last have been."

The Prime Minister's father being alive during all the time he held office, he received no income from the North estates, his sole private income being derived from property belonging to his wife and a small estate of his own settled on him at the time of his marriage, which were reckoned to have brought in £1500 a year. Affectionate father as he was, Lord Guilford made his son no allowance. Letters show that in the early days he was obliged to have recourse to his father for small sums for election expenses, but it was as a loan and not as a gift that these advances were always made, and they were always scrupulously repaid.

Lord North had seven children, but the youngest died in infancy, leaving him six to maintain and educate; and, while he had no expensive tastes or love of splendor, he was liberal in his hospitality. In 1778, the King bestowed on him the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports; but from this office, though nominally £4000 a year, Lord North at his own request received only £1000, until his resignation, when the King, on granting the Cinque Ports to him for life on his own motion made the salary £4000.

Allusion is often made to Lord North's dozing on the Front Bench, even during violent debates. Whether this was simulated, as in the case of a more recent statesman, or whether the weak over-taxed eyes sought relief under their prominent lids, I cannot say; but, to judge from instances like that in the following story,

there was not always that unconsciousness which was attributed to him. "Even now," cried a speaker in the midst of an impassioned harangue, "when voices of warning and protestation are raised against him, the noble lord is asleep." "I wish to God I was," ejaculated Lord North.

Lady Charlotte Lindsay, the Prime Minister's youngest daughter, has left on record her impressions of her father's style of conversation and character in private life.

"His wit was of the most genuine playful kind; he related remarkably well, and liked conversing upon literary subjects; yet, so completely were all these ingredients mixed and amalgamated by good taste that you would never have described him as a sayer of *bons mots*, or a teller of good stories, or as a man of literature, but as a most agreeable member of society, and truly delightful companion. His manners were those of a high-bred gentleman, particularly easy and natural; indeed, good breeding was so marked a part of his character that it would have been affectation in him to have been otherwise than well-bred."

His letters to his father rarely omit a reference to his children, their well-being and progress. For instance, in one of them:

"The only promotions I have heard of since my last are Mr. Nugent created Viscount Clare in the Kingdom of Ireland, and Mr. George North advanced to the second form. The latter writes me word that he thinks he will do very well there."

Another suggests games and romps indulged in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Downing Street, May 30th, 1769.

"I was at Eton between five and six o'clock in the afternoon and found all the company in health and spirits. The boys were very merry and noisy as usual. They had expected me on Wednesday last, but that day being over without any news of me they had despaired of seeing me, and my visit was a great surprise to them all. I have had the satisfaction to-day of finding my family in London full as well, full as merry, and almost as noisy as the boys at Eton."

Lady Charlotte Lindsay continues:

"I think that he had really more enjoyment when he went into the country on a Saturday or Sunday, with only his own family or one or two intimate friends; he then entered into all the jokes and fun of his children, was the companion and intimate friend of his elder sons and daughters, and the merry entertaining playfellow of his little girl who was five years younger than any of the others."

Lord North did not long continue out of office. After his defeat he still had a personal following of 160 to 170 in the

House of Commons, and in March, 1783, the King sent for him at night and pressed him to be again Prime Minister, but he refused. When the famous Coalition Ministry was formed subsequently, Lord North had as colleagues Fox and Burke, the two most eloquent assailants of his former Ministry, who by taking office with him paid a tribute of justice to his personal character.

To have won the friendship and admiration of such men as Fox and Burke, in spite of their condemnation of his policy, is an achievement which alone stamps the personal character of Lord North with the mark of superior worth. When we remember that at a later period, owing to a political difference, the sensitive spirit of Burke constrained him to break off all friendly relations with Fox, it is particularly gratifying that both should have been united in their esteem for Lord North.

In the year 1787, Lord North's sight began to fail him, and he soon after became totally blind. This calamity he bore with admirable patience and resignation.

His daughters read to him, wrote his letters, led him in walks and were his constant companions. In the evenings, his house in Grosvenor Square was the resort of the best company London afforded at that time, and many of his old colleagues and political opponents, such as Fox, Burke, Sheridan and Erskine, formed part of the cheerful and distinguished company which brightened his declining days.

Walpole gives us this picture during a visit to Bushey in 1787:

"I never saw a more interesting scene, and Lord North's spirit, good humour, wit, sense, drollery, are as perfect as ever; the unremitting attention of Lady North and her children is most touching. If ever loss of sight could be compensated, it is by so affectionate a family."

Gibbon, when bringing out a new volume of his great work in 1788, wrote in the preface this beautiful tribute:

"Were I ambitious of any other patron than the public, I would inscribe this book to a Statesman who, in a long, a stormy, and, at length, an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy; who had retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and disinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper."

In spite of his blindness, he took an important part in the debates on the Regency Bill in 1789, and in the next year, on the

death of his father, he succeeded to the title of Earl of Guilford, and took his seat in the House of Lords. He spoke in that Chamber on four occasions, but his last years were spent in retirement with his wife and family.

Lord North did not long survive his father. In 1792 his health declined and symptoms of dropsy appeared. When at last his physician was obliged to inform him that his days were numbered, we are informed that he received this news not only with firmness and pious resignation, but that the serenity and cheerfulness of his manners were in no way altered. The first step he took when aware of his immediate danger was to desire that Mr. John Robinson and Lord Auckland (formerly Mr. Eden) might be sent for; they being the only two of his political friends whose desertion had hurt and offended him, he wished before his death to shake hands cordially and to forgive them. They attended the summons, of course, and the reconciliation was effected. He died on the 5th of August, 1792, and was buried in the family vault in the Church at Wroxton, where a monument by Flaxman is erected to his memory.

I will repeat, in conclusion, two estimates of Lord North which have been recorded; one by his daughter, Lady Charlotte, and the other by his great opponent, Edmund Burke. Lady Charlotte Lindsay says, speaking of her father:

"His character in private life was, I believe, as faultless as that of any human being can be: those actions of his public life which appear to have been the most questionable proceeded, I am entirely convinced, from what one must own was a weakness, though not an unamiable one, and which followed him through his life, the want of power to resist the influence of those he loved."

Burke sums up his character thus:

"He was a man of admirable parts, of general knowledge, of a versatile understanding, fitted for every sort of business, of infinite wit and pleasantry, of a delightful temper, and with a mind most disinterested. But it would be only to degrade myself by a weak adulation, and not to honour the memory of a great man, to deny that he wanted something of the vigilance and spirit of command which the times required."

NORTH.

THE MILITIA ACT OF 1903.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES PARKER, U.S.A., ACTING ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

ON January 21st, 1903, there was passed by Congress and approved by the President a law which, by adding greatly to the defensive power of the Republic, is destined to have a far-reaching effect on the future of the United States. By this law the National Government gains certain advantages which may be briefly summarized as follows:

First: A great improvement in the efficiency of the National Guard, which will result as a consequence of governmental supervision and aid, better arms and equipment, and more thorough training;

Second: The placing of the National Guard, in an emergency, at the disposal of the general Government, whereby the President, in time of war, will be able to muster the whole of that force into the United States service, at twenty-four hours' notice, if necessary, to serve until the Volunteers are ready to take the field;

Third: The formation of a Corps of Reserve Officers, derived from sources outside of the Regular Army, but tested by examinations prescribed by the War Department, whose function in time of war will be to command our Volunteers.

I propose to state briefly the provisions of this Act.

The first section reiterates the law of 1793, that the militia shall consist of every able-bodied citizen between eighteen and forty-five, and divides the militia into two classes—the organized militia or National Guard, and the unorganized or reserve militia.

The third section defines the "organized militia" as the regularly enlisted, organized, and uniformed militia which shall hereafter participate in the annual militia appropriation (heretofore only one million a year). It gives the President authority to fix the minimum number of enlisted men in each company.

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sections give the President authority, in case of invasion by a foreign power, rebellion, or when the laws of the Union cannot be executed with the other forces at his command, to call out "the militia" in such numbers as may be necessary.* He may specify the period of service, not exceeding nine months; and any officer or enlisted man who fails to present himself to the United States mustering officer, when so called out, may be court-martialled.

The thirteenth section provides for a free issue to the States of the new magazine rifles, carbines, and belts, in place of the old Springfield rifles, and for an exchange of ammunition.

The fourteenth section gives authority to the States to use a portion of the annual militia appropriation for the purpose of paying the National Guard while in camp.

The fifteenth and twenty-first sections provide that, whenever the National Guard and Regular Army shall have combined manœuvres, the pay, subsistence, and transportation of the militia will come out of the Army appropriation, and not out of the militia appropriation. The militia will on such occasions also obtain ammunition for target practice without charge.

The eighteenth section provides that each State shall require every organization "not excused by the Governor" to have, during the calendar year, twenty-four drills and five days' field instruction, on penalty of forfeiture of the annual allotment of the State.

The nineteenth and twentieth sections provide for the detail of Army officers, to report to the Governor for duty with the militia.

The twenty-third section provides that any person who has served in the Regular Army or Volunteers or National Guard, or who has received instruction in military schools or colleges to which Army officers are detailed as instructors, is authorized to apply to the Secretary of War for a certificate that he is qualified as an officer of Volunteers; and that, on passing a stringent examination by an Army board, he shall be listed as such.

The sixteenth and twenty-third sections provide for the military instruction, at the United States Army Schools, of officers thus qualified for Volunteer commissions, or of officers of the National Guard, quarters and subsistence to be furnished by the United States.

* The reserve militia may also be called out under this authority.

Such are the main features of the Militia Act of 1903. While the execution of the law has been somewhat delayed, owing to the fact that a certain length of time was necessary to study and interpret its provisions, much has been accomplished already in carrying it into effect.

An inspection is now being made by Army officers to determine, in each State, the strength and efficiency of the militia. As there are, in the National Guard of 118,000 men and officers, over 2,300 companies, stationed in 1196 different towns, it may be readily understood that this inspection is a large undertaking. As soon as the reports from a State come in, showing the number of qualified militia, the necessary number of the new magazine guns and equipments are, upon the requisition of the Governor, shipped to replace the old arms. The War Department has definitely announced its intention, in future, to arm the National Guard with the best and latest arms and equipments. Congress has also appropriated, in the Army Appropriation Bill, $2,000,000 for the purchase of equipments and supplies sufficient to fully arm and equip all branches of the National Guard with the same arms and equipments as are used by the Army. Out of this sum will be obtained a new equipment of field-artillery, of the latest rapid-fire design.

The question of the pattern of uniform to be worn by the National Guard is a matter which, until acted upon by Congress, lies in the hands of the States. Accordingly, some of the States have adopted for their militia the uniform worn by the United States Army. This is not altogether relished by some of the regular soldiers, who would naturally prefer to preserve their identity. In view of the fact that the different corps in all services wear distinguishing marks, colors, or stripes, it is to be hoped that the States will agree upon some similar method of marking the distinction between the regular and the civilian soldier. The wearing of a broad stripe upon the arm has been suggested in this connection.

A uniform system of target practice, suited to the new arm and to the special needs of the National Guard, has been adopted. Under it reports will be published yearly at the Headquarters of the Army, showing the relative proficiency of the States. The States are arranging to comply faithfully with the requirement that, each year, every organization shall have at least twenty-four

drills and five days' field service. Many of the States are desirous that the system of combined manœuvres, in which both the Regular Army and the organized militia are to take part, shall be inaugurated this year, 1903, and the question of having such manœuvres at Chickamauga, Georgia, Louisville, Kentucky, Fort Riley, Kansas, Fort Russell, Wyoming, and American Lake, near Tacoma, Washington, is now being considered. Most of the States are changing their laws so as to adopt the organization, uniform, regulations, system of reports, etc., of the Regular Army.

In general, the attitude of the States toward the new law is one of enthusiastic approval, as being a measure which will strengthen and protect the Republic, and which therefore deserves the support of patriotic men. The members of the National Guard have announced to the Inspectors, almost universally, that they are ready and anxious to serve the United States, whenever the call is made. In many States and Territories, the extra appropriations of this year have afforded an opportunity to greatly improve the equipment of the National Guard, as well as to increase the number of organizations and of men.

While, owing to lack of time and facilities, it has been impossible as yet to carry into effect those sections of the law providing for the instruction of officers of the National Guard at the Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth and elsewhere, or for the examination of candidates for the eligible list of Volunteer officers, these matters are now under consideration by the General Staff; and in due time rules will be formulated for carrying into effect these most valuable provisions. And it is expected that under them a great advance will be made in the theoretical as well as practical instruction of our National Guard officers. It is believed that many young men who would not otherwise enter the National Guard will now do so, in order to obtain the training that will qualify them to compete for places on the War Department Roll of eligible Volunteer officers. A new and valuable element will thus enter the ranks, raising the standard of the personnel; and it is probable that in certain organizations, such as crack troops of cavalry, the theoretical instruction, in the hands of good commanders, will assume such proportions that such organizations will become, in fact, schools for officers. Thus we may expect a great increase in the number of élite regiments, companies, and troops of the National Guard.

The disposition to be made in time of war of this reserve corps of officers is a problem which may well evoke mature consideration. Where is the Government to place these Volunteer officers who have qualified themselves for commissions? Surely they will be used to officer United States Volunteer regiments, like those which did such magnificent work in the Philippines. For the State Volunteer regiments they are not available, since the appointment of officers of a State regiment lies in the hands of the Governor. And it is safe to presume that, in case of any future war, the United States will repeat, perhaps, on a larger scale, the plan of raising a contingent of *United States* Volunteers, the field officers to be largely drawn from the Regular Army, the lower grades from the officers of the Volunteer reserve. Such regiments, like the United States Volunteers of 1899, will be brought into shape in much less time than that consumed by the State Volunteer regiments. It is to be hoped, in such an event, the transfer of Regular officers to the Volunteers will leave vacancies which will be filled by their juniors, thus benefiting promotion in the regular army.

Now that we have a General Staff, charged with questions of future policy, it is probable that plans for the raising, organizing, equipping, and drilling of Volunteers will be worked out in detail, so that in no future war will arise such confusion as in 1898. In such plans, the corps of eligible Volunteer officers created by the Militia Act will occupy an important place.

In connection with the Militia Act, Congress has wisely passed a law for the detail, with full pay and allowances, of twenty retired officers as assistants in the instruction of the National Guard of the States. It is to be hoped this number will be so increased shortly as to permit of assigning one to each State and Territory. The increased pay which this duty brings will make it possible to select for this purpose from the ranks of the retired officers of the United States Army the very best material—officers of rank, experience, and efficiency. It often happens that the operation of the law retiring officers at the age of sixty-four places on the shelf men who are in the possession of their ripest powers. The retired list contains many Brigadiers-General and Colonels and other high ranking officers, who will bring to this task dignity, experience, and talent, and who will command the respect and admiration of the organized militia. It is to be expected that the

functions of these officers will combine those of instructor and inspector of militia, and also of the confidential servant and adviser of both the Governor and the War Department.

The question of the minimum strength of companies of the organized militia presents some difficulties that as yet have prevented a satisfactory conclusion. It is, of course, desirable that the companies should not be too small; for otherwise the force lacks efficiency, and the organization is top-heavy and unduly expensive. It would be desirable that the minimum enlisted strength of the companies should be placed at the figure adopted, in peace, in the United States Army, sixty-five. But, while it may be easy to keep companies at this figure in large towns, in the smaller towns it is not, and the exclusion from the benefits of the militia appropriation of companies of less than sixty-five would disband many companies in localities where they are for local reasons needed by the States or Territories. It would also make the maintenance of a sufficient force of militia a difficult matter in some of our more sparsely inhabited States and Territories. This question will be perhaps settled by fixing a different standard for such communities.

Another difficult question is that of the physical examination that shall be required of the militia recruit. It is important, in case of the muster of the organized militia into the service of the United States, that the men thus mustered in shall be physically fit; otherwise the pension list will be unduly increased. But the United States cannot always in time of war wait until a physical examination is made of all the men before they shall be mustered in. Wars sometimes come suddenly and the troops may be needed at once. The medical examination of National Guard regiments in 1898 took, in some cases, two weeks. It would, therefore, be desirable that the National Guard should be composed only of men who have passed at entrance a physical examination akin to that of the Regular Army recruit. It is hoped that the States will see the necessity of carrying this rule into effect. In any case, it will probably be necessary, after muster into the United States service, that a physical examination be made by United States Surgeons, in order that all unsound men may be noted, and the pension lists thus protected.

Closely connected with the improvement of the National Guard is the question of the purchase by the general Government of

camp sites for combined manœuvres of the National Guard and Regulars, and of the purchase of rifle ranges. In 1901, Congress authorized the President to investigate the question of sites for the combined instruction of the Army and the National Guard, with a view of selecting and purchasing four. The essential features of such sites are that they should be in a central location, five or six miles square, with good transportation facilities, terrain suitable for movement of all arms, good water supply, with facilities for proper disposal of sewage, sandy, easily drained soil, and good locations for camps and rifle ranges. As, in order to carry out the ordinary regimental manœuvre of the advance to the attack, a field having a length of at least 4,000 yards is required in these days of long-range arms, it may be seen how necessary such tracts are to the instruction of the Regular Army, not to speak of the National Guard. Our laws do not permit us to tramp uninvited over the farmer's fields, as they do in Europe; hence, like England, which has its Aldershot camp site, we must have tracts set apart for the purpose. It is to be hoped that we will shortly see the acquirement by the Government of several such tracts and the carrying out of manœuvres by the Army and National Guard on a large scale. The main difficulty is the expense. It is difficult for the Government to buy, in the more thickly settled States, land suitable for the purpose, in tracts of 20,000 to 30,000 acres, for less than $50 to $100 an acre.

Rifle ranges also are needed, not only for the National Guard, but also for the citizen population. To shoot well is a large part of the education of the soldier; and if the Government can arouse such an interest in shooting, in not only the organized but also the unorganized militia, that our male population shall be familiar with the accurate use of the rifle, we shall have gone far towards evening up the advantage the foreigner gains by his universal conscription. Much can be accomplished in this direction, if the United States will offer free the use of the military rifle on ranges to be established near our large towns. Such ranges would also be available for the instruction of the National Guard. Their cost would be little in comparison with the benefits to be obtained. The cost of sufficient target ranges and camp sites for the whole country will hardly exceed that of one or two new battle-ships.

To complete the intention of the law, legislation would seem to be required providing that the cost of maintenance of the horses

of mounted officers and of cavalry troopers shall be defrayed by the United States, during encampments or field instruction. Another amendment in the law ardently desired by the National Guard, is a provision for a *per diem* allowance to men and officers attending the twenty-four drills a year required by the Act. The average militiaman, even though the sacrifice made may be considerable, receives no compensation for his services, except when in camp. It often happens that, in order to attend drills, the enlisted man has to travel a considerable distance, pay railroad fare, and sometimes in addition he is docked for wages on account of missing night work. Because of these and similar obstacles, in some communities it is difficult to obtain recruits of the stamp desired, and the militia service languishes. A much better state of discipline could be maintained if the services of these soldiers were not wholly gratuitous; and an allowance, say of one day's Regular Army pay for a private soldier (about 40 cents) per drill of two hours (coupled with a considerable fine for non-attendance) would add much to the efficiency of the National Guard. When to this it is objected that such an expenditure would add largely to the cost of the National Guard, the reply is made that the United States may well afford an extra ten dollars or so per man per year. For the object of all military training is to produce a soldier for the emergency of war. Under this bill, the National Guardsman becomes at the outbreak of war virtually a United States soldier, having cost the Government annually about ten dollars, as against an annual outlay of five hundred dollars for each regular soldier. Surely, we can afford to spend a few extra dollars per man to make the National Guardsman a more efficient soldier in preparation for the time when every soldier is needed.

There seems to be an impression in some quarters that this Militia Act of 1903 weakens the power of the States over the militia, and is in some respects an attack on State sovereignty. Nothing could be farther from the facts. The bill is carefully drawn to preserve the authority of the Governors over their own troops, by "reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress."* In time of peace, the National Guard of each State is thoroughly a State force, made more efficient for that purpose than ever before by

* See Constitution of the United States, Article 1.

the aid of the general Government. In time of war, the National Guard may be called into the United States service by the President, but this right is a constitutional right under the authority given Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections and repel invasion."* The laws passed under this provision, by Congress, have from the earliest days of the Republic made every citizen of military age, whether in the organized militia or not, subject to military duty whenever called out by the United States. But, while the Militia Act of 1903 more clearly defines the rights and duties of the United States than before, and the organized militia must in future be ready to turn out at a moment's notice in case of war, there no longer seems to be the danger that (as was done in 1898) the militia regiments will be converted into United States Volunteer Regiments. The soldier who joins the National Guard now does so with the assurance that, in case of war, he will not be obliged to volunteer for a long period, but that, after a few weeks or months of service, the regiment will be returned again to the State from which it was borrowed.

The paramount value of the law of 1903 is that its passage enables us now, for the first time, to evolve a competent system of defence. In case of a great war, our principal reliance has always been, and will always be, on our Volunteer troops. But it takes time to raise, organize, clothe, and drill the Volunteers, and during this period of preparation we should, with only our small Regular Army ready for defence, be at the mercy of a powerful predatory enemy. But, under this law, the militia, supporting the Regulars, stand ready to save the country from the humiliation that is sure to overtake in modern wars a nation wholly unprepared. Under this law, the President is able to muster into the service of the United States, at once, and without the long delay made necessary in the case of the Volunteers, the whole National Guard, of 150,000 men, in brigades, regiments, and battalions, as they stand, fully armed and equipped, mobilized and ready for active service at six hours' notice, and ship them to the seaboard, or wherever they may be needed for the defence of the country. That the time will come when they will be needed cannot be doubted. The United States, a nation of nearly a hundred million people, is determined to exercise its legitimate influence in the

* See Constitution of the United States. Article 1, Section VIII.

world's affairs. It cannot, with the blood of the American in its veins, adopt a Chinese policy of exclusion and isolation. And so war is foreordained. But we must remember that modern wars are not always preceded by a declaration of war and that the first notice of hostilities may be the landing of an Army on our shores, the sacking or burning of our sea-coast towns. What we shall want in such an emergency is a first line of fairly well-trained troops, who will form a solid bulwark behind which our Volunteers may be got ready. This bulwark we are going to find in the Regular Army and the National Guard; well-trained men, good shots, accustomed to field service, proud of their record and of their organizations.

With such a line of defence protecting the country on the first outbreak of war, we shall be able to contemplate with more equanimity the possibility of being forced into war with a Power of the first order. It is to be expected that this eventuality will be taken into account by our new General Staff; that they will draw up in preparation for war a complete plan for the formation of these Volunteers who are to relieve the militia; decide where the regiments shall be raised and who shall be their officers; arrange for their prompt equipment and have all kinds of supplies stored near the places of mobilization—ammunition for their training, books and papers for their returns and records, tents for their encampments—so that there shall be no confusion, no disorder.

Enough has been said to demonstrate the importance of this measure to the country at large. As time goes on, its beneficent effects will be more and more evident, its scope made more far-reaching. The country owes a debt of gratitude to General Charles Dick, Member of Congress from Ohio, to the Honorable Elihu Root, Secretary of War, and others, to whose persistent efforts the passage of this law is due. For, in a peace-loving nation, any measure that prepares for war tends to prevent war, since it tends to prevent aggression.

JAMES PARKER.

OUR SECOND LINE—THE NATIONAL GUARD.

BY JOHN J. ESCH.

WE claim to be the most progressive nation on earth, and yet, if we were judged by the laws on our statute books relating to military affairs, we would be considered one hundred years behind the times. A few instances will make good this statement.

From 1812 to 1900 there was a federal statute providing that all honorably discharged officers and men should be allowed one day's pay, according to their rank, for every twenty miles of travel from the place of discharge to the place of original muster. In other words, a colonel, for each one thousand miles of travel, was entitled to receive from the Government $486.12, although the time consumed under modern systems of travel would not exceed one day. Such a law, when twenty miles constituted a day's journey, was reasonable and just; but in these days of rapid transit it would be a source of rank extravagance.

A study of the militia laws of the United States furnishes still more glaring examples of the fact that we have not been up to date. The Act of May 8, 1792, organizing the militia, however much it may have been violated in both letter and spirit, was nevertheless up to January 21, 1903, the law. By its terms, every captain was to enroll within the bounds of his company every able-bodied male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, who, upon notice of such enlistment, was to provide himself "with a good musket or firelock of a bore sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, and pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore

of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder." Each commissioned officer was to arm himself with "a sword or hanger and spontoon." As though this were not a sufficiently formidable array, our forefathers provided that each company of artillery should have "six bombardiers" and that its officers should be armed "with a sword or hanger, a fusee, bayonet, and belt, with a cartridge-box to contain twelve cartridges." The commanding officers of each troop of horse were to "furnish themselves with good horses of at least fourteen hands and one-half high, and be armed with a sword and a pair of pistols, the holsters to be covered with bearskin caps"; while each dragoon, besides the ordinary accoutrements, was to provide himself with a mail pillion, valise, breast-plate and crupper."

It is, perhaps, safe to say that not one guardsman in a thousand can describe the weapons and accoutrements which, under the law of 1792, he was obliged to furnish at his own expense. So obsolete were some of these weapons and accoutrements that no definitions thereof can be found in modern lexicons or encyclopædias. Nothing can better bring to mind the primitive nature of the weapons provided by this old law than the following description of a "firelock" taken from Rees's Cyclopædia:

"Firelock, in strictness applies to every species of firearms, which are discharged by means of locks containing springs, etc., that impel a flint fixed in a species of vise, at the head of that part called the cock, against a curved steel-plate called the hammer, so as to produce from this collision sufficient fire, in the form of sparks, or scintillations, which, being by the action of the device directed into a hollow called the pan, before covered by the hammer, cause the gunpowder deposited in that hollow, and which is called the priming (it being the first portion of that combustible to be ignited), to take fire, and of course by means of the touch-hole, which opens into the pan, to explode the charge that is rammed into the bottom of the barrel."

From Farrow's Military Encyclopædia it is learned that a "spontoon" was a weapon bearing resemblance to a halberd, which, prior to 1789, was borne instead of a half-pike by officers of the British infantry. It was a medium for signalling orders to the regiment. The spontoon planted in the ground commanded a halt; pointed backward or forward, advance or retreat, and so on. The ungraceful and grotesque shape of the weapon points out very accurately the time of its invention—the period of wigs and three-cornered hats.

With hanger and spontoon, mail pillion and breast-plate, and holsters covered with bear-skin caps, an officer of our ancient militia must have made "a picture no artist could paint."

It is true that some amendments have been made to this old law from time to time; but the fact that so much of it remains relating to obsolete arms and accoutrements indicates a highly conservative or non-progressive spirit on our part, or a deeply rooted prejudice against a military establishment. Prejudice against a large standing army always has existed, and no doubt always will exist; but of late there has been a growing sentiment, induced doubtless by our experiences in our recent war with Spain, that no arms, supplies, or equipments, can be too good for the officers and men who, under trying circumstances and under great difficulties, are maintaining the dignity of our Government and the honor of our flag both at home and abroad.

The exactions and despotism of large standing armies prejudiced our forefathers against permanent military establishments; and, from the days of Concord and Lexington, the "minute men" have been the ideal soldiers of the Republic. They constituted the citizen soldiery, which, in all the great emergencies of our country, have borne the brunt of war.

Whether as militia, volunteers, or national guards, this citizen soldiery has received, so far as the several States are concerned, more or less encouragement as manifested in their militia laws. It has been the subject of constant appeals from almost every President. Washington, in his message of 1790, declared that "a free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined, to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite"; and again, in 1791, that "the militia is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order." Succeeding Presidents endorsed the maintenance and improvement of the militia, as "an emergency force," as "the best security for a free people," as "the great bulwark of the public safety," permitting us to "at once enjoy the repose of peace, and bid defiance to foreign aggression."

Notwithstanding the appeals and recommendations of the Presidents and the authority granted Congress by the Constitution "to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia," few changes in the obsolete law of 1792 were made, and

the only support granted by Congress for almost eighty years was an annual appropriation of $200,000, which was increased in 1887 to $400,000, and in 1900 to $1,000,000.

After each of our wars, the militia having played a greater or less part therein, a temporary increase in the military spirit was manifested. The War of 1812 did not redound to the credit of the militia of that day, as the unfortunate controversy between several of the States and the general Government over the question of officers' commissions, and the Hartford Convention arising therefrom, cast a shadow over the service for a time.

The Mexican War, our standing army being small, was largely fought and won by militia regiments from the Southern and Western States enlisting as volunteers.

It was not until the Civil War that our people were made to realize the benefits of a well-regulated militia, and to regret the fact that more support and attention had not been given to it, not only by Congress, but by the Legislatures of the several States. The militia and National Guard of the North were practically exhausted by Lincoln's first call for 75,000 men; and, to fill the calls for subsequent thousands, men were enlisted who had had no previous training in the school of the soldier. We had no reserve that could make any pretension to military experience. There was no second line of sufficient size, strength, and organization worthy of the name. The same condition of affairs obtained in the South. For the first call for 75,000 men, some of the older States, like Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, furnished regiments as well drilled and equipped as regular troops; and these regiments, by reason of their superior training, furnished hundreds of officers of every rank and grade to other commands. Had there been a second line of 150,000 or 200,000 men as well drilled, equipped, and organized as these few regiments, the story of the Rebellion might have been told in one chapter instead of a dozen.

The terrible experiences of the Rebellion were, nevertheless, insufficient to impel Congress to bring about a reform or reorganization of the militia. Barring a few minor amendments enacted in 1861 and 1862, the Act of 1792 seemed to have been as immutable as the law of the Medes and Persians. This apathy on the part of the general Government did not characterize the several States. Many of these, through their Legislatures, ignoring and

expressly violating the Act of 1792, revised their militia codes or adopted new ones to bring the service abreast of the military science of the day, and maintained and increased the efficiency of their militia by liberal appropriations.

We have a still more recent illustration of the weakness of our second line in the Spanish-American War. At the outbreak of that war, the organized militia or National Guard of the United States was nominally 114,000 men. Upon a call for volunteers, the President assumed that a force of at least 100,000 men would report at the several camps of rendezvous fully armed, equipped, drilled, and ready for service. The men volunteered and reported promptly, and manifested that spirit of loyalty which has always characterized Americans when the call to duty sounded; but it was found that the arms and equipments were in many instances old and valueless; that the uniforms in many cases were not up to the standard—in fact, many of the men in some regiments appeared in civilian dress without arms or equipments of any kind; and that both officers and men in many instances had little or no military training or experience.

It was further found at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War that the cavalry and artillery arms of the militia or National Guard were disproportionately small. Twenty of the States had no cavalry organizations; thirteen no artillery organizations; while in ten of the States no examinations were required for commissioned officers. This lack of cavalry and artillery organizations in the National Guard or militia is accounted for by the heavy cost of maintenance, and yet these are the two arms of the service which require the longest training. As it is at present, in case of war we would have to rely upon the cavalry and artillery of the regular army. While these two arms of the service have been somewhat increased by the Army Reorganization Act of 1900, they would be quite inadequate and out of proportion in the event of war; so that, for a proper development of our second line, greater attention must be given in the future to these two arms of the service in the National Guard.

The volunteer regiments of the Spanish-American War, notwithstanding a lack of drill and experience in many regiments, rapidly developed into a splendid body of soldiery, and nobly acquitted themselves of every task imposed. When it is remembered that the general Government at the outbreak of that war

appropriated only $400,000 for the support of the militia of all the States, it must be acknowledged that it got a very good return for its investment. The several States expended annually almost seven times as much as the general Government in supporting the National Guard, and some States, like New York and Pennsylvania, appropriated more money annually for their respective National Guards than the Government appropriated for the National Guard of the entire country. So far as financial support is concerned, Congress has in a large measure atoned for its past neglect by raising the annual appropriation since 1900 to $1,000,000. This sum, with a much larger total appropriation made by the States, ought soon to fully clothe and equip the entire National Guard of the country.

However, something more is needed than mere equipment. The Spanish-American War disclosed the fact that uniformity, coherency, and efficiency are still lacking. These could only be secured by a wise and thorough revision of the federal laws relating to the militia. Such revision has been made and incorporated in the so-called Dick bill recently passed by Congress and signed by the President on the 21st of January. This bill is the result of much careful study, and has received the endorsement of the leading officers of the National Guard of almost all the States. In the words of Secretary Root, this bill makes the following reasonable and proper provisions:

"(1) For the ordinary training and discipline of the militia as a force belonging, in time of peace, to the several States; (2) for its special employment by the general Government as a part of the constitutional military forces in time of war or public danger, such use being made the subject of special statutory limitations in respect to time, place, and occasion of its employment; (3) for its acceptance by the United States, in the form of complete organizations, as a part of any volunteer forces that may be authorized to be raised and embodied in the event of war; and (4) for the volunteer service of its individual members, with preferential rights of appointment and enlistment, in any volunteer forces that may be authorized by Congress, in an emergency of war, in excess of or in addition to the organizations of the militia which may tender their services as such, under the authority of their respective States."

In the attainment of uniformity in organization, armament, discipline, and instruction the regular army is to serve as standard and guide. The gay and heterogeneous uniforms of the

guards of the different States, and even of the same State, are to give way to the plain but serviceable fatigue and dress uniforms of the regulars; the Springfield and other rifles of different calibres are to be supplanted by the Krag-Jörgensens of the latest pattern; the obsolete tactics of Upton are to be superseded by the revised and simpler tactics now in force in the army; the annual regimental encampments, so often held for purposes of mere show and pleasure, are to yield to regimental, brigade, and division encampments, where, by the presence and example of regular troops and the instructions of regular officers, the duties and responsibilities of true citizen soldiery are to be impressed.

The most effective way of securing such uniformity, so necessary in a great emergency, is to bring together on the same field and in the same camp regular troops and the National Guard. This has already been tried in some of the Eastern and Western States with most gratifying results. The practice should be largely extended. To this end, General Dick's bill authorizes the Secretary of War, upon the request of the Governor of any State or Territory, to detail one or more officers of the army to command encampments of the organized militia of the National Guard for purposes of instruction and inspection. The bill further provides, on the request of the Governor, for participation by any part of the organized militia of any State in the encampment manœuvres and field instruction of any part of the regular army at or near any military post or camp or lake or sea-coast defences of the United States; and, when so participating, it shall receive the same pay, subsistence, and transportation as are received by the regulars, these expenses being paid by the Government.

This plan of co-operation has always been a favorite project with Secretary Root. The ignorance of both officers and men as to camp sanitation and the field exercises and manœuvres of large bodies of troops at Camp Alger, Chickamauga, Jacksonville, Tampa, and other points of rendezvous in the spring and early summer of 1898, no doubt impressed Mr. Root with the necessity of improvement in this direction. Since the Rebellion, few of our regular army officers even have had an opportunity of commanding anything larger than a regimental post; and the command of a brigade, to say nothing of a division, was an experience almost wholly unknown. The National Guard officers had even less opportunities of commanding camps; and in all but three or four of

the States the officers of our National Guard have had command over no larger military organization than a single regiment, either in camp or field, and in many of the States the total strength even of a regiment was never assembled. When, therefore, such officers were suddenly called upon to command integral parts, whether company, regiment, brigade, or division, of an army corps in the great camps of mobilization in the Spanish-American War, they disclosed a lack of training, which was due to no fault of their own, but arose out of conditions then existing in both the regular army and the National Guard.

To remedy this defect and to supply this lack of opportunity on the part of both officers and men, the militia bill provides for the assembling of large bodies of troops in given camps. The union of the guards and regulars in many of the States, besides bringing about a more cordial feeling and improving the *esprit de corps* of both, would afford the officers experience in brigade and division commands, and would furnish the men with a practical knowledge in field manœuvres and the school of the soldier. Instead of waiting, therefore, until war is actually upon us before affording our officers and men the experience and instruction to be acquired by the mobilization of large bodies of troops, as is done in Germany, it would be the part of wisdom to furnish this instruction and experience now.

A step in this direction was taken in the Army Reorganization Act of 1900. This act contained a provision for the preliminary examination and survey of four sites, or permanent camp grounds, for the instruction of troops of the regular army and National Guard, these camps to be so located as to best serve the greatest number of troops of the regular army and the National Guard. If such camps be established and a camp located, for example, at Camp Douglas, Wisconsin, the present camp ground of the National Guard of that State, equi-distant from the regular army posts at Fort Sheridan, Ill.; Fort Snelling, Minn.; Fort Brady, Mich.; and the new post at Des Moines, Iowa, it could easily become the rendezvous of an army corps where, within twenty-four hours, more than 20,000 of the National Guard could be mobilized. At such a camp, all arms of the service could be represented; and, while the infantry would predominate, the artillery and cavalry of the regular army would furnish a sufficient force for purposes of instruction and battle manœuvres. At such a camp the

guardsmen who are accustomed to the limitations of an infantry regiment would gain some practical knowledge of the movements of large bodies of infantry, the practice and drill of the field artillery, the evolutions of the cavalry, the operations of the signal and hospital corps, and would see as nowhere else save in actual warfare the end and purpose of army organization.

The writer's seven years' experience in the National Guard has led him to respect its achievements and its possibilities, but has not blinded him as to its defects and its limitations. The enactment of legislation along the lines of the Dick bill will tend to increase the achievements and possibilities of the National Guard and to remove its defects and limitations.

The passage of such a bill and the increased annual appropriation of $1,000,000 by the general Government, together with a new supply of rifles and ammunition from the arsenals of the United States, just provided for, will add new life to our National Guard; and it is to be hoped that the defects heretofore made apparent in times of emergency will never again occur. It is to be hoped that our present National Guard of about 120,000 men may, in the near future, be increased to 150,000 or 200,000, so that our second line may become, what it was originally designed to be under the Constitution, "a force to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

With a standing army which for one hundred years did not exceed 25,000 men, and which to-day does not exceed 70,000, we ought to feel all the greater interest in improving, increasing, and strengthening our second line, the National Guard. It costs the State and Federal Government at present less than $33 per man annually, as compared with $1,000 per man in our regular army, and about $450 per man for the hundreds of thousands in the standing army of Germany. For our home defence, therefore, our people need never groan and sweat beneath the weary load of a Pretorian army. With our National Guard placed upon a sure and respectable footing, we shall have demonstrated to the nations of the earth how to arm ourselves so that "every citizen shall provide the nation with a soldier, and yet no soldier deprive the nation of a single citizen."

JOHN J. ESCH.

THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART VIII.

XIX.

Two days after the talk with Miss Gostrey that we have last commemorated Strether had news by Chad of a communication from Woollett in response to their determinant telegram, this missive being addressed to Chad himself and announcing the immediate departure for France of Sarah and Jim and Mamie. Strether had meanwhile, on his own side, cabled; he had but delayed that act till after his visit to Maria, an interview by which, as so often before, he felt his sense of things cleared up and settled. His message to Mrs. Newsome, in answer to her own, had consisted of the words: "Judge best to take another month, but with full appreciation of all reinforcements." He had added that he was writing, but he was of course always writing; it was a practice that continued, oddly enough, to relieve him, to make him come nearer than anything else to the consciousness of doing something: so that he often wondered if he had not really, under his recent stress, acquired some hollow trick, one of the specious arts of make-believe. Wouldn't the pages he still so freely despatched by the American post have been worthy of a showy journalist, some master of the great new science of beating the sense out of words? Wasn't he writing against time, and mainly to show he was kind?—since it had become quite his habit not to like to read himself over. On those lines he could still be liberal, yet it was at best a sort of whistling in the dark. It was unmistakable, moreover, that the sense of being in the dark now pressed on him more sharply—creating thereby the need for a louder and livelier whistle. He whistled long and hard after sending his message; he whistled again and again in celebration of Chad's news; there was an interval of a fortnight in which this exercise helped him. He had no great notion of what, on the spot, Sarah Pocock would have to say—though he had indeed confused premonitions; but it shouldn't be in her power to say—it shouldn't be in any one's anywhere to say—that he was neglecting her mother. He might have written before more freely, but he had never written

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more copiously; and he frankly gave for a reason, at Woollett, that he wished to fill the void created by Sarah's departure.

The increase of his darkness, however, and the quickening, as I have called it, of his tune, resided in the fact that he was hearing almost nothing. He had for some time been aware that he was hearing less than before, but he was now clearly following a process by which Mrs. Newsome's letters could only, logically, stop. He had not had a line for many days, and he needed no proof—though he was, in time, to have plenty—that she wouldn't have put pen to paper after receiving the hint that had determined her telegram. She wouldn't write till Sarah should have seen him and reported on him. It was strange, though it might well be less so than his own behavior appeared at Woollett. It was at any rate significant, and what *was* remarkable was the way his friend's nature and manner put on for him, through this very drop of demonstration, a greater intensity. It struck him really that he had never so lived with her as during this period of her silence; the silence was a sacred hush, a finer, clearer medium, in which her idiosyncrasies showed. He walked about with her, sat with her, drove with her and dined face-to-face with her—a rare treat "in his life," as he could perhaps have scarce escaped phrasing it; and if he had never seen her so soundless, so, on the other hand, he had never felt her so highly, so almost austerely, herself: pure and by the vulgar estimate "cold," but deep, devoted, delicate, sensitive, noble. Her vividness in these respects became for him, in the special conditions, almost an obsession; and though the obsession sharpened his pulses, adding really to the excitement of life, there were hours at which, to be less on the stretch, he directly sought forgetfulness. He knew it for the queerest of adventures—a circumstance that could play such a part only for Lambert Strether—that in Paris itself, of all places, he should find this ghost of the lady of Woollett more importunate than any other presence.

When he went back to Maria Gostrey it was for the change to something else. And yet, after all, the change scarcely operated, for he talked to her of Mrs. Newsome in these days as he had never talked before. He had hitherto observed in that particular a discretion and a law; considerations that at present broke down quite as if relations had altered. They hadn't *really* altered, he said to himself, so much as that came to; for if what had occurred was of course that Mrs. Newsome had ceased to trust him, there was nothing on the other hand to prove that he shouldn't win back her confidence. It was quite his present theory that he would leave no stone unturned to do so; and in fact if he now told Maria things about her that he had never told before, this was largely because it kept before him the idea of the honor of such a woman's esteem. His relation with Maria as well was, strangely enough, no longer quite the same; this truth—though not too disconcertingly—had come up between them on the renewal of their meetings. It was all

contained in what she had then almost immediately said to him; it was represented by the remark she had needed but ten minutes to make and that he had not been disposed to gainsay. He could toddle alone, and the difference that showed was extraordinary. The turn taken by their talk had promptly confirmed this difference; his larger confidence on the score of Mrs. Newsome did the rest; and the time seemed already far-off when he had held out his small thirsty cup to the spout of her pail. Her pail was scarce touched now, and other fountains had flowed for him; she fell into her place as but one of his tributaries; and there was a strange sweetness—a melancholy mildness that touched him—in her acceptance of the altered order.

It marked for himself the flight of time, or at any rate what he was pleased to think of with irony and pity as the rush of experience; it having been but the day before yesterday that he sat at her feet and held on by her garment and was fed by her hand. It was the proportions that were changed, and the proportions were at all times, he philosophized, the very conditions of perception, the terms of thought. It was as if, with her effective little *entresol* and her wide acquaintance, her activities, varieties, promiscuities, the duties and devotions that took up nine-tenths of her time and of which he got, guardedly, but the side-wind—it was as if she had shrunk to a secondary element and had consented to the shrinkage with the perfection of tact. This perfection had never failed her; it had originally been greater than his prime measure for it; it had kept him quite apart, kept him out of the shop, as she called her huge general acquaintance, made their commerce as quiet, as much a thing of the home alone—the opposite of the shop—as if she had never another customer. She had been wonderful to him at first, with the memory of her little *entresol* the image to which, on most mornings at that time, his eyes directly opened; but now she mainly figured for him as but part of the bristling total—though of course always as a person to whom he should never cease to be indebted. It would never be given to him certainly to inspire a greater kindness. She had decked him out for others, and he saw at this point at least nothing she would ever ask for. She only wondered and questioned and listened, rendering him the homage of a wistful speculation. She expressed it repeatedly; he was already far beyond her, and she must prepare herself to lose him. There was but one little chance for her.

Often as she had said it he met it—for it was a touch he liked—each time the same way. "My coming to grief?"

"Yes—then I might patch you up."

"Oh, for my real smash, if it takes place, there will be no patching."

"But you surely don't mean it will kill you."

"No—worse. It will make me old."

"Ah, nothing can do that! The wonderful and special thing

about you is that you *are*, at this time of day, youth." Then she always made, further, one of those remarks that she had completely ceased to adorn with hesitations or apologies, and that had, by the same token, in spite of their extreme straightness, ceased to produce in Strether the least embarrassment. She made him believe them, and they became thereby as impersonal as truth itself. "It's just your particular charm."

His answer too was always the same. "Of course I'm youth—youth for the trip to Europe. I began to be young, or at least to get the benefit of it, the moment I met you at Chester, and that's what has been taking place ever since. I never had the benefit at the proper time—which comes to saying that I never had the thing itself. I'm having the benefit at this moment; I had it the other day when I said to Chad 'Wait'; I shall have it still again when Sarah Pocock arrives. It's a benefit that would make a poor show for many people; and I don't know who else but you and I, frankly, could begin to see in it what I feel. I don't get drunk; I don't pursue the ladies; I don't spend money; I don't even write sonnets. But nevertheless I'm making up late for what I didn't have early. I cultivate my little benefit in my own little way. It amuses me more than anything that has happened to me in all my life. They may say what they like—it's my surrender, it's my tribute, to youth. One puts that in where one can—it has to come in somewhere, if only out of the lives, the conditions, the feelings of other persons. Chad gives me the sense of it, for all his gray hairs, which merely make it solid in him and safe and serene; and *she* does the same, for all her being older than he, for all her marriageable daughter, her separated husband, her agitated history. Though they're young enough, my pair, I don't say they're, in the freshest way, their *own* absolutely prime adolescence; for that has nothing to do with it. The point is that they're mine. Yes, they're my youth; since somehow, at the right time, nothing else ever was. What I meant just now therefore is that it would all go—go before doing its work—if they were to fail me."

On which, just here, Miss Gostrey inveterately questioned, "What do you, in particular, call its work?"

"Well, to see me through."

"But through what?"—she liked to get it all out of him.

"Why, through this experience." That was all that would come.

It regularly gave her, none the less, the last word. "Don't you remember how, in those first days of our meeting, it was *I* who was to see you through?"

"Remember? Tenderly, deeply"—he always rose to it. "You're just doing your part in letting me maunder to you thus."

"Ah, don't speak as if my part were small; since whatever else fails you—"

"*You* won't, ever, ever, ever?"—he thus took her up. "Oh, I beg your pardon; you necessarily, you inevitably *will*. Your condi-

tions—that's what I mean—won't allow me anything to do for you."

"Let alone—I see what you mean—that I'm drearily, dreadfully old. I *am;* but there's a service—possible for you to render—that I know, all the same, I shall think of."

"And what will it be?"

This, in fine, however, she would never tell him. "You shall hear only if your smash takes place. As that is really out of the question, I won't expose myself"—a point at which, for reasons of his own, Strether ceased to press.

He came round, for publicity—it was the easiest thing—to the idea that his smash *was* out of the question, and that rendered idle the discussion of what might follow it. He attached an added importance, as the days elapsed, to the arrival of the Pococks; he had even a shameful sense of waiting for it insincerely and incorrectly. He accused himself of making believe to his own mind that Sarah's presence, her impression, her judgment would simplify and harmonize; he accused himself of being so afraid of what they *might* do, that he sought refuge, to beg the whole question, in a vain fury. He had abundantly seen at home what they were in the habit of doing, and he had not at present the smallest ground. His clearest vision was, when he made out that what he most desired was an account more full and free of Mrs. Newsome's state of mind than any he felt he could now expect from herself; that calculation, at least, went hand in hand with the sharp consciousness of wishing to prove to himself that he was not afraid to look his behavior in the face. If he was by an inexorable logic to pay for it, he was literally impatient to know the cost, and he held himself ready to pay in instalments. The first instalment would be precisely this entertainment of Sarah; as a consequence of which, moreover, he should know vastly better how he stood.

XX.

He had driven to the station on the momentous day with Chad, but he quitted it half an hour later in different company. Chad had taken charge, for the journey to the hotel, of Sarah, Mamie, the maid and the luggage, all spaciously installed and conveyed; and it was only after the four had rolled away that his companion got into a cab with Jim. A strange new feeling had come over Strether, in consequence of which his spirits had risen; it was as if what had occurred on the alighting of the travellers had been something other than his fear, though his fear had yet not been of an instant scene of violence. His impression had been nothing but what was inevitable—he said that to himself; yet relief and reassurance had softly dropped upon him. Nothing could be so odd as to be indebted for these things to the look of faces and the sound of voices that had been with him to satiety, as he might have said,

for years; but he now knew, all the same, how uneasy he had been; that was brought home to him by his present sense of a respite. It had come, moreover, in the flash of an eye; it had come in the smile with which Sarah, whom, at the window of her compartment, they had effusively greeted from the platform, rustled down to them a moment later, fresh and handsome from her cool June progress through the charming land. It was only a sign, but enough: she was going to be gracious and unallusive, she was going to play the larger game—which was still more apparent, after she had emerged from Chad's arms, in her direct greeting to the valued friend of her family.

Strether *was* then, as much as ever, the valued friend of her family; it was something he could at all events go on with; and the manner of his response to it expressed even for himself how little he had liked the prospect of ceasing to figure in that character. He had always seen Sarah gracious—had in fact rarely seen her shy or dry; her marked, thin-lipped smile, intense without brightness and as prompt to act as the scrape of a safety-match; the protrusion of her rather remarkably long chin, which in her case represented invitation and urbanity, and not, as in most others, pugnacity and defiance; the penetration of her voice to a distance, the general encouragement and approval of her manner, were all elements with which intercourse had made him familiar, but which he noted to-day almost as if she had been a new acquaintance. This first glimpse of her had given a brief but vivid accent to her resemblance to her mother; he could have taken her for Mrs. Newsome while she met his eyes as the train rolled into the station. It was an impression that quickly dropped; Mrs. Newsome was much handsomer, and while Sarah inclined to the massive her mother had, at an age, still the girdle of a maid; the latter's chin, also, was rather short than long, and her smile, by good fortune, much more, oh ever so much more, mercifully vague. Strether had seen Mrs. Newsome reserved; he had literally heard her silent; though he had never known her disagreeable. It was the case with Mrs. Pocock that he had known *her* disagreeable, even though he had never known her not affable. She had forms of affability that were in a high degree affirmative; nothing, for instance, had ever been more striking than that she was affable to Jim.

What had told, at any rate, at the window of the train, was her high, clear forehead, that forehead which her friends, for some reason, always thought of as a "brow"; the long reach of her eyes—it came out at this juncture in such a manner as to remind him, oddly enough, also of that of Waymarsh's; and the unusual gloss of her dark hair, dressed and hatted after her mother's refined example, with such an avoidance of extremes that it was always spoken of at Woollett as "their own." Though this analogy dropped as soon as she was on the platform it had lasted long enough to make him feel all the advantage, as it were, of his relief. The woman at

home, the woman to whom he was attached, was before him just long enough to give him again the measure of the wretchedness, in fact really of the shame, of their having to recognize the formation, between them, of a "split." He had taken this measure in solitude and meditation; but the catastrophe, as Sarah steamed up, looked, for its few seconds, unprecedentedly dreadful—or proved, more exactly, absolutely unthinkable; so that his finding something free and familiar to respond to brought with it an instant renewal of his loyalty. He had suddenly sounded the whole depth, had gasped at what he might have lost.

Well, he could now, for the quarter of an hour of their detention, hover about the travellers as soothingly as if their direct message to him was that he had lost nothing. He wasn't going to have Sarah write to her mother that night that he was in any way altered or strange. There had been times enough for a month when it had seemed to him that he was strange, that he was altered, in every way; but that was a matter for himself; he knew at least whose business it was *not;* it was not at all events such a circumstance as Sarah's own unaided lights would help her to. Even if she had come out to flash those lights more than yet appeared, she wouldn't make much headway against mere pleasantness. He counted on being able to be merely pleasant to the end; and if only from incapacity, moreover, to formulate anything different. He couldn't even formulate to himself his being changed and queer; it had taken place, the process, somewhere deep down; Maria Gostrey had caught glimpses of it; but how was he to fish it up, even if he desired, for Mrs. Pocock? This was the spirit then in which he hovered, and with the easier throb in it much indebted, moreover, to the impression of high and established adequacy as a pretty girl promptly produced in him by Mamie. He had wondered vaguely—turning over many things in the fidget of his thoughts—if Mamie *were* as pretty as Woollett published her; as to which issue seeing her now again was to be so swept away by Woollett's opinion that this consequence really let loose for the imagination an avalanche of others. There were positively five minutes in which the last word seemed of necessity to abide with a Woollett represented by a Mamie. This was the sort of truth the place itself would feel; it would send her forth in confidence; it would point to her with triumph; it would take its stand on her with assurance; it would be conscious of no requirement she didn't meet, of no question she couldn't answer.

Well, it was right, Strether slipped smoothly enough into the cheerfulness of saying; granted that a community *might* be best represented by a young lady of twenty-two, Mamie perfectly played the part, played it as if she were used to it, and looked and spoke and dressed the character. He wondered if she mightn't, in the high light of Paris, a cool, full studio-light, becoming, yet treacherous, show as too conscious of these matters; but the next moment

he felt satisfied that her consciousness was, after all, empty for its size, rather too simple than too mixed, and that the kind way with her would be not to take many things out of it, but to put as many as possible in. She was robust and conveniently tall; just a trifle too bloodlessly fair perhaps, but with a pleasant, public, familiar radiance that affirmed her vitality. She might have been "receiving" for Woollett, wherever she found herself, and there was something in her manner, her tone, her motion, her pretty blue eyes, her pretty perfect teeth and her very small, too small, nose, that immediately placed her, to the fancy, between the windows of a hot, bright room in which voices were high—up at that end to which people were brought to be "presented." They were there to congratulate, these images, and Strether's renewed vision, on this hint, completed the idea. What Mamie was like was the happy bride, the bride after the church and just before going away. She wasn't the mere maiden—yet on the other hand she was only as much married as *that.* She was in the brilliant, triumphant, festal stage. Well, might it last her long!

Strether rejoiced in these things for Chad, who was all genial attention to the needs of his friends, besides having arranged that his servant should reinforce him; the ladies were certainly pleasant to see, and Mamie would be at any time and anywhere pleasant to exhibit. She would look extraordinarily like his young wife—the wife of a honeymoon, should he go about with her; but that was his own affair—or perhaps it was hers; it was something, at any rate, she couldn't help. Strether remembered how he had seen him come up with Jeanne de Vionnet in Gloriani's garden, and the fancy he had had about that—the fancy obscured now, thickly overlaid with others; the recollection was during these minutes his only note of trouble. He had often, in spite of himself, wondered if Chad were *not,* with Jeanne, the object of a still and shaded flame. It was on the cards that the child *might* be tremulously in love, and this conviction now flickered up not a bit the less for his disliking to think of it, for its being, in a complicated situation, a complication the more, and for something indescribable in Mamie, something, at all events, that his own mind straightway lent her, something that gave her value, gave her intensity and purpose, as the symbol of an opposition. Little Jeanne wasn't really at all in question—how *could* she be?—yet from the moment Miss Pocock had shaken her skirts on the platform, touched up the immense bows of her hat and settled properly over her shoulder the strap of her morocco-and-gilt travelling satchel, from that moment little Jeanne was opposed.

It was in the cab with Jim that impressions really crowded on Strether, giving him the strangest sense of length of absence from people among whom he had lived for years. Having them thus come out to him was as if he had returned to find them; and the droll promptitude of Jim's mental reaction threw his own initiation far

back into the past. Whoever might or mightn't be suited by what was going on among them, Jim, for one, would certainly be: his instant recognition—frank and whimsical—of what the affair was for *him* gave Strether a glow of pleasure. "I say, you know, this *is* about my shape, and if it hadn't been for *you*—!" so he broke out as the charming streets met his healthy appetite; and he wound up, after an expressive nudge, with a clap of his companion's knee and an "Oh, you, you—you *are* doing it!" that was charged with rich meaning. Strether felt in it the intention of homage, but, with a curiosity otherwise occupied, postponed taking it up. What he was asking himself for the time was how Sarah Pocock, in the opportunity already given her, had judged her brother—from whom he himself, as they finally, at the station, separated for their different conveyances, had had a look into which he could read more than one message. However Sarah was judging her brother, Chad's conclusion about his sister, and about her husband and her husband's sister, was at the least on the way to be sharp. Strether felt the sharpness, and that, as the look between them was an exchange, what he himself gave back was relatively vague. That comparison of notes, however, could wait; everything struck him as depending on the effect produced by Chad. Neither Sarah nor Mamie had in any way, at the station—where they had had, after all, full time—broken out about it; which, to make up for this, was what our friend had expected of Jim as soon as they should find themselves together.

It was queer to him that he had had that noiseless brush with Chad; an ironic intelligence with this youth on the subject of his relatives, an intelligence carried on under their nose and, as might be said, at their expense—such a matter marked again for him strongly the number of stages he had come; albeit that if the number seemed great the time taken for the final one was but the turn of a hand. He had before this had his moments of wondering if he himself were not perhaps changed even as Chad was changed. Only what in Chad was conspicuous improvement—well, he had no name ready for the action, in his own organism, of his own more timid dose. He should have to see first what this action would be. And for his occult passage with the young man, after all, the directness of it had no greater oddity than the fact that the young man's way with the three travellers should have been so happy a manifestation. Strether liked him for it, on the spot, as he had not yet liked him; it affected him, while it lasted, as he might have been affected by some light, pleasant, perfect work of art: to that degree that he wondered if they were really worthy of it, took it in and did it justice; to that degree that it would have been scarce a miracle if, there in the luggage-room, while they waited for their things, Sarah had pulled his sleeve and drawn him aside. "You're right; we haven't quite known what you mean, mother and I, but now we see. Chad's magnificent; what can one want more? If *this* be the

kind of thing—!" On which they might, as it were, have embraced and begun to work together.

Ah, how much, as it was, for all her bridling brightness—which was merely general and noticed nothing—*would* they work together? Strether knew he was unreasonable; he set it down to his being nervous: people couldn't notice everything and speak of everything in a quarter of an hour. Possibly, no doubt, also, he made too much of Chad's display. Yet, none the less, when, at the end of five minutes, in the cab, Jim Pocock had said nothing either—hadn't said, that is, what Strether wanted, though he had said much else—it all suddenly bounced back to their being either stupid or wilful. It was more probably, on the whole, the former; so that that would be the drawback of the bridling brightness. Yes, they would bridle and be bright; they would make the best of what was before them, but their observation would fail; it would be beyond them; they simply wouldn't understand. Of what use would it be then that they had come?—if they weren't to be intelligent up to *that* point: unless indeed he himself were utterly deluded and extravagant? Was he, on this question of Chad's improvement, fantastic and away from the truth? Did he live in a false world, a world that had grown simply to suit him, and was his present slight irritation—in the face, now, of Jim's silence in particular—but the alarm of the vain thing menaced by the touch of the real? Was this contribution of the real possibly the mission of the Pococks?—had they come to make the work of observation, as *he* had practised observation, crack and crumble, and to reduce Chad to the plain terms in which honest minds could deal with him? Had they come in short to be sane where Strether was destined to feel that he himself had only been silly?

He glanced at such a contingency, but it failed to hold him long when once he had reflected that he would have been silly, in this case, with Maria Gostrey and little Bilham, with Mme. de Vionnet and little Jeanne, with Lambert Strether, in fine, and above all with Chad Newsome himself. Wouldn't it be found to have made more for reality to be silly with these persons than sane with Sarah and Jim? Jim, in fact, he presently made up his mind, was individually out of it; Jim didn't care; Jim hadn't come out either for Chad or for him; Jim, in short, left the moral side to Sally, and indeed simply availed himself now, for the sense of recreation, of the fact that he left almost everything to Sally. He was nothing compared to Sally, and not so much by reason of Sally's temper and will as by that of her more developed type and greater acquaintance with the world. He quite frankly and serenely confessed, as he sat there with Strether, that he felt his type hang far in the rear of his wife's, and still further, if possible, in the rear of his sister's. Their types, he well knew, were recognized and acclaimed; whereas the most a leading Woollett business-man could hope to achieve

socially, and, for that matter, industrially, was a certain freedom to play into this general glamour.

The impression he made on our friend was another of the things that marked our friend's road. It was a strange impression, especially as so soon produced; Strether had received it, he judged, all in the twenty minutes; it struck him at least as but in a minor degree the work of the long Woollett years. Pocock was normally and consentingly, though not quite wittingly, out of the question. It was despite his being normal; it was despite his being cheerful; it was despite his being a leading Woollett business-man; and the determination of his fate left him thus perfectly usual—as everything else about it was clearly, to his sense, not less so. He seemed to say that there was a whole side of life on which the perfectly usual *was* for leading Woollett business-men to be out of the question. He made no more of it than that, and Strether, so far as Jim was concerned, desired to make no more. Only Strether's imagination, as always, worked, and he asked himself if this side of life were not somehow connected, for those who figured on it, with the fact of marriage. Would *his* relation to it, had he married ten years before, have become now the same as Pocock's? Might it even become the same should he marry in a few months? Should he ever know himself as much out of the question for Mrs. Newsome as Jim knew himself—in a dim way—for Mrs. Jim?

To turn his eyes in that direction was to be, personally, reassured; he was different from Pocock; he had affirmed himself differently; and he was held, after all, in higher esteem. What none the less came home to him, however, at this hour, was that the society, over there, of which Sarah and Mamie—and, in a more eminent way, Mrs. Newsome herself—were specimens, was essentially a society of women, and that poor Jim wasn't in it. He himself, Lambert Strether, *was,* as yet, in some degree—which was an odd situation for a man; but it kept coming back to him in a whimsical way that he should perhaps find his marriage had cost him his place. This occasion indeed, whatever that fancy represented, was not a time of sensible exclusion for Jim, who was in a state of manifest response to the charm of his adventure. Small and fat and constantly facetious, straw-colored and destitute of marks, he would have been practically indistinguishable had not his constant preference for light-gray clothes, for white hats, for very big cigars and very little stories done what it could for his identity. There were signs in him, though none of them plaintive, of always paying for others; and the principal one perhaps was just this failure of type. It was with this that he paid, rather than with fatigue or waste; and also, doubtless, a little, with the effort of humor—never irrelevant to the conditions, to the relations, with which he was acquainted.

He gurgled his joy as they rolled through the happy streets; he declared that his trip was a regular windfall, and that he wasn't

there, he was eager to remark, to hang back from anything; he didn't know quite what Sally had come for, but *he* had come for a good time. Strether indulged him even while wondering if what Sally wanted her brother to go back for was to become like her husband. He trusted that a good time was to be, out and out, the programme for all of them; and he assented liberally to Jim's proposal that, disencumbered and irresponsible—his things were in the omnibus with those of the others—they should take a further turn round before going to the hotel. It wasn't for *him* to tackle Chad—it was Sally's job; and as it would be like her, he felt, to open fire on the spot, it wouldn't be amiss of them to hold off and give her time. Strether, on his side, only asked to give her time; so he jogged with his companion along boulevards and avenues, trying to extract from meagre material some forecast of his catastrophe. He was quick enough to see that Jim Pocock declined judgment, had hovered quite round the outer edge of discussion and anxiety, leaving all analysis of their question to the ladies alone, and now only feeling his way toward some small, droll cynicism. It broke out afresh, the cynicism—it had already shown a flicker—in a but slightly deferred: "Well, hanged if I would if *I* were he!"

"You mean you wouldn't in Chad's place—?"

"Give up this to go back and boss the advertising!" Poor Jim, with his arms folded and his little legs out in the open fiacre, drank in the sparkling Paris noon and carried his eyes from one side of their vista to the other. "Why, I want to come out here and live myself. And I want to live while I *am* here too. I feel with *you*—oh you've been grand, old man, and I've twigged—that it ain't right to worry Chad. *I* don't mean to persecute him; I couldn't in conscience. It's thanks to you, at any rate, that I'm here; and I'm sure I'm much obliged. You're a lovely pair."

There were things in this speech that Strether, for the time, let pass. "Don't you then think it important the advertising should be thoroughly taken in hand? Chad *will* be, so far as capacity is concerned," he went on, "the man to do it."

"Where did he get his capacity," Jim asked, "over here?"

"He didn't get it over here, and the wonderful thing is that, over here, he hasn't inevitably lost it. He has a natural turn for business, an extraordinary head. He comes by that," Strether explained, "honestly enough. He's in that respect his father's son, and also—for she's wonderful, in her way, too—his mother's. He has other tastes and other tendencies; but Mrs. Newsome and your wife are quite right about his having that. He's very remarkable."

"Well, I guess he is!" Jim Pocock comfortably sighed. "But if you've believed so in his making us hum, why have you so prolonged the discussion? Don't you know we've been quite anxious about you?"

These questions were not informed with earnestness, but Strether saw he must none the less make a choice and take a line. "Because, you see, I've greatly liked it. I've liked my Paris. I dare say I've liked it too much."

"Oh, you old wretch!" Jim gayly exclaimed.

"But nothing is concluded," Strether went on. "The case is more complex than it looks from Woollett."

"Oh well, it looks bad enough from Woollett!" Jim declared.

"Even after all I've written?"

Jim bethought himself. "Isn't it what you've written that has made Mrs. Newsome pack us off? That, at least, and Chad's not turning up?"

Strether made a reflection of his own. "I see. That she should do something was, no doubt, inevitable, and your wife has therefore, of course, come out to act."

"Oh yes," Jim concurred—"to act. But Sally comes out to act. you know," he lucidly added, "every time she leaves the house. She never comes out but she *does* act. She's acting moreover now for her mother, and that fixes the scale." Then he wound up, opening all his senses to it, with a renewed embrace of pleasant Paris. "We haven't, all the same, at Woollett, got anything like this."

Strether continued to consider. "I'm bound to say for you all that you strike me as having arrived in a very mild and reasonable frame of mind. You don't show your claws. I felt just now in Mrs. Pocock no symptom of that. She isn't fierce," he went on. "I'm such a nervous idiot that I thought she might be."

"Oh, don't you know her well enough," Pocock asked, "to have noticed that she never gives herself away, any more than her mother ever does? They ain't fierce, either of 'em; they let you come quite close. They wear their fur the smooth side out—the warm side in. Do you know what they are?" Jim pursued as he looked about him, giving the question, as Strether felt, but half his care—"do you know what they are? They're about as intense as they can live."

"Yes"—and Strether's concurrence had a positive precipitation; "they're about as intense as they can live."

"They don't lash about and shake the cage," said Jim, who seemed pleased with his analogy; "and it's at feeding-time that they're quietest. But they always get there."

"They do indeed—they always get there!" Strether replied with a laugh that justified his confession of nervousness. He disliked to be talking sincerely of Mrs. Newsome with Pocock; he could have talked insincerely. But there was something he wanted to know, a need created in him by her recent intermission, by his having given, from the first, so much, as now more than ever appeared to him, and got so little. It was as if a queer truth in his companion's metaphor had rolled over him with a rush. She *had* been quiet at feeding-time; she had fed, and Sarah had fed with her, out

of the big bowl of all his recent free communication, his vividness and pleasantness, his ingenuity and even his eloquence, while the current of her response had steadily run thin. Jim meanwhile, however, it was true, slipped characteristically into shallowness from the moment he ceased to speak out of the experience of a husband.

"But of course Chad has now the advantage of being there before her. If he doesn't work that for all it's worth—!" He sighed with contingent pity at his brother-in-law's possible want of resource. "He has worked it on *you*, pretty well, eh?" and he asked the next moment if there were anything new at the Varieties, which he pronounced in the American manner. They talked about the Varieties—Strether confessing to a knowledge which produced again on Pocock's part a play of innuendo as vague as a nursery-rhyme, yet as aggressive as an elbow in his side; and they finished their drive under the protection of easy themes. Strether waited to the end, but still in vain, for any show that Jim had seen Chad as different; and he could scarce have explained the discouragement he drew from the absence of this testimony. It was what he had taken his own stand on, so far as he had taken a stand; and if they were all only going to see nothing, he had only wasted his time. He gave his friend till the very last moment, till they had come into sight of the hotel; and when poor Pocock only continued cheerful and envious and funny he fairly grew to dislike him, to feel him extravagantly common. If they were *all* going to see nothing!—Strether knew, as this came back to him, that he was also letting Pocock represent for him what Mrs. Newsome wouldn't see. He went on disliking, in the light of Jim's commonness, to talk to him about that lady; yet just before the cab pulled up he knew the extent of his desire for the real word from Woollett.

"Has Mrs. Newsome at all given way—?"

"'Given way'?"—Jim echoed it with the practical derision of his sense of a long past.

"Under the strain, I mean, of hope deferred, of disappointment repeated and thereby intensified."

"Oh, is she prostrate, you mean?"—he had his categories in hand. "Why, yes, she's prostrate—just as Sally is. But they're never so lively, you know, as when they're prostrate."

"Ah, Sarah's prostrate?" Strether vaguely murmured.

"It's when they're prostrate that they most sit up."

"And Mrs. Newsome is sitting up?"

"All night, my boy—for *you!*" And Jim fetched him, with a vulgar little guffaw, a thrust that gave relief to the picture. But he had got what he wanted. He felt on the spot that this *was* the real word from Woollett. "So don't you go home!" Jim added while he alighted and while his friend, letting him profusely pay the cabman, sat on in a momentary muse. Strether wondered if that were the real word too.

XXI.

As the door of Mrs. Pocock's salon was pushed open for him, the next day, well before noon, he was reached by a voice with a charming sound that made him just falter before crossing the threshold. Mme. de Vionnet was already on the field, and this gave the drama a quicker pace than he felt it as yet—though his suspense had increased—in the power of any act of his own to do. He had spent the previous evening with all his old friends together; yet he would still have described himself as quite in the dark in respect to a forecast of their influence on his situation. It was strange now, none the less, that, in the light of this unexpected note of her presence, he felt Mme. de Vionnet a part of that situation as she had not even yet been. She was alone, he found himself assuming, with Sarah, and there was a bearing in that—somehow beyond his control—on his personal fate. Yet she was only saying something quite independent and charming—the thing she had come, as a good friend of Chad's, on purpose to say. "There isn't anything at all—? I should be so delighted."

It was clear enough, when they were there before him, how she had been received. He saw this, as Sarah got up to greet him, from something fairly hectic in Sarah's face. He saw furthermore that they were not, as had first come to him, alone together; he was at no loss as to the identity of the broad, high back presented to him in the embrasure of the window furthest from the door. Waymarsh, whom he had to-day not yet seen, whom he only knew to have left the hotel before him and who had taken part, the night previous, on Mrs. Pocock's kind invitation, conveyed by Chad, in the entertainment, informal but cordial, promptly offered by that lady—Waymarsh had anticipated him even as Mme. de Vionnet had done, and, with his hands in his pockets and his attitude unaffected by Strether's entrance, was looking out, in marked detachment, at the Rue de Rivoli. The latter felt it in the air—it was immense how Waymarsh could mark things—that he had remained deeply dissociated from the overture to their hostess that we have recorded on Mme. de Vionnet's side. He had, conspicuously, tact, besides a stiff general view; and this was why he had left Mrs. Pocock to struggle alone. He would outstay the visitor; he would unmistakably wait; to what had he been doomed for months past but waiting? Therefore she was to feel that she had him in reserve. What support she drew from this was still to be seen, for, although Sarah was vividly bright, she had given herself up, for the moment, to an ambiguous flushed formalism. She had had to reckon more quickly than she expected; but it concerned her first of all to signify that she was not to be taken unawares. Strether arrived precisely in time for her showing it. "Oh, you're too good; but I don't think I feel quite helpless. I have my brother—and these American friends. And then, you know, I've been to Paris. I *know* Paris," said Sally Pocock in a tone that breathed a certain chill on Strether's heart.

"Ah, but a woman, in this tiresome place where everything is always changing, a woman of good will," Mme. de Vionnet threw off, "can always help a woman. I'm sure you 'know'—but we know perhaps different things." She too, visibly, wished to make no mistake; but it was a fear of a different order, and she kept it more out of sight. She smiled in welcome at Strether; she greeted him more familiarly than Mrs. Pocock; she put out her hand to him without moving from her place; and it came to him, in the course of a minute, and in the oddest way, that—yes, positively—she was giving him over to ruin. She was all kindness and ease, but she couldn't help so giving him; she was exquisite, and her being just as she was poured, for Sarah, a sudden rush of meaning into his own equivocations. How could she know how she was hurting him? She wanted to show as simple and humble—in the degree compatible with operative charm; but it was just this that seemed to put him on her side. She struck him as dressed, as arranged, as prepared infinitely to conciliate; with the very poetry of good taste in her view of the conditions of her early call. She was ready to advise about dressmakers and shops; she held herself wholly at the disposition of Chad's family. Strether noticed her card on the table—her coronet and her "Comtesse"—and the imagination was sharp in him of certain private adjustments in Sarah's mind. She had never, he was sure, sat with a "Comtesse" before, and such was the specimen of that class he had been keeping to play on her. She had crossed the sea very particularly for a look at her; but he read in Mme. de Vionnet's own eyes that this curiosity had not been so successfully met as that she herself would not now have more than ever need of him. She looked much as she had looked to him that morning at Notre Dame; he noted in fact the suggestive sameness of her discreet and delicate dress. It seemed to speak—perhaps a little prematurely or too finely—of the sense in which she would help Mrs. Pocock with the shops. The way that lady took her in, moreover, added depth to his impression of what Miss Gostrey, by their common wisdom, had escaped. He winced as he saw himself, but for that timely prudence, ushering in Maria as a guide and an example. There was, however, a touch of relief for him in his glimpse, so far as he had got it, of Sarah's line. She "knew Paris." Mme. de Vionnet had, for that matter, lightly taken this up. "Ah, then you've a turn for that, an affinity that belongs to your family. Your brother, though his long experience makes a difference, I admit, has become one of us in a marvellous way." And she appealed to Strether in the manner of a woman who could always glide off with smoothness into another subject. Wasn't *he* struck with the way Mr. Newsome had made the place his own, and hadn't he been in a position to profit by his friend's wondrous expertness?

Strether felt the bravery, at the least, of her presenting herself so promptly to sound that note, and yet asked himself what other note, after all, she *could* strike from the moment she presented herself at

all. She could meet Mrs. Pocock only on the ground of the obvious, and what feature of Chad's situation was more eminent than the fact that he had created for himself a new set of circumstances? Unless she hid herself altogether she could show but as one of these, an illustration of his domiciled, and indeed of his confirmed, condition. And the consciousness of all this, in her charming eyes, was so clear and fine that as she thus publicly drew him into her boat she produced in him such a silent agitation as he was not to fail afterwards to denounce as pusillanimous. "Ah, don't be so charming to me!—for it makes us intimate, and, after all, what *is* between us, when I've been so tremendously on my guard and have seen you but half-a-dozen times?" He recognized once more the perverse law that so inveterately governed his poor personal aspects: it would be exactly *like* the way things always turned out for him that he should affect Mrs. Pocock and Waymarsh as launched in a relation in which he had really never been launched at all. They were at this very moment—they could only be—attributing to him the full license of it, and all by the operation of her own tone with him; whereas his sole license had been to cling, with intensity, to the brink, not to dip so much as a toe into the flood. But the flicker of his fear on this occasion was not, as may be added, to repeat itself; it sprang up, for its moment, only to die down and then go out forever. To meet his fellow-visitor's invocation and, with Sarah's brilliant eyes on him, answer, *was* quite sufficiently to step into her boat. During the rest of the time her visit lasted he felt himself proceed to each of the proper offices, successively, for helping to keep the adventurous skiff afloat. It rocked beneath him, but he settled himself in his place. He took up an oar, and since he was to have the credit of pulling, he pulled.

"That will make it all the pleasanter if it so happens that we *do* meet," Mme. de Vionnet had further observed in reference to Mrs. Pocock's mention of her initiated state; and she had immediately added that, after all, her hostess couldn't be in need with the good offices of Mr. Strether so close at hand. "It's he, I gather, who has learned to know his Paris, and to love it, better than any one ever before in so short a time; so that between him and your brother, when it comes to the point, how can you possibly want for good guidance? The great thing, Mr. Strether will show you," she smiled, "is just to let one's self go."

"Oh, I've not let myself go very far," Strether answered, feeling quite as if he had been called upon to hint to Mrs. Pocock how Parisians could talk. "I'm only afraid of showing I haven't let myself go far enough. I've taken a good deal of time, but I must quite have had the air of not budging from one spot." He looked at Sarah in a manner that he thought she might take as engaging, and he made, under Mme. de Vionnet's protection, as it were, his first personal point. "What has really happened has been that, all the while, I've done what I came out for."

Yet it only, at first, gave Mme. de Vionnet a chance immediately to take him up. "You've renewed acquaintance with your friend—you've learned to know him again." She spoke with such cheerful helpfulness that they might, in a common cause, have been calling together and pledged to mutual aid.

Waymarsh, at this, as if he had been in question, straightway turned from the window. "Oh yes, Countess—he has renewed acquaintance with *me,* and he *has,* I guess, learned something about me, though I don't know how much he has liked it. It's for Strether himself to say whether he has felt it justifies his course."

"Oh, but *you,*" said the Countess gayly, "are not in the least what he came out for—is he really, Strether?—and I hadn't you at all in my mind. I was thinking of Mr. Newsome, of whom we think so much and with whom, precisely, Mrs. Pocock has given herself the opportunity to take up threads. What a pleasure for you both!" Mme. de Vionnet, with her eyes on Sarah, bravely continued.

Mrs. Pocock met her handsomely, but Strether quickly saw she meant to accept no version of her movements or plans from any other lips. She required no patronage and no support, which were but other names for a false position; she would show in her own way what she chose to show, and this she expressed with a dry glitter that recalled to him a fine Woollett winter morning. "I've never wanted for opportunities to see my brother. We've many things to think of at home, and great responsibilities and occupations, and our home is not an impossible place. We've plenty of reasons," Sarah continued a little piercingly, "for everything we do"—and in short she wouldn't give herself the least little scrap away. But she added as one who was always bland and who could afford a concession: "I've come because—well, because we do come."

"Ah, fortunately!"—Mme. de Vionnet breathed it to the air. Five minutes later they were on their feet for her to take leave, standing together in an affability that had succeeded in surviving a further exchange of remarks; only with the rather marked appearance on Waymarsh's part of a tendency to revert, in a ruminating manner, and as with an instinctive or a precautionary lightening of his tread, to an open window and his point of vantage. The glazed and gilded room, all red damask, ormolu, mirrors, clocks, looked south, and the shutters were bowed upon the summer morning; but the Tuileries garden and what was beyond it, over which the whole place hung, were things visible through gaps; so that the far-spreading presence of Paris came up in coolness, dimness and invitation, in the twinkle of gilt-tipped palings, the crunch of gravel, the click of hoofs, the crack of whips, things that suggested some parade of the circus. "I think it probable," said Mrs. Pocock, "that I shall have the opportunity of going to my brother's. I've no doubt it's very pleasant indeed." She spoke as to Strether, but her face was turned, with an intensity of brightness, to Mme. de Vionnet, and there was a moment during which, while she thus fronted her,

our friend expected to hear her add: "I'm much obliged to you, I'm sure, for inviting me there." He guessed that, for five seconds, these words were on the point of coming; he heard them as clearly as if they had been spoken; but he presently knew they had just failed—knew it by a glance, quick and fine, from Mme. de Vionnet, which told him that she too had felt them in the air, but that the point had luckily not been made in any manner requiring notice. This left her free to reply only to what had been said.

"That the Boulevard Malesherbes may be common ground for us offers me the best prospect I see for the pleasure of meeting you again."

"Oh, I shall come to see you, since you've been so good:" and Mrs. Pocock looked her interlocutress well in the eyes. The flush in Sarah's cheeks had by this time settled to a small definite crimson spot that was not without its own bravery; she held her head a good deal up, and it came to Strether that of the two, at this moment, she was the one who most carried out the idea of a Countess. He quite took in, however, that she would really return her visitor's civility: she would not report again at Woollett without at least so much producible history as that in her pocket.

"I want extremely to be able to show you my little daughter," Mme. de Vionnet went on; "and I should have brought her with me if I hadn't wished first to ask your leave. I was in hopes I should perhaps find Miss Pocock, of whose being with you I've heard from Mr. Newsome, and whose acquaintance I should so much like my child to make. If I have the pleasure of seeing her, and you do permit it, I shall venture to ask her to be kind to Jeanne. Mr. Strether will tell you"—she beautifully kept it up—"that my poor girl is gentle and good and rather lonely. They've made friends, he and she, ever so happily, and he doesn't, I believe, think ill of her. As for Jeanne herself, he has had the same success with her that I know he has had, here, wherever he has turned." She seemed to ask him for permission to say these things, or seemed, rather, to take it, softly and happily, with the ease of intimacy, for granted, and he had quite the consciousness now that not to meet her at any point more than half way would be odiously, basely to abandon her. Yes, he was *with* her, and, confronted even in this covert, this semi-safe fashion with those who where not, he felt, strangely and confusedly, but excitedly, inspiringly, how much and how far. It was as if he had positively waited in suspense for something from her that would let him in deeper, so that he might show her how he could take it. And what did in fact come as she drew out a little her farewell served sufficiently the purpose. "As his success is a matter that I'm sure he'll never mention for himself, I feel, you see, the less scruple; which it's very good of me to say, you know, by the way," she added as she addressed herself to him; "considering how little direct advantage I've gained from your triumphs with *me*. When does one ever see you? I wait at home and I languish. You'll

have rendered me the service, Mrs. Pocock, at least," she wound up, "of giving me one of my much too rare glimpses of this gentleman."

"I certainly should be sorry to deprive you of anything that seems so much, as you describe it, your natural due. Mr. Strether and I are very old friends," Sarah conceded, "but the privilege of his society is not a thing I shall quarrel about with any one."

"And yet, dear Sarah," he freely broke in, "I feel, when I hear you say that, that you don't quite do justice to the important truth of the extent to which—as you're also mine—I'm *your* natural due. I should like much better," he laughed, "to see you fight for me."

She met him, Mrs. Pocock, on this, with an arrest of speech—with a certain breathlessness, as he immediately fancied, on the score of a freedom for which she was not quite prepared. It had flared up—for all the harm he had intended by it—because, confoundedly, he didn't want any more to be afraid about her than he wanted to be afraid about Mme. de Vionnet. He had never, naturally, called her anything but Sarah at home, and though he had perhaps never quite so markedly invoked her as his "dear," that was somehow partly because no occasion had hitherto laid so effective a trap for it. But something admonished him now that it was too late—unless indeed it were possibly too early; and that he at any rate shouldn't have pleased Mrs. Pocock the more by it. "Well, Mr. Strether—!" she murmured with vagueness, yet with sharpness, while her crimson spots burned a trifle brighter and he was aware that this must be for the present the limit of her response. Mme. de Vionnet had already, however, come to his aid, and Waymarsh, as if for further participation, moved again back to them. It was true that the aid rendered by Mme. de Vionnet was questionable; it was a sign that, for all one might confess to with her, and for all she might complain of not enjoying, she could still insidiously show how much of the material of conversation had accumulated between them.

"The real truth is, you know, that you sacrifice one without mercy to dear old Maria. She leaves no room in your life for anybody else. Do you know," she inquired of Mrs. Pocock, "about dear old Maria? The worst is that Miss Gostrey is really a wonderful woman."

"Oh yes indeed," Strether answered for her, "Mrs. Pocock knows about Miss Gostrey. Your mother, Sarah, must have told you about her; your mother knows everything," he sturdily pursued. "And I cordially admit," he added with his conscious gayety of courage, "that she's as wonderful a woman as you like."

"Ah, it isn't *I* who 'like,' dear Mr. Strether, anything to do with the matter!" Sarah Pocock promptly protested; "and I'm by no means sure I have—from my mother or from any one else—a notion of whom you're talking about."

"Well, he won't let you see her, you know," Mme de Vionnet sym-

pathetically threw in. "He never lets *me*—old friends as we are: I mean as I am with Maria. He reserves her for his best hours; keeps her consummately to himself; only gives us others the crumbs of the feast."

"Well, Countess, *I've* had some of the crumbs," Waymarsh observed with weight and covering her with his large look; which led her to break in before he could go on.

"*Comment donc,* he shares her with *you?*" she exclaimed in droll stupefaction. "Take care you don't have, before you go much further, rather more of all *ces dames* than you may know what to do with!"

But he only continued in his massive way. "I can post you about the lady, Mrs. Pocock, so far as you may care to hear. I've seen her quite a number of times, and I was practically present when they made acquaintance. I've kept my eye on her right along, but I don't know as there's any real harm in her."

"'Harm'?" Mme. de Vionnet quickly echoed. "Why, she's the dearest and cleverest of all the clever and dear."

"Well, you run her pretty close, Countess," Waymarsh returned with spirit; "though there's no doubt she's pretty well up in things. She knows her way round Europe. Above all there's no doubt she does love Strether."

"Ah, but we all do that—we all love Strether: it isn't a merit!" their fellow-visitor laughed, keeping to her idea with a good conscience at which our friend was aware that he marvelled, though he trusted also for it, as he met her exquisitely expressive eyes, to some later light. The prime effect of her tone, however—and it was a truth which his own eyes gave back to her in sad ironic play—could only be to make him feel that, to say such things to a man in public, a woman must practically think of him as ninety years old. He had turned awkwardly, responsibly red, he knew, at her mention of Maria Gostrey; Sarah Pocock's presence—the particular quality of it—had made this inevitable; and then he had grown still redder in proportion as he hated to have shown anything at all. He felt indeed that he was showing much, as, uncomfortably and almost in pain, he offered up his redness to Waymarsh, who, strangely enough, seemed now to be looking at him with a certain explanatory yearning. Something deep—something built on their old, old relation—passed, in this complexity, between them: he got the side-wind of a loyalty that stood behind all actual queer questions. Waymarsh's dry, bare humor—as it gave itself to be taken—gloomed out to justify itself. "Well, if you talk of Miss Barrace I've *my* chance too," it appeared stiffly to nod, and it granted that it was giving him away, but struggled to say that it did so only to save him. The sombre glow stared it at him till it fairly sounded out—"to save you, poor old man, to save you; to save you in spite of yourself." Yet it was somehow just this communication that showed him to himself as more than ever lost. Still another result of it was to put

before him as never yet that between his comrade and the interest represented by Sarah there was already a basis. Beyond all question now, yes: Waymarsh had been in occult relation with Mrs. Newsome—out, out it all came in the very effort of his face. "Yes, you're feeling my hand"—he as good as proclaimed it; "but only because this at least I *shall* have got out of the damned Old World: that I shall have picked up the pieces into which it has caused you to crumble." It was as if, in short, after an instant, Strether had not only had it from him, but had recognized that, so far as this went, the instant had cleared the air. Our friend understood and approved; he had the sense that they wouldn't otherwise speak of it. This would be all, and it would mark in himself a kind of intelligent generosity. It was with grim Sarah then—Sarah grim for all her grace—that Waymarsh had begun at ten o'clock in the morning to save him. Well—if he *could,* poor dear man, with his big, narrow kindness! The upshot of which crowded perception was that Strether, on his own side, still showed no more than he absolutely had to. He showed the least possible by saying to Mrs. Pocock after an interval much briefer than our glance at the picture as reflected in him: "Oh, it's as true as they please! There's no Miss Gostrey for any one but me—not the least little peep. I keep her to myself."

"Well, it's very good of you to notify me," Sarah replied without looking at him, and thrown for a moment by this discrimination, as the direction of her eyes showed, upon a dimly-desperate little community with Mme. de Vionnet. "But I hope I sha'n't miss her too much."

Mme. de Vionnet instantly rallied. "And, you know—though it might occur to one—it isn't in the least that he's ashamed of her. She's really—in a way—extremely good-looking."

"Ah, but extremely!" Strether laughed while he wondered at the odd part he found thus imposed on him.

It continued to be so by every touch from Mme. de Vionnet. "Well, as I say, you know, I wish you would keep *me* a little more to yourself. Couldn't you name some day for me, some hour—and better soon than late? I will be at home whenever it best suits you. There—I can't say fairer."

Strether thought a moment, while Waymarsh and Mrs. Pocock affected him as standing attentive. "I did lately call on you. Last week—while Chad was out of town."

"Yes—and I was away, as it happened, too. You choose your moments well. But don't wait for my next absence, for I sha'n't make another," Mme. de Vionnet declared, "while Mrs. Pocock is here."

"That vow needn't keep you long, fortunately," Sarah observed with reasserted suavity. "I shall be at present but a short time in Paris. I have my plans for other countries. I meet charming friends"—and her voice seemed to caress that description of these persons.

"Ah then," her visitor cheerfully replied, "all the more reason! To-morrow, for instance, or next day?" she continued to Strether. "Tuesday would do for me beautifully."

"Tuesday then with pleasure."

"And at half past five?—or at six?"

It was ridiculous, but Mrs. Pocock and Waymarsh struck him as fairly waiting for his answer. It was indeed as if they were arranged, gathered for a performance, the performance of "Europe" by his confederate and himself. Well, the performance could only go on. "Say five forty-five."

"Five forty-five—good." And now at last Mme. de Vionnet must leave them, though it carried, for herself, the performance a little further. "I *did* hope so much also to see Miss Pocock. Mayn't I still?"

Sarah hesitated, but she rose equal. "She will return your visit with me. She's at present out with Mr. Pocock and my brother."

"I see—of course Mr. Newsome has everything to show them. He has told me so much about her. My great desire is to give my daughter the opportunity of making her acquaintance. I'm always on the look-out for such chances for her. If I didn't bring her to-day, it was only to make sure first that you'd let me." After which the charming woman risked a more intense appeal. "It wouldn't suit *you* also to mention some near time, so that we shall be sure not to lose you?" Strether, on his side, waited, for Sarah likewise had, after all, to perform; and it occupied him to have been thus reminded that she had stayed at home—and on her first morning of Paris—while Chad led the others forth. Oh, she was up to her eyes; if she had stayed at home she had stayed by an understanding, arrived at the evening before, that Waymarsh would come and find her alone. This was beginning well—for a first day in Paris; and the thing might be amusing yet. But Mme. de Vionnet's earnestness was meanwhile beautiful. "You may think me indiscreet, but I've *such* a desire my Jeanne shall know an American girl of the really delightful kind. You see I threw myself for it on your charity."

The manner of this speech gave Strether such a sense of depths below it and behind it as he had not yet had—ministered in a way that almost frightened him to his dim divinations of reasons; but if Sarah still, in spite of it, faltered, this was why he had time for a sign of sympathy with her petitioner. "Let me say then, dear lady, to back your plea, that Miss Mamie is of the most delightful kind of all—is charming among the charming."

Even Waymarsh, though with more to produce on the subject, could get into motion in time. "Yes, Countess, the American girl is a thing that your country must at least allow ours the privilege to say we *can* show you. But her full beauty is only for those who know how to make use of her."

"Ah then," smiled Mme. de Vionnet, "that's exactly what I want to do. I'm sure she has much to teach us."

It was wonderful, but what was scarce less so was that Strether found himself, by the quick effect of it, moved another way. "Oh, that may be! But don't speak of your own exquisite daughter, you know, as if she were not pure perfection. Mlle. de Vionnet," he explained, in considerable form, to Mrs. Pocock, "*is* pure perfection. Mlle. de Vionnet *is* exquisite."

It had been perhaps a little portentous, but "Ah?" Sarah simply glittered.

Waymarsh himself, for that matter, apparently recognized, in respect to the facts, the need of a larger justice, and he had with it an inclination to Sarah. "Miss Jane is strikingly handsome—in the regular French style."

It somehow made both Strether and Mme. de Vionnet laugh out, though at the very moment he caught in Sarah's eyes, as glancing at the speaker, a vague but unmistakable "You too?" It made Waymarsh in fact look consciously over her head. Mme. de Vionnet meanwhile, however, made her point in her own way. "I wish indeed I could offer you my poor child as a dazzling attraction: it would make one's position simple enough! She's as good as she can be, but of course she's different, and the question is now—in the light of the way things seem to go—if she isn't after all, *too* different: too different I mean from the splendid type every one is so agreed that your wonderful country produces. On the other hand, of course, Mr. Newsome, who knows it so well, has, as a good friend, dear kind man that he is, done everything he can—to keep us from fatal benightedness—for my small shy creature. Well," she wound up after Mrs. Pocock had signified, in a murmur still a little stiff, that she would speak to her own young charge on the question—"well, we shall sit, my child and I, and wait and wait and wait for you." But her last fine turn was for Strether. "Do speak of us in such a way—!"

"As that something can't but come of it? Oh, something *shall* come of it! I take a great interest!" he further declared; and in proof of it, the next moment, he had gone with her down to her carriage.

(To be continued.)

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LEO XIII., HIS WORK AND INFLUENCE.

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I.

Two American papers, the *Pioneer Press,* of St. Paul, and the *Tribune,* of Chicago, both bearing the date, July 20th, 1903, the day following the death of Leo XIII., are upon my table. They are, each in its manner, illustrations of the spirit and the tone of the whole American press of the same date. The *Pioneer Press* places over its editorial article on Leo the caption, "The World's Loss." The *Tribune* honors his memory by wearing upon its first page a symbolical impress—the globe cinctured in mourning. The American press voiced the thoughts and the sentiments of the American people.

We have witnessed an extraordinary, unparalleled occurrence. He who was dead had lived and wrought in a foreign and remote land. He had been the head of a Church to which the very large

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majority of the population refuse allegiance, to which the great number professed in the near past, if they do not profess to-day, positive opposition. Yet, as the electric flash speeds across the continent announcing that Leo XIII. is no longer among the living, all are startled and break forth into a universal chorus of sorrow and praise. The President of the Republic wires across the Atlantic noble words of condolence. A former President of the Republic, judges of the Supreme Court, statesmen, scholars, men of affairs, speak reverent eulogy. Cities and universities lower their flags to half-mast. Protestant ministers in their temples and Jewish rabbis in their synagogues give out tribute of speech and heart. America mourns Leo.

And what we have witnessed in our land, other peoples were witnessing in theirs. Tzars and Kaisers, rulers of monarchies and presidents of republics, told their regrets, and the multitudes responded in sincere and sorrowful echo. It was not a country mourning an illustrious representative: it was not a Church mourning a Supreme Pontiff: it was humanity mourning a great and good man.

For humanity's sake, note must be taken, and remembrance kept, of what occurred on the death of Leo XIII. The universal tribute of sorrow and praise which this death evoked, honors our common humanity and our common civilization. It was a wondrous manifestation of humanity's high-mindedness and generosity, of the exalted elevation of soul to which it attains more particularly in these modern days. Differ men do, differ they will, in many of the matters affecting their manner of thinking and of living. Differ they do, assuredly, in religious belief and conduct. Nevertheless, they are mindful of their mutual brotherhood, of their mutual membership in the great human family; and they are capable of rising above lines of separateness to acknowledge that richness of gifts in one is the inheritance of all, to be cherished and admired by all.

The third day of March, 1878, Joachim Pecci, until then Archbishop of Perugia, was elected into the Roman Pontificate. Leo XIII. was before the world, upon the highest pedestal, from which, for the next twenty-five years, he was to teach and work for the Church and humanity.

It is, indeed, a sublime position into which the Roman Pontiff is lifted. There is given to greatness no other such opportunity.

The field opened to the Roman Pontiff is the world. His immediate subjects, the soldiers of his cause, approach in numbers three hundred millions. His interests and duties of office draw to him nearly all human interests. Nearly all the innumerable intellectual and social problems vexing men are before him for thought and solution. Arms of power the most potent, the most far-reaching, are in his hands, the immortal arms of truth, justice, and charity. And around him, such as nowhere else, there surge inspirations making for greater things—whether it be from the faith within him that he has in hand the keys of Christ's Kingdom, whether it be from the memories of illustrious predecessors, who in one age or another so wrought that the history of their times was knitted into their history and their names set ineffaceably on humanity's scroll of glory.

Let it not be said, however, that the position creates greatness: it reveals greatness, if greatness is there, as it reveals littleness—and with a vengeance—if littleness is there.

Then, in the lifetime of the Roman Pontificate, periods do occur when he who guides for the moment its destinies is tested to the inmost chords of the soul, and menaced with signal failure, unless there belong to him vision of mind and force of character, wisdom, and power, such as are rarely accorded to the workers of history. And one of these crucial periods stood out, in exacting fury, before Leo as he stepped upon the pontifical throne.

The nineteenth century, humanity's new age, had risen high on the horizon. We know the bold promises of the age, and the bolder menaces. The past was to be no more; a new world was to be born. Everywhere there was revolution—in science and in history, in civil society and in religious creeds. Not all, of course, was wrong in the age. There were worthiest discoveries and inventions, due to its audacious industry: there were ambitions and aspirations most legitimate, awakened by its strugglings and its dreams. But it had its excesses and extravagances. It was impatient of measure: it courted extremes. It declared the past to be its special enemy. The Catholic Church represented the past, as no other existing institution wished to do, or could pretend to do: and so the age in malicious intent turned its search-light upon the Church, wishing to find in it an incurable to be relegated into obscurity, if not removed altogether from the living world. There was war to the death between the age and the Church.

The early action of the Church, as is natural in a conservative organism conscious of its inborn strength, had been to recoil upon itself, and gather its energies more closely around its olden landmarks, sternly refusing a parley, under flag of truce, with the advancing enemy. In the encyclicals of Gregory and of Pius, notably in the "Syllabus," it hurled against the age its doctrinal definitions: but showed no willingness to discuss its programme, and inquire what the age really sought—whether it held in all cases for new principles, as for new forms, or whether in some at least it demanded only new forms, which, perhaps, might be but the normal vesture of olden principles in new seasons and situations. Those tactics of the Church had stirred the age into fresher anger, and infused into the battle fiercer passion.

In its hatred of the Church, the age was reinforced in non-Catholic countries by sectarian prejudices, survivals of animosities of former generations. In those countries, to the minds of the many, the Church was still the foe and perverter of the Scriptures, and its Pope, if not the anti-Christ, was at least a fair image of the apocalyptic monster.

There was, too, the war of nations against the Church, at the time of Leo's election. For one reason or another, the relations between Rome and the governments of Europe were most unfriendly. It was mistrust and aversion, when it was not open warfare. In Germany, the *Kulturkampf* was raging; and the conqueror of Sedan, it was proclaimed, was not a Henry IV. to betake himself to "Canossa." Russia was driving with the bayonet its Uniate subjects into its jails or its schism. In France, Catholics were in discord with the Republic, and the Republic in discord with Catholics. In Spain, the Church, the ally now of Carlists, now of Alphonsists, was rent in pieces, and in serious danger of losing its peace and vigor. Little Switzerland had to be in the fashion, and, in defence of a new schism draping itself in the name of "Old-Catholicism," was, in its way, hurling defiance across the Alps. Austria, even, however loyal to Rome its Emperor might be, was permitting the virus of Josephism to permeate its parliaments, and what at any moment it might say or do against its historic Church, no one could tell. In Italy, the soldiers of Victor Emmanuel had crossed the Tiber, and shattered with cannons Rome's imperial wall. The Pontiff had been declared by Italian law the subject of the Italian government.

The loss of the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy seemed the climax of tendencies and events hastening the Church to its doom. It was taken to indicate that Heaven, no less than earth, was abandoning the Church. The temporal power, it had been thought and said, was the one prop that still upheld the tottering columns of the Papacy, the one mantle that shielded from the world's gaze its decrepit bastions; and now the temporal power was gone!

Catholics were dismayed. Their faith taught them that, however high ocean's billows rise, Peter's bark can never be sunken beyond recovery. But, for the moment, the storm raged so violently, they stood aghast; what to do, whither to turn, they knew not. Patient inactivity was the doctrine of many; these simply folded their hands and waited. To others, the combat was still the duty of the hour; but it was the combat that fastened them to the enclosures of their citadels, and forbade incursions into the territory of the enemy; it was the combat with affirmations and anathemas, rather than arguments and conciliation. The times were solemn. A French writer, Vicomte de Vogué, with the full import of the times upon his mind, assisted in the Sistine Chapel at the ceremonies attending the coronation of Leo. He wrote:

"The darkness of the place, the limited company, the air of effacement and almost mystery—everything led our thoughts back to the first enthronement of Popes in the Catacombs. Pius IX. had left an abounding fame and a great void: the despoiled Papacy seemed to have been engulfed with him. The heir without a heritage who was shown to us had a look of weakness, and his title to renown was still discussed. His coronation seemed a *simulacrum* of vanished realities, the elevation of a phantom. And these were the years when the shadow of the cross on the world was growing less."

Such the Church, such the world, when Leo became Pontiff. To have been a great Pontiff, he must needs have had within him the elements of greatness; he must needs have accomplished great things during his pontificate.

A man Leo was, rare among men. With Leo on her scroll, Italy may well resume her Virgilian boast: "The mighty mother of men!" Knowing Leo, the poet of Avon would have sung: "The senate-house of planets all did sit, to knit in (him) their best perfections."

What dominated in Leo was mind. Such a mind as Leo's was —so lofty, so far-reaching in range, so piercing in its glance

through details, so rapid in its flight to the kernel of the problem, and thence at once to its solution! I marvel now, as I recall my audiences with Leo. He would talk: he would give free current to the floods of light within him. And, as he talked, as he discoursed of Church and nations, of present and future ages, of high destinies and ambitions, I felt like one sitting at the feet of a Scriptural prophet, and in wonderment I would exclaim to myself: What a great thing a great mind is! Once, elsewhere in Europe, I was in presence of a mind that seemed an image of Leo's—not resplendent as Leo's mind, but yet an image of it: it was when I sat near Manning in Westminster.

The quick, piercing penetration of Leo's mind! This was of immense value in his work; it explains how he was able to accomplish so much in his quarter-century. I have in my memory questions most complicated—hopelessly so, it would have seemed, for one forced to view them from a distance and outside their local circumstances. Officials of high renown had been struggling over them—and in vain. A brief exposition was made to Leo: soon the matter was clear, and the answer given in terse, comprehensive formula. "You wish your matter to be quickly understood," said to me once Cardinal Satolli; "then speak with Leo."

It was a mind stored with knowledge, refined and elevated by careful culture. The long years of retirement amid the hills and vales of Umbria had been put to profit. Not only had Leo, as was demanded of him by his sacred profession, given deep and continuous attention to philosophy and theology: he had, also, roamed long and extensively through fields of history and literature, of science and sociology, of law and diplomatics. His reading, too, had kept full pace with the movements of modern thought and investigation. Privileged to converse with Leo, the prelate and the diplomat, the traveller and the scholar, found him awaiting them on their ground, familiar with their studies. His encyclicals are evidences of deep learning, as they are of exquisite literary form. And Leo's innocent sports of his leisure hours, pursued into the very shadows of death, his Latin poems, are revelations of his beauty of expression and richness of thought, as they are of his sweetness of soul and of the rhythmic melodies of his whole career. Leo loved poetry and poets: noble minds are poetic by nature. One of the last books, the wires told us, upon which he rested his fingers, wan already and cold from deathly

illness, was the *Ars Poetica* of Horace. During his lifetime his favorite poet had been Dante. He ordered to be printed, under his personal supervision, a magnificent edition of the Italian master of song. Charles A. Dana told how he had prepared himself for an audience with Leo by an attentive rehearsal of some Dantean passages. As occasion offered during the audience, Dana gave voice, now to one, now to another, of those passages: but, to his surprise and discomfiture, whenever his memory brought him to a pause, Leo would repeat the subsequent verses, with manifest readiness for continuous indefinite quotation. With all he knew, Leo sought to know more. He was a reader and a student amid the onerous occupations of the Pontificate. I heard from his lips that, in the preparation of his encyclical on Labor, he had read extensively books, reviews, and reports of congresses. And I love at this moment to conjure up his figure, as once I saw it, an evening after dark, before a small square table, over which rose the glimmering rays of two waxen tapers, elbows resting heavily on the table, head sunken into the outstretched palms, eyes unspectacled, burying his gaze into Italian and French papers of latest date. He learned much from those whom he admitted to audiences. He was inquisitive; he put leading questions, and he soon knew what his visitors knew. It was no trifling task to satisfy him. One of my hardest experiences with Leo was when I was asked to tell him in brief summary the exact radical difference between our two American political parties, the Republican and the Democratic. What Leo once knew, he always knew. His memory was marvellous in its retentiveness. In one of my audiences with him I was astounded to hear him recall with startling vividness incidents of a previous audience seven years past—incidents that I had totally forgotten, until reminded of them, in this manner.

With a great mind there was in Leo a great heart. His office was that of the shepherd, the father: in it there was needed that tenderness of soul which responds to every human suffering, and pours into every human wound the balm of its unction. It was plainly to be remarked in Leo, that heart was subservient to mind, and was ever held under the control of the superior faculty: otherwise, his heart was as wide of range as was the mind, and as quick to throb as the mind was quick to see. It was with a genuine feeling of compassion, and a deep joyousness begotten of

his sense of power to bring succor, that he stepped into the field of action, whenever an ill of humanity was to be relieved. An appeal to him, in the name of human woe, whencesoever it came, obtained an attentive ear. Lines of social class or religious communion, frontiers of race or nationality, never limited the flow of his love. His writings in behalf of labor, his fruitful intervention in Brazil for the abolition of slavery, his tenacious co-operation with Lavigerie to protect the blacks of Africa were the native effusions of his broad humanitarianism of heart, as, also, his thousand and one smaller acts of kindness and amiability reflected its quieter and softer beatings. Those who had at any time the privilege of an audience, private or public, with Leo, can tell of his sweetness of temper and graciousness of manner, as of his exquisite tact and practical judgment. On one occasion, I obtained an audience for a well-known Presbyterian minister and his wife. The audience over, they hurried to my hotel, faces suffused with abundant tears, to tell me that the delight of their visit to the Vatican was unforgetable. I heard of another Protestant clergyman saying that his remembrance of Leo was as the remembrance of a living image of Christ.

Leo's wonderful tact! It was mind and heart combined. It showed itself in smaller realms of action. It showed itself in larger realms. In these latter, tact is statesmanship. Leo was the statesman of the last half-century, a period by no means poor in statesmanship. It was the time of Crispi, Thiers, Gladstone, Bismarck. Leo surpassed all of them in mental grandeur, as he surpassed them in the magnitude of his sphere of action, and the success following upon his labors. Leo studied men and situations. He bided his time; the opportunity at hand, he never failed to grasp it. He had long watched the growth of conditions, fostering them meanwhile with consummate prudence. The psychological moment arriving, he acted instantly. It was the publication of an encyclical, or the establishment of an apostolic delegation; it was the institution of a religious work, or an appeal to sovereigns and potentates; whatever it was, Leo had chosen for it the propitious time and place, and success was assured. The statesman had been at work. Little in Leo's career happened by accident; nothing from the impulse of the moment. He was not the man to move with currents, and grasp only the fortunes that passing events or self-made conditions cast into his

hands. He was the far-seeing, patient worker: his pontificate was the creation of his genius.

It is a true and significant definition of Leo, as Pontiff, to say that in a marked manner he was a conscious worker. This was one of his very singular characteristics. It goes far to explain Leo's career. He was conscious throughout—conscious of the gifts within him, conscious of the grandeur of the mission confided to him, conscious of the power wrapt up in his office, conscious of the opportunities brought to him. And conscious thus, he was nobly ambitious. He had resolved that his should be a great pontificate. The pontificates of history—those of Leo I., Gregory VII., Innocent III., Pius V., were before his mind: his own, so far as it depended on him, was to be as theirs. They had served the Church with exceptional glory: he would serve it in like manner. The picture of his pontificate, as he desired it to be, tempted ever his pencil. The occasion present, he colored deliberately the canvas: the occasion absent, he as deliberately wrought to draw it nigh. He kept his energies in persistent play. The canvas he had placed on the easel was to be filled out: and filled out it was when he was bidden to his rest.

It is impossible to have studied Leo, or conversed long with him, without realizing how completely he was identified with his office. He grew into its attributes and prerogatives. The man Leo scarcely existed: it was the Pontiff of Rome. The sense of the immensity of his office was upon him: its hopes and its darings were his hopes and darings: its powers, he felt, had passed into his soul: he partook, as it were, of its eternity. To the last, Leo would propose and plan, as one buoyant of youth, as if years did not count. It was the office that was proposing and planning—that office whose views are long, very long, extending into the far generations of the future. Surprise has been expressed that, during his last illness, Leo delighted in reading and hearing what the world was saying about him. In this he was Leo. He had had a work to do: he wished to see how it had been done. He was reviewing, not himself, but his pontificate.

Only a rapid review is here possible of Leo's work.

He made peace with governments. He brought to a close the *Kulturkampf* in Germany. The manifest fair-mindedness of his proposals, the sweetness with which they were made, the skilled handling of the Catholic forces in Germany so as to

strengthen the government in its battlings with internal perils, made captive Emperor and minister, and secured the repeal of the Falk laws and the generous restoration to the Church of its liberties and prerogatives. He opened the way for reconciliation between the Church and the Republic in France. Catholics in France held so fast to the traditional doctrine of "the throne and the altar," and sought so zealously to make religion a shield for their loyalty to monarchy, that pretext was given to the government to treat the Church as an enemy. Leo startled the country with the proclamation of the doctrine, apparently new to France, however old it was to Catholic theology, that forms of government are matters of indifference to the Church, that the legitimate form to which respect and obedience are due is that which is willed by the people. Henceforward, whatever happens in France, the Church, as such, cannot be traduced as the enemy of the country or of republican liberties. Action somewhat similar to that taken in France was taken also in Spain. There the Carlists were forbidden to claim as their own the support of Catholics, and peace was won to country and to Church. Prudent and long-continued negotiations obtained liberty for Catholics in Russia. The gratitude of England was secured by Leo's settlement of perplexing questions in Malta. His tactful interference in Ireland, condemning measures that went clearly beyond the bounds of justice and charity, while recognizing the substantial justice of Irish claims, gave comfort and satisfaction both to England and to Ireland. The skill of Leo's nuncios smoothed away difficulties in Austria, Switzerland, and Holland. Even Mohammedan Turkey and pagan China were drawn into relations with Leo, and made under his gentle pressure to grant serious advantages to the Church. Meanwhile, Leo's encyclicals, rapidly following one upon another, had brought out the Church as the stable support of civil society, of legitimate authority in rulers, of legitimate liberty in subjects; and governments and peoples who hitherto had held it in suspicion, now looked to it for help in their battlings for social order. Nations learned that their truest friend and supporter was the Pontiff of Rome: rulers sought his friendship and alliance. The presence in the Vatican of Germany's Emperor and of England's King, a few months ago, spoke volumes in praise of Leo, as the Pontiff of peace.

Peace with civil governments was Leo's settled policy. Noth-

ing, save the peril of violating principle, could stop him short in his efforts to make or to preserve peace. Compromise, conciliation, silent patience—all this, he thought, was better far than war, and would in the end secure to the Church advantages which war never could have yielded. Experience proves that Leo was right. And as he did on the throne of Peter, so he taught Catholics to do in their several countries, in their relations with their several governments, to love and foster peace. "The Church," he said to myself, on a memorable occasion, "will not flourish where Catholics are in discord with the country and its institutions. Teach your people to be faithful Americans."

Leo was the Pontiff of the age. "Hands off" had been the cry of the age to the Church and of the Church to the age. To the age, the Church was the crystallized and immovable past; to the Church, the age stood for revolution and ruin, for the demolition of all structures bearing on their frontispiece marks of other times. There was no room for explanation, none for negotiation, so wildly did war rage. Leo understood the Church, and he understood the age. He had the poise of mind—so rare in men—to make distinctions, to see in the age what was good, no less than what was evil, to see in the Church what was contingent and accidental, no less than what was necessary and permanent. He had, too, the good-will and practical wisdom which make for so much in efforts towards pacification. And, so armed, he faced the age. He entered intrepidly into its own arenas, spoke its language, and grasped in hand its fetiches. What did it demand? New forms of civil government, the recognition of political rights of the people? In those matters his letter to French Catholics was a sweeping concession. Freedom from servitude for the weak and the oppressed? His encyclicals on labor put Leo in the forefront of social reformers and philanthropists. The betterment of physical and material conditions, progress in all that elevates humanity to higher planes of comfort and social happiness? For all this Leo gives unstinted praise to the age. To him the age is "the noble nurse of all the arts"; and with its most fervent admirers he chants "its contributions to the public weal, its rich discoveries of nature's secrets." The growth of intelligence, the diffusion of learning? The schools and universities founded or blessed by Leo, his multiplied epistles on education, give irrecusable proof that the Church is the foe of ignorance, the friend

of science and of research. The Church had been accused of cowardice in the presence of the age. The reproach was loudly made that it hid itself in darkness, dreading the glare of modern search-lights. Leo unlocked the doors of the Vatican Library, and delivered to all comers the whole story of the Church, fearing nothing, proclaiming that if the Church is not founded on truth, it has no right to the allegiance of men. With similar courage and confidence he summoned into counsel, at a later date, his expert Scriptural scholars, and ordered them to look straight into the face of all discoveries, of all argumentations, upon which unbelieving criticism was upbuilding itself, and vindicate the Bible on the chosen ground of its opponents.

The age was startled. Leo had won its attention. He was now in a position to speak boldly of its errors, of the excesses and extravagances to which it was prone to lend itself, and in the name of its cherished revindications to bid it look carefully to its movements, lest wreckage and ruin overtake it.

Leo loved to write encyclicals. He was a teacher: and as such he was not to be faithless to his mandate. The several volumes into which his encyclicals have been collected form a complete exposition of the questions of the day from the standpoint of historic Christianity and sane philosophy. They are delightfully free from all tone of bitterness, from all exaggeration in thought and word, and are models of purest and classical Latinity. Not alone the dogmas of the Church and the fundamental facts of Christianity form the subject matter: the vital principles which assure the security of the family and of society, the laws of justice and of charity which render possible the relations of men with men, of nations with nations, are treated there, no less with the skill of the trained student of sociology and political economy, than with the authority of the Christian teacher.

Leo was too modern to confine himself as a teacher to the more official methods of the Roman Pontificate. He was too modern not to value the power of the newspaper. The *Moniteur de Rome* was of his own foundation. For a long time, it was owned, controlled, and inspired by him. At one time or another of his pontificate, several other papers were brought more or less into his personal service. The first public announcement of his French policy was made in a historic "interview" with a reporter from the *Petit Journal* of Paris.

Leo's labors on behalf of the Catholic Church were varied and abundant. The spiritual and devotional life of the faithful was fostered: the working organism of the Pontificate, invigorated and freshened; the missionary expansion of the Church, stimulated and directed; the education of laity and of clergy, developed and raised to the requirements of the times. There is not a single country of the globe which, now or again, did not receive his particular attention according to its special needs and workings. He could not let himself be at rest. The intervals were brief when he was not heard from. His continued effort was to speed life through the whole body of the Church. He had imperial views regarding the government of the Church, in sequence of which he scattered over the several countries his apostolic delegates, through whose agency he was to be better informed of happenings, better enabled to hold in his hands the reins of direction.

But the frontiers of the Church never limited Leo's action. Wherever there was good to be done, wherever humanity was to be advanced, there he saw work to be done for the Master, and at once he set himself to do it. Slaves were to be liberated in Brazil. Leo wrote urgently to the hierarchy and to the Emperor, Dom Pedro: and in special tribute to Leo, on one of his jubilee days, universal emancipation was proclaimed. The cruel trade in black men by the Mohammedans of Africa was to be repressed. Leo set Lavigerie to work: all Europe was awakened; and, if the trade was not forever ended, it was immensely minimized. Soldiers of Italy were prisoners of war in Abyssinia: Leo's intercession with King Menelik saved them from being massacred. He corresponded with William of Germany regarding the Berlin Congress on labor, with Nicholas of Russia regarding the Hague Conference on arbitration and peace. His letter to Mr. Bryan and to Mrs. Honore Palmer in favor of the Chicago World's Fair, and the rich historic exhibit sent to it from the Vatican, proved his interest in all such matters as World's Fairs are made of. How beneficial to learning, secular as well as sacred, was his opening of the archives of the Vatican Library, scholars never tire of telling.

As an example of Leo's ever-willing philanthropy, I quote an incident known but to a few outside myself. I was in Rome in 1887. At that time in Russia an imperial ukase was compelling the hasty withdrawal of Jews from provinces of the empire out-

side what was known as the Jewish zone. It was very important for those Russian Jews to obtain a delay in the enforcement of the ukase, so that they might have time to make better preparation for their removal to new homes. Jewish leaders in England and America took the question in hand. It was decided that Mr. Jesse Seligman, of New York, should in his own name and that of Baron Hirsch seek the intercession of Leo with the government of the Tzar. Mr. Seligman arrived in Rome, but knew not how he could see the Pope. He called on me at the American College. I consulted with Cardinal Rampolla. The Cardinal brought the matter before the Holy Father, and received the order to see Mr. Seligman and enter, as far as it was possible, into his views. Mr. Seligman was delighted with his visit to the Cardinal, as was the Cardinal with his interview with Mr. Seligman. I heard directly from the Cardinal that the Holy Father had given his most gracious consideration to Mr. Seligman's request, and had so far acceded to it as to petition the Russian government through its *chargé d'affaires* in Rome for the desired delay in the enforcement of the ukase. Leo was the Pontiff of humanity.

Some day a long chapter will be written on Leo and America —his appreciative understanding of our institutions and liberties, his genial love of the country and its people, his wise and large-minded directions to the Church in America, his friendliness of attitude, in more than one instance, towards national affairs. Better pass over such matters than give of them a too brief account. Suffice it to say that in all his relations with America or Americans, Leo was Leo throughout—the large-minded, the large-hearted Pontiff; and that the very special esteem he always had for America and its institutions arose from his deep comprehension of the modern age, exemplified he believed to a degree in America. Speaking of America, he would say with manifest admiration, "*L'avvenire*"—"The Future."

As Leo was passing away, affairs of Church and state in France were in such turbulent condition that the question is raised, whether his French policy had been wisely formulated, whether in this at least he had not failed in conspicuous statesmanship. The answer is easy. In his letter to the Catholics of France, Leo obeyed the duty of the hour. He decided a moral question. The Republic was the established form of government: it was the result of the will of the majority of the nation. There-

fore it was the moral duty of the Catholics to accept the Republic, and work loyally with it for the weal of the country. Again, religion was suffering in France, because the anti-republican elements in the population were so bent on covering their monarchistic and imperialistic sentiments and hopes with the mantle of the Church, that the government of the Republic was led to see in the Church a political enemy. It was Leo's part to speak for the Church, to make clear that it linked itself to no one form of government, but left altogether to the people to choose the form that pleased them best. The duty of the hour for Leo was to proclaim the principles of truth and justice. What might follow, what did follow, was then, as it now is, a secondary question. Leo did his duty: history will vindicate him. As to what has, in fact, followed, Catholics in France must take to themselves their share of the blame. To his last day, Leo exhorted them by voice and by letter to obey his injunctions. A large number did obey: but, it is undeniable history, a very large number did not obey. What would have happened if the rally to Leo's policy had been more general? In that case, I believe, the allies of religion in France would not to-day be excluded, as they are, from the management of public affairs: in that case, even if iniquitous laws were still put on the statute-books, the framers of such laws would not dare appeal, as they do, to the popular vote in the name of an imperilled Republic. Leo's French policy was both statesmanship and religion: it still points the road to religion and social peace in France.

Nor did Leo before his death see peace established between the Church and the Italian government. Is this a failure for Leo? The old question of the political independence of the Holy See confronts us. Leo believed in this independence. His overpowering sense of the majesty of his office, and of its world-wide supernational range of duty, forbade him to admit that he, the World-Pontiff, was the subject of one of the potentates over whom his spiritual authority rose in equal proportion. To be the subject of Italy while he was dealing, for instance, with France, he could not endure. He held to a principle; and he would hold to it, he said, unto martyrdom. It is asserted at times that the absence of temporal independence contributed to the prestige of the Pontificate under Leo. He himself did not believe this. If success attended his pontificate, he would say, it was despite the

loss of temporal independence. Indeed, he would add, practically the Holy See had not lost its independence, as through his continuous protests against the Italian government, he had, in the eyes of the world, retained it intact. But a situation sustained only through protests is abnormal and not made to endure.

The momentous question remains, though Leo is gone. Italy, the historic home of the Papacy, owes to the Church and to the world a solution of this question. In what precise form the solution might come, we need not discuss. A solution is required. But it was no fault in Leo that the question is unsettled.

Leo's pontificate is before the world. The world's mourning, at Leo's death, is the world's judgment upon his pontificate.

Catholics, surely, have reason to acclaim Leo. They remember the situation of the Church and the Papacy in 1878; they see what it is in 1903. They need not hold that no other elements, outside Leo's personality, were at work, contributing to the change. There were the co-laborers of Leo in Rome, and in the world at large. There was the age itself—its earnestness in research of causes leading to the weal of mankind, and its willingness, in the midst of many aberrations, to recognize facts and principles, when properly presented to its gaze. But Leo rose above all co-laborers to an eminence that leaves them at his feet, while he touches the skies: and, more than can be easily told, they were debtors to Leo for their ideas and their purposes. Whatever the help given to him from the age, Leo himself had provoked it; whatever the fair-mindedness and spirit of justice in the age, Leo himself had done much to stimulate and develop it. There was, too, with Leo, Catholics believe, the assistance of Providence. But, here again, Providence, in taking human agents into its employ, leaves in full play their will and talents, and usually measures its own graces to their disposition and action. As never before in modern times, the Church has the friendliness of the world, and is known in its proper stature and power, and recognized as the promoter of personal righteousness, the support of the family and of society, the defender of Christ and His Gospel. For this, Catholics must thank Leo.

But great humanity outside the Catholic Church—why its love and admiration for Leo? Leo was pre-eminently a great and good man. Greatness and goodness anywhere, our whole humanity is graced with beauty and dignity; our whole humanity is

elevated in its possibilities and its aspirations. Leo worked for his Church. But he worked for it with methods that honor and teach humanity. Only with the arms of truth, justice, and love did Leo seek to serve it. If such arms did not lead it to victory, Leo sought no victory: if they did, humanity would not complain. Leo worked for the Church: but, in doing so, he believed that he was working for humanity. He held that the Church does not deserve the Master's smile, unless it serves humanity. His unrelenting effort was to bring into plainest perspective the power born within the Church to purify and uplift humanity, to cure its ills, to sweeten its passage across earth, while drawing it toward Heaven, its final home. As we have seen, Leo loved humanity for its own sake, and worked for it outside the frontiers of his Church. A brother-man was his Master's child. Black, yellow, or white—heathen, Jew, Christian, non-Catholic, or Catholic—Leo recognized the brother and served him. The world is the better, the richer, the happier: men are drawn nearer to one another; they are prompted to higher flights of righteousness and charity, because Leo has lived. The world in mourning at his death was a well-merited tribute—an honor to Leo, an honor to the world.

JOHN IRELAND.

II.

IT has fallen to but few occupants of the Papal throne to win and retain such common and affectionate regard as was the happy experience of Leo XIII., whose recent peaceful but heroic death has arrested universal attention. The biographies of the several Popes of Rome have not formed an uninterrupted series of panegyrics. There have been those among them who were condemned for their notorious evil living. Others have been excommunicated practically for their heterodoxy in theology. Others again have escaped any particular censure as to either of these causes, without, however, exciting any especial admiration or reverence.

That Leo attained to his remarkable eminence is, no doubt, due in part to his unusually prolonged tenure of office. Had some other Popes ruled as long, and had, therefore, such opportunities as time alone affords of justifying by events the wisdom of their policy, they might have been more successful in securing general commendation.

It may charitably be doubted whether those who, in February, 1878, elected so hastily a man nearly seventy years of age, and of

known physical frailty, anticipated for him anything like so long a pontificate, or one of the character which it eventually became. Leo XIII. reversed the policy of his predecessor quite as completely as Pius IX. had reversed that of his predecessor, Gregory XVI. Thus, at the outset, he alienated those who were blindly in love with the more belligerent spirit that, as a rule, animated Pius IX. He evidently had counted the cost of such a change in policy; but, allied to his innate desire for peace, he appears to have had an implicit confidence in his powers of diplomacy, in which he had been for many years trained and tried.

He was by no means a political trickster. Doubtless, his main desire was to advance the interests of the Church to which he belonged, and in whose supreme claims to universal recognition he so ardently believed. It is by no means sure that his subtle and unquarrelsome diplomacy has in some quarters—notably in France and Austria—inured to the benefit of the Roman Church, or to the cause of religion in general. Certain it is that, during his Papacy, thousands of his adherents went into the Orthodox Communion, which now holds almost undisputed sway in some parts of the East, where Rome in modern times has been a formidable rival. Some of these losses may have resulted from his intense belief in the divine order of the civil power, and from his earnest desire to establish and maintain friendly relations with its chief representatives. This desire was, in part, realized as to Germany. But he did not succeed in France, nor in Spain or Italy. His language as to France—at one time so favorite and so loyal a daughter of the Roman Church—was latterly tinged with a tone of melancholy and disappointment.

Indeed, it would appear that, with all his recognized yearning for unity and concord, he failed to reconcile Papacy with the spirit of the age, or to remove any of the difficulties which deter those that are not of the Latin races from embracing the distinctive dogmas for which he pre-eminently stood.

He does not appear to have maintained that his Communion was to be considered as exclusively forming the Christian Church. In a way, he recognized the character of the Churches separated from his own See. He was even, after a manner, generous in what he said about Reunion in his Jubilee Encyclical in 1894. In his Letter Apostolic *Ad Anglos* of 1895, he was not so generous. He drew a distinction between the Greek Communion—

which, however, had rather indignantly rejected his overtures of the previous year—and the Anglican Communion. He studiously avoided any formal recognition of the latter's existence; all the more so, I suppose, because then he was known to be studying anew the question as to the validity of Anglican orders.

It will not, I trust, be considered improper in me to say, in this connection, that the decision which he finally reached upon this subject was a severe blow to his own avowed desire for Reunion. It is believed by some that he really wished to give a different answer; that is, one in favor of such validity. But the conservative elements in the Curia were too strong for him.

He himself was mistaken as to the interest which English Churchmen were taking, and this altogether unofficially, in the controversy. He evidently thought that they were seeking from him an authoritative answer to the one chief doubt that was preventing their secession from the Church of England. He was, therefore, not a little disappointed, it is believed, when there was no visible realization of his hopeful anticipations.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York in their scholarly and charitable encyclical, issued about this same time, furnished an unanswerable argument as to the thorough validity of Anglican orders, as also concerning in general the historic continuity of the Church of England. In kindly and dignified terms, they further expressed the utter indifference of those possessing these orders as to any adverse opinion of them that might be held by their venerable brother, the Bishop of Rome.

According to the Pope's own reasoning, English orders cannot well be condemned, after the sixteenth century, without by the same process condemning Roman orders before the thirteenth century. This is the serious dilemma in which he has placed the Roman theologians, and the progress of enlightened scholarship only increases the embarrassment of this difficulty.

His failure to recognize the Catholicity of the Anglican Communion, if persisted in by his successors, makes it all the more necessary and likely that the organic reunion of Christendom shall come, in the providence of God, by means, first, of the conjunction of the Anglican and Orthodox Communions, and then of the inevitable concurrence of the Roman Communion.

In one important particular, the popedom of Leo XIII. was more conclusive. I allude to the clearer apprehension of the

significance of a National Church. He saw plainly enough the folly and injustice of attempting to reduce all Christendom to a Latin or Italian pattern, and his efforts to adapt that which of necessity is fixed and invariable to local conditions and requirements showed more of statesmanship than his ventures in the political world more immediately surrounding him. His attitude towards the United States was always most friendly; and he is credited with such an intimate knowledge of our affairs as gave him, beyond all his predecessors, a distinct and just comprehension of our magnificent possibilities.

Some of us who are Freemasons have had occasion, from time to time, to regret his vehement and indiscriminate denunciation of an order whose principles, as promulgated almost universally, are removed as far as possible from atheism, and which numbers among its members many who are as truly Catholics as any one can claim to be.

No one can help admiring, while one cannot reasonably approve, the tenacity, if not obstinacy, with which Leo cherished the mediæval idea of the temporal sovereignty, at one time so dearly held by his predecessors. And yet, while indulging in the dream of its restoration, it is much to his credit that he maintained a kind of truce with the civil powers of Italy that makes a reasonable compromise between the two contending parties more probable in the future.

The Pope was a voluble writer, and his Latin prose was flexible. Thus it was not difficult in England, America, and elsewhere, to explain away his popular and socialistic utterances when they were taken too seriously. While many of his writings had about them much that was not original, and some were not altogether happy, yet one could readily discern his devout desire to contribute to the solution of grave difficulties, the removal of existing evils, the prevention of others that were impending, and to the general betterment of mankind at large. He may not have understood all the modern problems with which he dealt; but he was not indifferent to their existence and magnitude.

He evidently longed to be considered the Pastor of the world; a desire which, of course, many could respect who did not and could not acknowledge him to be their spiritual ruler. His influence was all the greater because of his being shorn of temporal power. No one, I imagine, among his most devoted adherents

would contend that he was thereby deprived of any dignity or claim to reverence.

Leo XIII. has been reckoned, by not a few of his eulogists, as among the greatest of all the Popes. Such an estimate is creditable to the magnanimity of the age in which he himself has lived, and lived so conspicuously. If greatness be measured by a virtuous life, by high resolves, and by disinterested devotion, then we may all agree to call him great.

There have been many Bishops of Rome who have been possessed of finer talents and of more extensive learning, and others who have, in even shorter tenures of the office, accomplished more of reform in the Church. But among those who shall stand high in universal esteem for their uprightness and true benevolence, for their compelling sense of responsibility, and for a steady, chivalric maintenance of principle, Leo XIII. is entitled, by the grace of God, to an honorable place in the world's history.

LEIGHTON COLEMAN.

III.

To appraise adequately the work and influence of Leo XIII. we must set the standing of the Romish Church at his accession in contrast with its prestige to-day. A vast and world-wide decline of Papal authority was the legacy which Pius IX. left to his successor. The Vatican had been shorn of its temporal power, and there were many who saw in that humiliation the beginning of the end. The recently promulgated dogma of Papal infallibility had alienated not a few of the faithful. Out of it came the Old Catholic movement, which, for a time, seemed to portend a large falling away. Rome, which had always been regarded as the sacred capital of the Pontiffs and the headquarters of the Pope's temporal dominion, was in possession of the Italian government. Insults to the Catholic faith were abetted and encouraged under the very shadow of St. Peter's. Germany was openly hostile. The republicans of France were taught by leaders like Gambetta to see in clericalism their most dangerous enemy. Russia was more than unfriendly and refused to receive the representative of the Holy See. The Iberian peninsula was filled with insubordination. Relations with most of the Great Powers were strained. All Europe was in a revolutionary mood. Here, the passing of Pius IX. attracted little attention.

But note the change. History records few things more ex-

traordinary. The quiet, gifted, indomitable Leo lived to see the clouds dispelled by the penetrating light of his own sagacity and genius. He came to his Silver Jubilee to find the spiritual sway of the Papacy restored toward almost every point of the horizon. Even in Italy and France the Church is stronger in moral force to-day than at any time since 1870, while in Great Britain and the United States its growth of influence has been phenomenal. The tolling bells that proclaimed the demise of Pius IX. seemed to be sounding the knell of the Papacy; those that announced the death of Leo XIII. rang with a note of triumph. From the masterful man who was chiefly instrumental in effecting this tremendous reversal of attitude and sentiment, no fair-minded person can withhold his admiration.

I can do little more, within the limits assigned me, than indicate two or three of the directions in which Leo's great work and influence proceeded.

When he became Pope, the most radical and revolutionary theories of society were spreading in Europe. The Powers were uneasy. The adoption of these theories meant the overthrow of existing institutions. Against them, therefore, Leo issued the most vigorous and luminous pronouncements. He saw how they were agitating the people, fomenting discord, promoting irreligion, leading to dangerous license in thought and conduct, and, to counteract their effect, he published to the world his famous encyclical dealing with the social and industrial problem. He sought to produce a better understanding between employers and employed, and appealed to capitalists to deal so justly with labor as to leave neither room nor excuse for the professional agitator. Socialism, communism, and nihilism, which he classed together, were condemned in unstinted terms. While he sympathized with the poor and hard-pressed and gave his endorsement to labor-unions, invoking in their behalf the protection of the state, he could not condone or tolerate revolutionary methods. His immense and beneficent influence with the masses, the nations were not slow to discern; and, hence, for their own peace and preservation, they deemed it wise to cultivate friendly relations with the Supreme Head of the Roman Catholic Church.

Actuated by the same lofty spirit, he pleaded with persuasive eloquence for the sanctity and unity of the marriage relation. He saw the social chaos and ruin that must result from the

growing laxity of divorce laws and the lowering ideals of holy wedlock, and called upon his people to keep inviolate their Catholic notions of family life. The world cannot thank him too earnestly for his defence of the home; for, as the home is, so will society be.

Still more pronounced were his work and influence in the sphere of politics and statecraft. Recall his notable victory over Bismarck. At the zenith of his power, made extra-imperious by the easy triumph at Sedan, the Iron Chancellor seemed eager to try conclusions with the man on the Tiber. He defied Papal authority, proscribed the Jesuits, gave the state supreme control over all ecclesiastical institutions professing allegiance to the Vatican, and raised the intolerant cry, "No Popery"! He determined to curb the Roman Catholic power in Germany, to make it subordinate to the Empire, and haughtily protested that he would never play the rôle of Henry IV. and go to Canossa; by which he meant, that the proscriptive laws against the Catholics would never be repealed.

But the deep, quiet man in the Vatican bided his time. No one ever knew better how to wait. He had the genius of patience and the gift of foresight. There was no protest, no complaint of injustice or persecution. Leo simply wrote a letter, conveying the Papal blessing, and adroitly appealing to the Chancellor's better nature. The man of granite was conquered by the firm and gracious gentleness of the Pope. Bismarck went to Canossa. Soon the Falk laws were inoperative, dead. Ten years after his accession, Leo had the intense satisfaction of seeing the Papal authority re-established in Germany and most of the religious orders recalled. The incident of the Carolines, in which, at the suggestion of Bismarck himself, the Pope was asked to arbitrate the difficulty between Germany and Spain, shows how completely Berlin and the Vatican were reconciled. The harmony was still further emphasized by the recent journey of the Emperor William to Rome.

Scarcely less noteworthy was the Pope's influence in Great Britain. Denying the validity of Anglican orders, making no concession to Protestantism, he nevertheless managed, on the occasion of Victoria's Jubilee, to introduce a Papal Envoy—the first since the Reformation—to the Court of St. James's, and to re-establish the hierarchy in the land of John Knox. The same

remarkable cleverness and ability are seen in his dealings with the United States. Without doing violence to American traditions, or arousing the antagonism of a Protestant people, he succeeded in instituting quasi-official relations with the government at Washington. And what a striking illustration of his political sagacity was furnished by his attitude on the Friars Question in the Philippines. By refraining from any defence of the friars, on the one hand, and by giving to American priests the prestige of Papal approval in an American possession, on the other, he added largely to his influence in this Republic. He could scarcely have been more friendly if the people of the United States had been all, or mostly, Roman Catholics.

In the realm of letters and scholarship we find his influence, on the whole, making for breadth and freedom of investigation. To facilitate the search for truth, he gave unrestricted access to the art and historical treasures of the Vatican. He encouraged a more thorough study of the Scriptures, promoted the distribution of the Bible among the common people of Italy in their own language, and countenanced a more impartial examination of science. Yet, over against his progressive instincts, it is impossible to forget his condemnation of Mivart in England and Zahm in America for espousing the philosophy of evolution.

Fundamentally, his work and influence were distinctively and always religious. The one purpose from which he never swerved was to promote the power and glory of the Church. To extend the sway of Roman Catholic Christianity determined all his policies and was the secret of all his diplomacy and statecraft. A benevolent desire to do good, and as much good as possible, was doubtless the dominating motive of his pontificate, but he insisted upon doing it in the truly Papal way. While there can be no question that the influence of his reign operated to liberalize Catholicism, to adapt it to new times and manners, and to align it with the spirit of the age, it is impossible to discover in his career any retreat from the essential principles of the Papacy. Gentle and benignant in his private and official relations, he was unbending and autocratic in his capacity of Pontiff. Urging his followers in France and Brazil to accept republican institutions, he repudiated the principle of popular sovereignty. Freedom of conscience and of worship, in the Protestant sense, he refused to admit. Liberty of speech and of

teaching he declared to be an evil. Against civil control of public instruction, and of divorce and marriage laws, he protested. In any conflict of Church and state he taught that the former must be obeyed. So that it is difficult to see wherein, as the putative Vicegerent of Christ, he retreated a single hair's breadth from the position of his predecessors. There is no evidence that he bated one jot or tittle the presumptuous authority of the past, or in the smallest degree emptied the word "Papacy" of its age-long content.

Yet, by his conciliatory spirit, by his sincere love for mankind, and by his Christian great-heartedness, he brought about a larger feeling of human brotherhood among the people of all creeds and races. In language which no Pope before him ever used, he spoke of Protestants as "separated brethren," and thus recognized their essential Christianity. The sphere of his influence was world-wide, and his influence always made for peace and progress. He was the steadfast advocate of arbitration for settling disputes between nations; and, when his history is written, the earnestness with which he sought the reign of good-will among men will be recorded as one of his chief glories. The gentle spirit of the man was averse to fulminations. He found it more consonant with his nature to love than to hate, to speak words of charity than to hurl anathemas.

A dispassionate survey of his career in the Papal Chair reveals the fact, that his influence was not so much ecclesiastical and official as personal. Had Pius IX. been succeeded by one like himself, the prestige of Romanism would have continued to decline. It was not the Pope, but the man, that made Leo's influence so wholesome. That which won for him the respect of the non-Catholic world and the homage of his own people was not the sanctity of his position, but the saintliness of his person. Entirely apart from those enormous assumptions which have made so many of the Popes vainglorious and arrogant, and from which he was by no means exempt, one discovers in Leo the mild and humble demeanor of a true follower of Jesus. By his own inherent worth, he rose far above his environment and the traditions and institutionalisms under which he was reared. Men and nations felt the healing and persuasive touch of his Christly character. By the nobility of his manhood, by the preponderance in him of the spiritual, and by the sway of a sceptre that drew its

power from unseen sources, he gave abundant proof that temporal authority is a drag upon the advancement of the Church.

If his influence seems to have been greatest in Protestant countries, it is not to be inferred that the issues of the Reformation are becoming obsolete, or that Protestant convictions are losing their strength. The only thing it argues is that the world is learning to distinguish between the man and the ecclesiastic, between the essential and the non-essential, and to put the emphasis upon interior values rather than upon external pomp and show. So long as a love of liberty stirs in human hearts; so long as men know how to prize individual rights in matters of conscience and religion; so long as Rome clings to the dogma of Papal infallibility, to her belief in mediators other than Jesus Christ, and to the doctrines which led to the upheaval of four hundred years ago, Protestantism will remain in the field conquering and to conquer. Meanwhile, it will join with all of every name in honoring the men, no matter what their race or creed or position, who manifest the spirit and virtues of Leo XIII.

ROBERT F. COYLE.

IV.

IT is as yet too early to expect an intelligent and authoritative estimate of the ultimate significance of a pontificate so long, so eventful, and so complex in relation, as that which has just ended. The words of Our Lord, "By their fruits ye shall know them," were spoken, not of the immediate effects of a man's personal opinions, but of the remoter consequences of the words and example of teachers and leaders of men. Such fruits do not ripen in a day.

The characteristics and fortunes of Leo XIII. and his immediate predecessor were in some respects unique, and their similarities and contrasts are highly instructive. For the first time in the history of the Papacy, two successive rulers outmeasured the "years of Peter" in official tenure. Both were venerable and engaging in presence and irreproachable in life, and both came into power with an established reputation as in sympathy with the popular aspirations of their day. If Pius IX. was the more robust in physique and benignant in feature, more affable and approachable in temper, and more ingeniously alert in private beneficence, Leo XIII. was the more awe-inspiring, through the manifest austerity of his habits, the dignity of his reserve, and the imperiousness of his energy. Coming to his high office at

a point so near the normal limits of life, he surprised the world by the tenacity with which he held on into what seemed a "life beyond life." He impressed visitors, as Vicomte de Vogué said, as "like a lamp, the flame of which continues to shine without any perceptible reservoir to feed it or mechanism to hold it up." It must have been the less difficult to conceive of a man as supernaturally endowed whose life thus seemed to have been supernaturally prolonged.

But minor points of dissimilarity in person and trait sharpen into positive contrast when we consider the official records of Pius and Leo. Pius, amiable and plastic by nature, and fondly regarded by the people at first as a champion of liberal sentiments, became more and more officially arrogant, fell into open conflict with the party of progress as well as with established governments, and ended his career with a stubborn *Non possumus*. Leo, on the other hand, known in private life as unusually self-assertive in temper and inflexible in will, developed into the most yielding of rulers and most conciliatory of diplomatists. It must be admitted that, if the ship of the Church has been piloted out of darkness and stormy seas into sunlight and safety, this has been accomplished largely through dexterous steering and elastic manipulation of the sails, under the hand of a master. In 1875, Mr. Gladstone wrote:

> "Now, and in great part since the Vatican decrees, the Church of Rome, through the court of Rome and its head, the Pope, is in direct feud with Portugal, with Spain, with Germany, with Switzerland, with Austria, with Russia, with Brazil, with most of South America: in short, with the far larger part of Christendom."

Not one of these feuds lingers to-day. Even in Italy, where, at the accession of Leo, the breach was widest and seemingly most irreparable, a comfortable *modus vivendi* has been reached. The Pope is content with a mild maintenance of his prescriptive right by technically reckoning himself "the prisoner of the Vatican"; but Catholics, clerical and lay, have tacitly recognized the legitimacy of the existing order by resuming the vote and other functions of citizenship. The French Republic, dominated as it is by hostile sentiment, is not openly antagonized, but treated with respectful patience. Even those states which, like our own, formally refuse the Papal government the right of diplomatic

recognition, have been persuaded to incur the charge of inconsistency by sending quasi-diplomatic embassies to the Papal See.

These civic concessions have been accompanied by a change of popular attitude no less pronounced and no less favorable. It is to democratic, which are uniformly Protestant, countries, or to the democratic constituency of other countries, that the greater part of recent Papal allocutions have been, in effect, addressed; and it is here that results have been most apparent, as was manifestly desired and hoped. For the encyclicals of Leo XIII. have busied themselves, not so much with strictly political, or even with religious, but rather with social, questions. They have sought to win the confidence and good-will of the people, rather than to control the policy of rulers or the local interests of prelates. It is notable that the first red hat in America was given (although the cardinalate had already been awarded) by Leo's hand, and that the first Apostolic Delegate was sent by him to us, as a token of his especial affection and admiration for "that powerful republic which is a stronghold of true liberty."

The achievement of such a victory becomes the more remarkable, and the skill and sagacity that secured it the more conspicuous, when we remember the embarrassing limitations under which the battle was undertaken and the incongruous weapons alone available for its prosecution. The administration of Pius IX. had issued not only in loss of temporal sovereignty and embroilment with most of the Great Powers. He had signalized the later years of his reign by uttering sentiments, and securing the adoption of measures, shrewdly adapted, and apparently intended, to defy and create a permanent antagonism, on the part of his successors as well as himself, between the Papal See and the modern world. The famous Syllabus of Errors (after sharply denouncing the several notions that "every man is free to embrace and profess that religion which, guided by the light of reason, he shall have thought to be true"; that "Protestantism is nothing else than a different form of the same Christian religion, in which, just as well as in the Catholic Church, it is possible to please God"; that "the Church has not the power of availing herself of force, nor any temporal power, direct or indirect"; and that "the Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church"), concludes with a sweeping repudiation of the suggestion that "the Roman Pontiff can,

and ought to, reconcile himself with progress, with liberalism, and with recent state polity." The promulgation of the dogma of infallibility was an almost equally audacious assault upon the known sentiments of leaders of thought within, as well as without, the Church. It had been deprecated as inopportune by many of her most sagacious prelates; it had been resented, by some of her ablest scholars, as historically and intrinsically unjustifiable; it had aroused instinctive fears and provoked active resistance on the part of statesmen and rulers; and it was couched in terms so extravagant as to require instant and ingenious restrictive interpretation to save it from popular rejection as odious and absurd.

To what an embarrassing legacy of anachronisms and newly invented responsibilities did the new Pope thus fall involuntary heir! The Syllabus had revived and hardened into inconvenient permanence, sharpened into uncomfortable precision, and thrust into unwelcome prominence, certain traditional claims that had long been treated as practically obsolete, and permitted willingly to sink into "innocuous desuetude." And the promulgation of the dogma of infallibility imposed upon the new Pope, as first heir of the title, the delicate task of protecting that title for all his predecessors, as well as so cautiously shaping his own official utterances as not to bring it, while still novel and jealously suspected, into disrepute. Whether or not the Syllabus belonged to the category of the infallible, it at least bordered so closely on the realm of official "definition in faith and morals" that dissent from, or even silence concerning, its contents would seriously have jeopardized popular faith in the new dogma. Leo XIII., therefore, in his first encyclical, unflinchingly reaffirmed all the extravagant statements of the Syllabus; as he has taken occasion since and frequently to ratify, and adopt as unquestionable, all the formal decrees of the incumbents of the Papal Chair from the beginning. But not content thus indirectly to confirm the proverb that "Rome never changes," by putting himself in line with his forerunners, Pope Leo explicitly, and independently, set himself at odds (theoretically) "with progress, with liberalism, and with recent state polity." He did not scruple to impugn the trustworthiness of modern scientific methods, by declaring that the evils and errors of our time are due to the abandonment of the "true philosophy" of Thomas Aquinas, and directing Catholic schools to return to the scholastic method in dealing with

those "sciences which have nature for their object." He denounced Protestantism unsparingly as "a pest, the most pestilential heresy, a perverse, opportunist system arising from pride and godlessness." His encyclical "On Liberty" distinctly repudiated the natural right of man to freedom of thought, speech, or worship. That which dealt with "The Christian Constitution of States" as distinctly denied the inherent right of the people to govern themselves. Deploring the unhappy condition of things in his own former domain, he reminded the world that "to the Roman Pontiffs, Italy was indebted for the glory and greatness in which she had surpassed other nations," and insisted that the restoration of the temporal power is "essential to the public good and the safety of society." Referring to the "Ideas of Modern Times," which were condemned as pernicious, he put the present in unfavorable contrast with "those happy times when the Church was regarded by the nations as a mother," and despondently spoke of the world in our day as "going rapidly to ruin."

If Pius IX. had, as Mr. Gladstone caustically affirmed, sought out and furbished every "rusty mediæval weapon" and mounted it on the walls of the ecclesiastical citadel, Leo XIII., instead of dismounting any of the guns, promptly added to their number and sharpened their aim. But the singular circumstance is still to be noted, that not one of them has been fired. Their threatened victims, on the other hand, seem to have been actually, if not intentionally, persuaded that they are unshotted, or perhaps wooden, and in either case harmless. What is the pertinence of the present indignant denial that "the Roman Pontiffs or Ecumenical Councils have ever exceeded their powers or usurped the rights of princes," except it be intended to imply a reassertion of the perennial right of Popes to depose refractory sovereigns and release their subjects from obedience, and a threat of intent to assert that right when the facts demand it? But not even the provoking Falk laws could elicit the suggestion that the heretical Emperor of Germany be reduced to submission, and the revocation of those laws compelled, by the vigorous Hildebrandine methods. How can the repudiation, as a deadly error, of the principle that "the Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church" be interpreted, except as officially putting the Church of Rome in open antagonism toward the political system of the United States, into which that principle

has been wrought as fundamental. But instead of logically due anathemas, there have come only Papal laudations of American institutions; and none of our citizens are more profuse in reiteration of loyalty to all our political tenets than Roman Catholics.

It need surprise no one, then, if the circumstances noted create the impression that the Church of Rome esteems the practical enforcement of dogma as of far less importance than its accurate formulation. The Pope, it would seem, must be infallible, and, since truth is unchanging, inflexible, in dogmatic definition; but he need not be consistent with, nor hampered by, his definitions in practical administration of affairs. He must "say," but need not necessarily "do the truth," to borrow a Scriptural distinction. Precisely what determines a Papal utterance to be infallible, it may not be easy for any other than a canonical lawyer confidently to say; but it would seem, to the ordinary observer, that Leo XIII. has been chary in availing himself of the high prerogative newly awarded him. He has given far less attention to theoretic statement, than to practical application, of principles. In this latter realm he has displayed remarkable ingenuity and dexterity. Early trained in the schools of the Jesuits, he apparently learned to emphasize the Apostolic sentiment, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient." In the beginning of his official career he announced, as a guiding principle of his administration, that "each Pope is free to follow the rule of conduct which he judges best for the times and for the circumstances of the case." In a letter to Cardinal Gibbons he avowed that the Church "has never neglected to accommodate herself to the character and genius of the nations which she embraces." Eager to advance the interests of the Church by such wise adjustment to current conditions, he has laid so large stress upon this phase of his work, that he will go down to history, not as pre-eminently a theologian or religionist, but rather as an ecclesiastical strategist. If Harnack's estimate of the Church of Rome, as primarily political in its aims and aspirations, be correct, this will be reckoned highly to his credit. Indeed, it has been so reckoned. For a recent writer in a Roman Catholic magazine, an admiring devotee of the late Pontiff, accepts as justly laudatory the "brilliant witticism" of M. Anatole France characterizing him as a "pious Machiavelli."

However sincerely Protestants may esteem the departed Pope for his private virtues, or admire him for the sagacity and fidelity of his official work, they can hardly be expected to forget that, in claiming to be the "chief custodian of religion," he was the chosen exponent of an invidious and obsolete theory. If the system be wrong, then the better and abler the man who commends it the worse for the world. Christ put far apart, and in antithesis, the realms of God and Cæsar. Can He have sanctioned the consolidation of the two in the office of Pontifex Maximus, who claims to be at once God's Vicegerent and Cæsar's successor? The "successor of Peter" invites "princes of the Church" to kiss his unsandaled foot. But Peter said to the Roman centurion, when he offered like homage, "Stand up; I myself also am a man." The world may still wisely appeal from the assumptions of the alleged "Vicegerent" to the authentic words of Christ Himself; and from the conduct of the professed "successor" of Peter to Peter's own significant example. In the face of encyclicals forbidding free thought and free worship, let Peter still be heard saying: "Stand up; I myself also am a man."

J. B. THOMAS.

V.

FOR many reasons the reign of Pope Leo XIII. will be ranked among the most fortunate and illustrious of the long line of Roman pontificates. He came to the throne in an hour when the Papacy was still in the shadow which had fallen upon the Vatican in the deprivation of the temporal power. By most Catholics and by many Protestants that was regarded as a grave calamity. One of the last acts of Pius IX. had been a solemn protest against the "iniquitous spoliation" of the Church by the Italian government; and there were grave doubts whether the election of a new Pope would be permitted. Many Protestants predicted that we should have no more Popes, and would have rejoiced if Humbert, who had just come to the throne of Italy, had interfered to break up the conclave or dictate its choice. Probably no such thought was entertained at the Quirinal; the College of Cardinals was left entirely free in the election of the new Pope; and the speedy and harmonious action of the conclave banished all such apprehension. Nevertheless, the feeling was deep among the Catholic authorities that in the loss of her temporalities the Church had been shorn of a large measure of

her power; that it was but a crippled sovereignty which had passed into the hands of Leo XIII. Their distress and fear were similar to those of the Congregational ministers of New England when Congregationalism was disestablished,—a change which the good men of that denomination regarded as threatening the overthrow of all religion.

It was inevitable that the new Pope should share these forebodings; traditions of centuries, no matter how baseless, are not shaken off in a day. The reluctance with which he took up the burden of the Papacy was not simulated. The bitter and desolating *Kulturkampf* was raging in Germany; the most powerful statesman of the nineteenth century had enlisted all the forces of a great Empire in the attempt to humiliate and weaken the Catholic Church. It was not an auspicious time for the beginning of a reign.

But the new Pope took up his task with courage, with patience, with infinite tact and good humor. He was not, in the expressive phrase of the street, "looking for trouble"; he was looking for the paths of peace. Bismarck soon found himself in the presence of an antagonist whose strategy quite disarmed him. Against gentleness, patience and good-will the subtlest wits and the strongest battalions avail but little. Pope Leo soon made it abundantly clear that he harbored neither malice nor uncharitableness toward the German Emperor or the German people; that he could not be betrayed into the utterance of an unfriendly word; that all his power would be exerted to keep the German Catholics faithful to their sovereign; that all he asked for them was the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences and to manage the spiritual affairs of their Church without the dictation of the state. The freedom he sought for his people was what every Roman Catholic enjoys in the United States; the state domination of his Church against which he was protesting would not be tolerated by any American, Catholic or Protestant, no, not for one hour. It was a most grievous oppression, which may be explained, but which can never be justified. Let those of us who are Protestants remember and confess that the most grievous case of religious persecution which has occurred during our generation, was not the persecution of Protestants by Roman Catholics, but of Roman Catholics by Protestants.

In these days of storm and stress the spirit of Leo had its testing, and the issue won for him the confidence and affection, not only of the rest of Christendom, but of the German Chancellor and the German Emperor. The obnoxious May laws were repealed, and religious liberty was restored to the German Catholics. And the battle was won by weapons that are not carnal. There was no resistance; but the event proved that non-resistance is the mightiest of all resistances. Of what avail would temporal power have been in this conflict? If a shred of temporal power had been left to the Pope he would never have won this battle. It was because he was compelled to trust utterly in purely spiritual forces that he was invincible.

Pope Leo XIII. never relinquished his claim upon the temporal power, and it is still asserted by those who represent the Papacy; but his practical wisdom was shown in the diminishing emphasis which he placed upon this claim, and in his evident purpose to make as much as possible of the kind of power which was left him; while the history of his reign is the sufficient demonstration to all the world of the fact that the strength of the Papacy must be in its absolute reliance upon spiritual forces.

It is doubtful whether any occupant of the Papal throne since the Reformation has had a larger influence in the whole of Christendom than Pope Leo XIII. His encyclicals have been read with attention and respect by tens of millions of Protestants; and although the exclusive claims which he has made for the Roman Catholic Church have been promptly disallowed by them, they have always found in these letters many evidences of a large sympathy and a sincere piety. Fifty years ago, it would have been difficult to find any considerable number of Protestants who were capable of thinking of the Roman Pontiff under any other characters than those of "the man of sin" and "the son of perdition." These titles the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, before its revision, unhesitatingly applied to every Pope, and the Westminster symbol but reflected the universal Protestant opinion. The number of Protestants is exceeding small to-day who could find it in their hearts to apply such language to Pope Leo or to his successor. The altered feeling is due, in no small measure, to the genuine Christian character of the late Pope; and it is plain enough to Protestants that not only the revelation of that character, but its development also, has been greatly assisted by

the fact that Leo XIII. had no temporal power to wield, but was compelled to confine his entire administration to the spiritual realm. It is this fact that has made him the most powerful of all the Popes; all civilized rulers, Protestant as well as Catholic, have treated him with a respect never accorded to any of his predecessors; his good offices have often been invoked in national disagreements, and his weighty words upon social questions, revealing his deep concern for the fundamental virtues, his faith in a liberty that is not mere lawlessness and his profound sympathy with the working classes have won for him the kindly regard of tens of millions who can never accept the dogmas which he represented.

It would be interesting to compare the pontificate of Leo XIII. with that of Hildebrand, with respect to the amount of real and permanent influence exerted by each upon the affairs of the civilized world.

The domination of the latter over the greater part of Christendom appeared, for the moment, to be complete; yet it was but an external authority against which the wills of men were always up in arms. Hildebrand brought the German Emperor to Canossa; but the humbled monarch returned in wrath and swept him from his seat. He set up his claim to be the dispenser of thrones and dominions; and Europe was deluged with blood for centuries in the vain attempt to establish the claim; one by one the Christian nations all repudiated it, and the political doctrine with which the name of Hildebrand is identified has been erased from the constitutions of Christendom and will never be rewritten. The character which Hildebrand sought to stamp upon the Church put it into irreconcilable antagonism to all human governments, and would, if his claim had not been surrendered, have destroyed it from the face of the earth. When thus it took the sword, it was bound to perish with the sword.

Pope Leo XIII. has asserted no such claims. Bismarck announced, at the beginning of the *Kulturkampf,* that *he* would not go to Canossa; but that was gratuitous bravado. Pope Leo had no wish to triumph over him; he only wanted to make peace with him, and he made it; and from that day until now the German Emperor has had no better support than that which he receives from his Catholic subjects. How much more complete and permanent is this victory won by weapons that are not carnal, than any

that Hildebrand ever won. How much stronger does the Roman Catholic Church stand, to-day, by virtue of Leo's peaceful policy, in all the nations of the earth, than it stood when by the vast assumptions of the mediæval Pope it had arrayed against it the national feeling of every Christian people!

The day will come, we may trust, when this lesson will be learned by Catholic theologians and Catholic rulers; and when it will be clearly understood that the power of the Christian Church must forever reside in its frank and complete abandonment of all pretensions to temporal power, in its fearless casting away of all carnal weapons; in its unhesitating and absolute trust in moral and spiritual forces. When that day shall come, the pontificate of Leo XIII. will be pointed to as the one in which the true character of the Christian leadership of the world began to be clearly seen.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

VI.

THE first view of Mont Blanc is usually disappointing. Having heard so much of this famous mountain the traveller is prepared to see a vast, wondrous pile rising in sublime grandeur, its head crowned with eternal snow, its icy peaks flashing in the sun, its stateliness unapproachable. He cannot, therefore, conceal his surprise when he sees a mountain, not standing out splendid and solitary, but one only of a chain, and seemingly little higher than the others. But as he waits in the valley until his eyes become accustomed to the measurements of the sky, gradually there grows upon him the wondrous supremacy of the Alpine King, for he discovers that the summits of the other mountains lose themselves on its mighty bosom, and that its head dwells in a heaven distinctively its own.

So with the subject of this sketch. At the first glance, Leo XIII. seems merely one of the many illustrious men who have worn the Papal crown, perhaps even less striking in kingship and personality than some of his predecessors; but as we think over the influences which radiated from his life, and then try to estimate the value of his ministry, not only to the Roman Catholic Church, but to the whole world, we cannot but concede to him an eminence seldom attained by men.

In 1878, when Leo assumed the Papal tiara, the dignity seemed little more than an empty form, for almost everything of real sov-

ereignty had been wrested from the Roman Pontiff. Nations which in other days had accepted without question the authority of the Vatican, gratefully recognizing its dominion in matters temporal as well as spiritual, now regarded it with indifference, holding its decrees as of no moment or value. Other nations, while professedly Roman Catholic in faith, were openly hostile to the government vested in St. Peter's Chair, even going so far as to inaugurate bitter persecutions against certain orders in the priesthood. Italy, for so many centuries the seat of Papal authority, strenuously contended for political emancipation, and the world saw with amazement the Quirinal and the Vatican arrayed against each other, the one daringly defiant, the other insistent and implacable. Papal nuncios, once received almost everywhere with extraordinary deference, their word accepted by Kings, their wishes adopted in Councils, and their presence hailed by applauding multitudes, no longer had a place at Courts or Embassies, and of the empire held for ages by the Roman See hardly a vestige remained.

And worse still: not only had the temporal power gone, but the spiritual authority had well-nigh departed. The voice of the Church was no longer heeded by the common people. A spirit of rationalism was abroad. Multitudes were falling away from the faith. Infidelity was spreading. Secret societies, many of them anarchistic, all of them revolutionary, were springing up everywhere. A feeling of deep hostility to the priesthood was becoming more manifest. Socialism—that hydra-headed mystery, meaning to one man the Gospel in its highest development and to another Utopian communism—was dividing the Church and leading to contentions so sharp and bitter as to excite the gravest apprehension. The secular spirit of the age had so displaced faith and reverence that the priest no longer spoke *ex cathedra,* neither was the voice of the Church accepted as the voice of God. Under these conditions, the tiara was surely a crown of thorns. For what did it mean but suffering and humiliation to the one whose brow it encircled? Virtually, Leo XIII. when elected Pope was a King without a sceptre, a Bishop without a mitre, a frail old man, whose life, like that of the Church he was called to govern, seemed drawing to a close.

For twenty-five years Leo carried the burdens and responsibilities of the Pontificate; and when finally he was compelled to

lay them aside, the whole world gathered reverently at his bedside, and, as he passed away from human sight, he was followed by esteem and affection universal and sincere. Twenty-five years of marvellous service they must have been to accomplish such a change in the life and thought of the world.

There are those who think that Leo's policy towards the Italian government might have been less severe, and that his stern insistence upon sovereign rights was a grave mistake. But for this he was not responsible. Nor could he act otherwise. His claim was not personal. The temporal sovereignty of the Pope is an essential in the life of the Roman Catholic Church. The demand of the Holy See for recognition as the Vicegerent of Christ must be made and insisted on without the shadow of abatement. So when Leo allowed himself to be known as the "prisoner of the Vatican," refused to accept the income voted by the Italian government, and declined relations with the Italian Court, he was only carrying out a policy to which the Church was committed, and which he was powerless to control. This fact should be borne in mind. Otherwise he might be charged with posing as a martyr, or—something even less true—with being an intolerant Romanist, whose ambition was to restore to the Papacy the power of former years.

But, when we leave Italy and observe his course with the other nations, we see a statesmanship worthy of Leo the First, and we mark results infinitely more beneficial than those that accompanied the reign of Leo the Magnificent. With what incomparable wisdom he met the astute Bismarck! What could be more dignified, conciliatory, or forceful than his appeal to Emperor William? And so just were the grounds on which that appeal was based, that the Iron Chancellor, despite the war cry of "Canossa!" could not but accede to its demand.

With Russia he was equally successful. For many years there had been unpleasant relations between the St. Petersburg Court and the Roman Vatican. And during these years millions of Roman Catholics, subjects of the Czar, had suffered much indignity and persecution. They had been deprived of civil rights, denied religious privileges, and, because of their faith, compelled to endure grievous wrongs. But so wisely and tactfully did Leo present the claims of his people to the Russian authorities, that he secured conditions more peaceful and harmonious than had been

deemed possible. In both Germany and Russia Leo distinctly recognized the rights and obligations of other forms of faith. Indeed, his own plea in each case was for liberty of conscience. In these negotiations, we see a breadth of vision prophet-like in its range and clearness, and also a toleration so genuinely Christian as to excite deep admiration. In France, his course was still more remarkable. For there he recognized the right of the people to such form of government as they desired. With a liberality that evoked amazement and even consternation among rigid Romanists, he gave formal acknowledgment to the French Republic, nor did he hesitate at making the most generous concessions.

In no sense can it be said that Leo was a reformer, as that term is generally understood. Nor was there anything of the radical either in himself or his methods. He was neither dramatic nor spectacular. But he was tolerant; he was of liberal mind; his outlook was broad; his grasp on affairs was that of a statesman; his ambitions were never personal; he was a priest, but a man as well; his sympathies and activities were far-reaching; his ministry, though primarily Romanist in its purpose and desire, was of world-wide scope and influence. We find him, therefore, taking a deep and abiding interest in the problems that agitate and distress the great mass of men. His was not a cloistered faith, content with secret prayer and personal devotion. To his mind, religion was far more than an armless statue, powerless to grip the world and lift it heavenward. Hence he acted as peacemaker, mediator, arbiter; he championed the cause of labor, yet guarded sacredly the rights of capital; he adjusted differences, settled disputes, restored harmony between factions and nations, and in every way possible sought to secure an era of fellowship and goodwill.

It may be said that Leo was a Jesuit, and that his diplomacy, his graces of conciliation, and rare persuasive arts were only the result of his training in that powerful Brotherhood. But other Popes have been Jesuits, and have had winning manners and ingratiating address. But where is the Pope who has so lovingly impressed himself on the nations of the earth: who has had Kings and Emperors for his grateful guests: whose letters in behalf of the poor and oppressed have stirred the hearts of millions, and whose life was so unselfishly consecrated to the service of humanity?

He doubtless had an iron hand; but every great man has an iron hand. It is only the man of inflexible will, unbending purpose, granitic nature, who accomplishes anything in the world. To be God-like is to be without variation or shadow of turning. Of the One whose Vicegerent Leo claimed to be it has been written that He would set His face like a flint. Anything less would have faltered at the Cross. But Leo's hand had a touch of rare tenderness. It was a father's hand, and, almost every time we see it, it is raised in benediction.

That his life has been of untold value to the world only the foolish or the misguided will deny. An example so inspiring, a character so exalted, a faith so devoted, and an influence ever calm and consistent have made the name of Leo a memory of priceless worth. The Roman Catholic Church is under profound obligations to him, for out of a ruin he constructed an edifice far more imposing than the original temple of earthly dominion. And the Holy Catholic Church is also his grateful debtor, for Leo was a Catholic at heart, and as such gave himself for the life of the world.

J. WESLEY JOHNSTON.

VII.

BUNYAN'S famous remark on seeing an unfortunate man being carried to Tyburn for execution, meant that men must be judged by temperament, environment and conditions. Bunyan was Bunyan because his temperament was spiritual, his environment permitted its development and the conditions of the day fostered it. The culprit was a culprit because of temperament and environment, doubtless, and also because the conditions of the day inflicted death-sentence for many offences.

So must we judge Leo XIII., by his temperament, by his environment and by the conditions which obtained during his long pontificate. His temperament was one of piety and love for learning. His environment was the Church of Rome, with all its traditions, ceremonies and aspirations. We must judge Pope Leo by his attitude to these traditions, ceremonies and aspirations.

Thus, the tradition of Pope Joan may be a legend, despite the *dicta* of Martinus Polonus, the chronicle *Flores Temporum,* Anastasius, *Codex Vatic.* 3762, Geoffroi de Courlon, Guidonis, Orvieto, etc. But her statue was placed in Siena Cathedral, with busts of other Popes. Pius II., Pius III., Marcellus II., all from Siena, knew and tolerated this. How many such traditions did Leo

XIII. know and tolerate? To this day, traditions point to three bodies of St. Peter, five of St. Andrew, seven of St. James the Greater, twelve of St. Pancras, six and a part of Mary Magdalene, etc. Leo XIII. knew of them. Remembering also the tradition of Pope Honorius, who was anathematized for heresy by the sixth General Council and that therefore that Pope (and how many others later?) was thus declared fallible, Leo XIII.'s attitude to the tradition of Papal infallibility, so solemnly adopted by his predecessor, is of intense importance in estimating him. Of far greater importance is the tradition of the donation of Constantine. This gives the Pope of Rome imperial power and honor, supremacy over all churches, sovereignty over Italy or the western regions, etc. Subsequently "or" was changed into "and." The attitude of Pius IX. to this tradition of Papal temporal power we know. And we know Leo XIII.'s. But, from his relations with the Italian Government at one time, we are tempted to believe that the attitude of the late Pope was that of his Curia, not that of his own heart. Perhaps the situation is expressed in his message, on his accession, to the excommunicated but sturdy Dr. Döllinger. "Come back, for there is another Pope," wrote he. "Yes," replied the Doctor; "but the same Papacy!"

In Papal ceremonials he changed the coronation from St. Peter's to the Sistine Chapel. But his independence was best displayed in his attitude to the new conditions of his day.

Gregory the Great declared that "Ignorance is the mother of devotion"; he expelled from Rome all mathematical studies and burned the Palatine Library. Leo XIII. loved learning, opened the treasures of the Vatican Library to all, and so attracted scholarship to Rome. Innocent III. cursed Magna Charta, "that disgrace to the English nation," "that thing of no account." Leo XIII. championed popular rights against oppressors.

The glory of Leo XIII. is that he recognized new times and new conditions, and possibly would have done so to a yet greater extent but for his environment—the Curia.

Witness his action with his own clergy. "What of the clergy?" exclaimed Prof. Mariano of Naples University in 1891. "Here, indeed, Romanism has worked the greatest destruction. Under the whip of the Papal system, our clergy lie prostrate in a senile and servile lethargy which deadens mind and soul . . . . their ignorance and the laziness in which they rejoice is easier to de-

plore than to measure." What of the Pope? we may ask in turn. Let Dr. Brann testify:

"The dominant note in the oratorio of Leo's life was intellect. He saw that ignorance in the clergy and in the people made many of them a prey to infidelity and socialism. He knew that a cultured and logical intellect would never make an infidel unless the baser passions control. He knew that a really educated man, educated thoroughly, would never accept the theory of Voltaire or Rousseau or Proudhon. Hence, he determined to lift the clergy to the highest plane of scholarship. He raised the pitch of college, seminary and university studies. Education with religion, education in the highest sense of the word, was his aim, for he knew that an educated people, which is at the same time religious, will preserve public order and will not try to take others' property."

In harmony with this was his enlightened attitude towards American Catholicism; for in America, the doctrine, "Learning is Power," holds good; and nowhere does an unenlightened clergy stand less chance of respect and recognition.

Yet more remarkable than this, was his attitude towards the Bible. From Pope Nicholas I., 860, to Pius IX., the predecessor of Leo XIII., many a Pontiff condemned the Holy Book and forbade anybody reading it.

Leo XIII., to his honor and glory, acted differently. In 1893, he issued an encyclical, permitting the reading of the Bible. True, he had priestly influences to combat. Hence, Dr. Robertson tells us he saw priests burn New Testaments, and portions of the Old, in front of village churches. But Leo continued in his enlightened course. He sanctioned a Roman Biblical Commission. In June, 1902, the Society of St. Jerome issued an Italian translation of the four Gospels and the Acts, with notes.

No wonder that such an enlightened Pope bade his clergy study, so as to reconcile religion and science, deplored ignorance of either, and, we are told, returned to the subject five times in one year. No wonder that he opened the Vatican Library treasures for all eyes to see, while he charged all historians "not to dare utter anything false, nor conceal anything true, nor show the slightest suspicion of bias or animosity."

The majesty of the human mind is evidenced by its stand for the right and by its power to overcome and convert opposition into support. Leo XIII. displayed this majesty of mind to an unusual degree. His fearless stand for the right was shown when,

as Governor of the province of Benevento, he put down brigandage, and when, as Archbishop of Perugia, he as fearlessly stood for what he considered right, by his protest against the enforcement of civil marriage law in Umbria after Italy annexed it, and by his denunciation of the expulsion of religious orders. As Pope, he as fearlessly exposed errors and falsities of modern civilization, such as education without religion, divorce, socialism, capital and labor strife, etc. The practicability of Christian socialism he once maintained. But, learning that socialism popularly includes atheism, he condemned it. His encyclicals on all these subjects are classics. That on Labor has, by order of the Tzar, been made a text-book in the National University of St. Petersburg. He tried to harmonize the Roman Catholic Church with the new social, industrial, scientific, and even political conditions, while holding to its historic and traditional duties and dogmas. To quote a Protestant Bishop (Satterlee): "he was undoubtedly the most liberal-minded Pope that Rome has had in 1,500 years." When he became Pope, the prestige of the Papacy had been shattered by the events of 1870, and further injured by Pius IX.'s reactionary attitude against the progress of thought in his day. He left the Papacy respected by non-Catholics, a political power even without a realm, a force in society, and no longer the recognized enemy of science. He found the Church mediæval; he left it awakening to modernism. As for the respect he won for his Church from non-Catholics, it is significant that at his Jubilee of December 23rd, 1887, he used a gold ewer and basin presented by Queen Victoria, a tiara given by the Emperor of Germany, and a diamond ring given by the Sultan—Protestantism and Mohammedanism voluntarily adorned Catholicism!

How his force of mind converted obstacles into helps is admirably shown in his foreign policy. Thus, he condemned Home Rule for Ireland; yet, nevertheless, he appointed Dr. Walsh, a rabid Home-ruler, Archbishop of Dublin. By the former act, he placated the British Government; by the latter he pleased the Irish people. In France, the clergy were identified with Royalist movements; hence Gambetta's remark, "*le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*" Leo astutely disarmed clerical opponents by bidding Catholics "rally" to the Republic and abandon the Royalists. In Germany, he transmuted the strenuous opposition of Bismarck and Falk into a harmonious understanding, when he caused his lieu-

tenant, Dr. Windthorst, to organize the Catholic party of the centre, so that it held the balance of power in the Reichstag, and compelled the Iron Chancellor to choose between warfare on the Church or needed army-appropriations! Not less signal was his success in hindering Russia from substituting the orthodox Russian Church for Catholicism in Russian Poland. Verily, these are victories for a potentate who ascended his throne with a broken sceptre in his hand!

Leo was a great Pope. But he was only a man. Hence, he was fallible, despite the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. He erred in judgment more than once. Thus, his prohibition of the prayer of Queen Margherita asking "God's mercy and forgiveness for her deceased husband, who had always loved and forgiven his people," shocks us. His aspirations for temporal power astonish us, knowing, as he must have known, how they keep Protestant hands on the sword-hilt. His encyclical of 1893 as to the worship of Mary repels us who believe, as the Bible teaches, that God is our only Saviour. His failure to regulate Confession puzzles us, for we are not without testimony that in some countries the influence of the confessional is pernicious.

May the present Pope and his successors continue the work by regulating relic impossibilities, the status of the clergy, confession, and dogmas which set the Catholic Church in opposition to the changed conditions of high human thought and liberty. May they continue, until Catholicism becomes the religion which Jesus himself preached and practised—to keep the Seventh Day Sabbath as he did (and surely Jesus was infallible), to know nothing of relics or confessions to human beings, and to stand always for peace and good-will on earth!

And a final word from me as a Jew.

May the new Pope sternly set his face against the falsehoods launched by Antisemitism, in countries where Popes command a potent clergy. For we cannot forget the cleric part in the Dreyfus injustice in France. Why did not Leo XIII. help justice in that *cause célèbre?* And when the Archbishop of Toulouse, the Vicar-General at the archbishopric of Paris and the Bishop of Mende approved such false teachings as those in the *Fleurs de l'Histoire,* why did Leo XIII. tolerate such publications, and, above all, why did he permit such approvals?

H. Pereira Mendes.

THE PROBLEM OF THE BALKANS.

BY A. LOUDON SNOWDEN, LL.D., FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO GREECE, ROUMANIA AND SERVIA, AND TO SPAIN.

POLITICAL conditions in the Balkans may be described as the maintenance of the impossible by the ambitions and rivalries of the Great Powers. The existence of petty and weak states among ambitious and overwhelmingly strong neighbors, would ordinarily be considered beyond the logic of history; that they are not absorbed is due to the fact that their potential conquerors are unable to agree among themselves as to the division of the booty. The ideal condition, for the millions of Slavs who inhabit or control the many petty states and principalities once tributary to the Turk, would be a gigantic federal state, stretching from the Bosphorus to the Danube, from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, forming a new Christian power in territory once ruled by Mohammedans, and serving, at the same time, as an effectual barrier to the anxious, restless ambition of Russia. But the very advantages of such a disposition would be among the most potent obstacles to its consummation. Russia, the strongest Power interested, would never consent to the rearrangement, except as the result of a war, which no nation or group of nations would be likely to force upon her. A powerful buffer state, able, under modern military conditions, to defeat forever the design of the Muscovites to acquire Constantinople, might be an ideal well worthy the aims of the constitutional states of Western Europe. It would undoubtedly contribute to stability of conditions and to the free and orderly government of the earth; but striking object-lessons in freedom would encounter all the forces of the vast bureaucracy which has only recently overthrown the solemnly guaranteed liberties of Finland.

In few regions of Europe are the results of conquest and of de-

layed development more strikingly evident than in the Balkans. The multitude of little states or dependencies are built upon the ruins of ancient and powerful kingdoms. Romans, Huns, Goths, Bulgarians, Turks, all have had a share in shaping the history of the Balkans; every one has been, at one time or another, in the ascendent. The working out of ideal conditions might be said to resemble the efforts of a peasantry who, vandal inheritors of the treasures of ages past, build huts out of the broken remnants of works of art, or pave roads with the crumbled façades of temples and the mutilated statues of gods and goddesses—as, in Greece, I knew of priceless marbles that were burned for lime. Each conqueror has left behind a layer of debris, a wave of feeling and tradition or sentiment. The ideal settlement, a mighty federal state, to comprise, in a single union, with local autonomy, the disjointed political organizations which are now without cohesion or common ground of development or purpose, is a consummation nothing but generations yet to come can be expected to accomplish. Even if Russia's veto were not an obstacle, local jealousies, the claims of petty dynasties, differences of language and widespread ignorance and indifference, render the ideal settlement apparently impossible.

The very existence of Roumania, Servia, Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, means that the wresting of power from Mohammedanism has not finally settled the fate of any one of them. In the states where an attempt has been made to adapt the English system of constitutional government to local conditions, it has resulted, for the most part, in nothing better than the substitution of bureaucracies for personal government. Though all are free, or under the care of some one of the great Christian Powers, any of them is likely to become a centre of disturbance—with the probable exception of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Austria "occupied" at the end of the Turkish war of 1877-8. The disposition to consider as a bond of sympathy the common Slav ancestry of some, is misleading. Five racial elements enter into the problem; and few dissensions are so fierce as those among kindred.

Greece is the inheritor of the traditions of the Byzantine power which ruled at Constantinople for over a thousand years; it would seem to be the logical heir to the seat of Mohammedan sway. Its ruler, King George, whom I learned to know and respect hearti-

ly when I was at his capital, is well worthy to sit upon any throne; but the attempt at constitutional government in his kingdom, which has resulted in depriving him of all initiative, has really robbed the state of the best opening for his services. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the Greek constitution has succeeded in depriving George of courage, as well as of autocratic power. His dismissal of the ministry of Delyannis, which occurred while I was representative of the United States at his court, was deemed at the time an act of the highest moral bravery; and events, since then, have generally vindicated his judgment and force. But even he is ready for the "rainy day" for which, tradition says, all Eastern potentates prepare. As alert as any business man, he has accumulated wealth in affairs; and should the modern Greeks, like the Athenians of old, vote to expel their Aristides because weary of hearing him called "The Just," the decision will find him, if not reconciled, at least not unprepared.

Roumania, first in order of the Danubian kingdoms, is one of the most interesting of the Balkan states. Ruled by a wise and efficient prince of the House of Hohenzollern, student, soldier, thorough-going man of business and affairs, it is not in the least surprising that the kingdom should have a splendid army and that Bucharest, its capital, should have grown from the mud village it was at the time of his accession, in 1867, to be the "Paris of the Balkans," as it is to-day. The finest hotels, the most perfectly paved streets, the most superb cab service in Europe, are some of the advantages attributed by many travellers to the Roumanian capital. My own observation inclines me strongly to the opinion that the praises are not mere compliments. Even in the manner and bearing of the lower classes of Roumanian lineage, I was surprised to see evidences of a pride which never for an instant forgets that the ruling caste is descended from the soldiery of Trajan, and that they are "Romans" to this hour. It is the most interesting tradition with which I came face to face, in all my experiences. It cannot be ignored in dealing with this picturesque people; it must tinge their history for ages to come.

Suffering and heroism marked the last supreme effort of Roumania, in doing her part in the Turkish war of 1877-8. Even now, a thrill of horror and pride is felt by her people at the recollection of the fearful slaughter of their soldiers when they bore

the brunt of the fire of the Turkish cohorts at Plevna, and, according to a belief widely entertained, saved the campaign on the Danube for the Russian invaders. Thrust forward to take the worst of the Turkish defence, the peasantry of Roumania showed, during those terrible days, that something more than the Roman name and pride had been handed down from Trajan's times. It was a demonstration of courage and devotion that raised Roumania high in the estimation of the world; it was a proof of fibre and character that cannot be overlooked, should the question of leadership among the Balkan states ever become a vital and active one.

But if Roumanian gallantry won world-wide applause at Plevna, it was vain of reward, so far as her ally was concerned. Though fighting Russian battles and saving the Russian campaign against the Turks, the cession of Bessarabia, which was to have been Roumania's requital, was withheld by Russia. The bad faith produced a bitterness which has never been allayed. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the duplicity which was then displayed has done more to injure Russian prestige among the Balkan states than anything that has happened within two generations. It showed that no engagement however solemn will suffice to bind to fulfilment the dominant northern Power.

Roumania, forever distrustful of Russia's good faith, has spent $100,000,000 on the fortifications of Bucharest, the capital. Detached iron-clad forts, built on the Gruson and Schumann systems, make the city practically impregnable, while modern military appliances have made the defence well-nigh invincible. Roumania has done everything possible to avail herself of the utmost that science can offer. Behind the fortifications of the capital runs a line of depressed railway track, that adds immensely to their effectiveness and capacity for defence. Her army, of 168,000 men with the colors, together with a reserve of 200,000, is almost perfectly disciplined. One of the finest sights of my life was a review of 40,000 troops, held by King Charles in person outside the capital, while I was minister at his court. It was an impressive reminder of the Bessarabian treachery—a suggestion that the Russian glacier may melt at that point in its southern progress.

Servia, most troubled of Balkan governments, half recognized, half unrecognized by the great states, uncertain what the next

hour may bring forth, is among the most striking instances of the impossible condition, rendered actual by the mere inability of the Powers to agree upon the disposition to be made of her. The recent crimes in connection with the death of the King and Queen bring to mind only more shockingly a condition that is chronic in the region, the insecurity of the crowns and persons of rulers, the utter lack of the political unselfishness which can subordinate personal interests to the general good, and the impossibility of framing any government with the materials at hand that shall respond to the real interests of the people. It is said that knowledge of but few of the murderous attempts upon rulers ever reaches the public; the large number reported against the lives and crowns of Balkan princes would seem to indicate a condition in which government itself is seriously menaced, and the wildest anarchy could be the only outcome. Servia has suffered most; but it is by no means certain that her condition is much worse in reality than that of Bulgaria; disorganization in army, court, political life, have brought it into bolder relief; that is all. Arbitrary rule on the part of the Prince and his circle of friends and intimates brought a sudden and terrible retribution in the case of Alexander; but it is doubtful whether a wise ruler would find himself in much better plight. The principle of assassination is not a discriminating one: Abraham Lincoln, Prince William the Silent, Henry the Fourth, Sadi Carnot, President of France, William McKinley, and many other instances show that the wisest and best are indeed the most frequently attacked; yet it has been rare, in these latter days, that the hands that planned an assassination have been the ones to inaugurate the régime made possible by the crimes. That it should be so in Servia is an augury of the most evil portent. Russia's haste, first of all the great states, to recognize the new régime, is the amazing exhibition of the times, an apotheosis of regicide and military insubordination and treachery that was least to be expected from a state that had lost its Liberator Tzar by the hands of murderers. It seems to indicate, as I believe, that the new régime will be subservient in the utmost degree to Russian wishes. Russia never yields deference to the abstract; Peter Karageorgévitch is expected to be a tool in Muscovite hands. Nihilism itself —if in other states—does not blind the eyes of the Tzar's bureaucracy to the supposed interests of "Holy Russia."

The name of Bulgaria suggests the ancient history of the Balkan states in striking fashion. Once Lower Moesia of the Romans, it formed a powerful kingdom from the early Middle Ages until overthrown by the Turks in 1389. Its armies appeared before Constantinople and threatened the seat of the Eastern Empire on more than one occasion. Yet none was more completely subdued, none suffered more keenly from the Mohammedans. Even its release from Turkish oppression, after the war of 1877-8, was but an introduction to fresh troubles. Its brave Battenberg Prince, Alexander, had barely been seated upon the throne before intrigues began for the ascendency of Russia. From that day until his successor, the present Coburg ruler, yielded to Russian plans, there was not an hour that the hand of the northern Power was not felt, either in the abduction of Alexander, in the assassination of Stambuloff, the inimitable premier, or in scores of ways that were never revealed to the world. The war of 1877-78 brought Russia little of the soil of any of the Danubian principalities; but endless intrigue, pursued as remorselessly as Fate itself, procured her a far-reaching political ascendency, even at the cost of the blood of a premier and the enforced abdication of the successful soldier-prince, Alexander.

Few rulers have had the good-fortune to win such renown as fell to Alexander of Battenberg, as the result of the brief war of 1885 and the brilliant victories won against his brother monarch, the weak and corrupt Milan of Servia; yet few were so suddenly and so completely deprived of the results of their courage and address by the pettifogging intrigues of Russia and Austria. The chicanery that halted the Bulgarian army outside the gates of Belgrade was like a page from a comic opera. The Austrian envoy to Milan's court—wholly without authority, as afterwards appeared—presented himself before Alexander a few days after the victory of Slivnitza, and ordered the Prince not to enter Belgrade. Alexander, conscious of the peril of his position, not having yet received the recognition of Russia and, therefore, technically not ruler of Bulgaria "by the consent of the Powers," halted at the appearance of the Austrian representative. The breathing spell afforded the Servians turned the tide of the war, and was, probably, the only thing that saved the throne and life of King Milan. The episode displayed the comedy of Balkan politics more fully than anything that has since occurred.

The dismissal of Alexander and the assassination of Bulgaria's greatest statesman, Stambuloff, showed that blood and tragedy were also an essential part of the play, that nothing was to be permitted to stand in the way of Russian designs. The murder of Stambuloff has been laid at the door of Russia and of its subservient instrument, the Coburg Prince, Ferdinand. Even religion was employed by the northern Power. The "conversion" to Greek Catholicism of the heir apparent, Prince Boris, at the age of four, was but a step in Russia's progress.

Within the last few weeks, outcroppings of the undercurrent which, in the Balkan states, sets incessantly toward anarchy, seems to have been felt in Bulgaria. The throne of Ferdinand, at no time entirely secure, is more than ever menaced. The assassins of Alexander of Servia, unpunished, triumphant, virtual rulers of the Servian state, constitute an example which will strengthen the hands of anarchy and tend to undermine the foundations of order in every state of Eastern Europe. That other governments may suffer, and that even Russia herself may repent her hasty recognition of the new king, is not impossible.

Macedonia, not usually enumerated among the Balkan or Danubian principalities, is just now the seat of disturbances which strikingly recall the horrors of Bulgaria preceding the Turko-Russian war of 1877-78. The similarity is more than superficial; it is again the Bulgarians who are making the leading protests, who are bearing most of the actual suffering and doing much of the fighting for the sake of the oppressed in the Turkish villayets —of old, the kingdom of Alexander the Great. Bulgarian subjects of Ferdinand are stealthily or openly aiding the uprising; Bulgarian residents, in all parts of Turkey, are made to feel the heaviest possible burdens of confiscation and banishment; and it is evident that events are looking toward a repetition of the horrors of 1876, when, in Bulgaria, the village wells were found full of the mutilated corpses of men, women, and babes after the Turkish troops had paid their visits of "pacification."

The concert of the Powers for peace is, perhaps, stronger than it was in 1877, and the chances of war are less, even with an equal stress of provocation; but it is doubtful if Russia, Austria, and Turkey combined will be able to stem the tide of popular resentment and fanaticism which must flare up, should the existing troubles proceed much further, or should more Christian blood

be shed. The rewritten histories of past ages show that the hands of monarchs more nearly autocratic than Nicholas of Russia have been forced by the popular will. He may find that even the Autocrat of all the Russias cannot stamp out the blaze which will spread through Southeastern Europe should Turkey immolate ten thousand of its Christian subjects in Macedonia, as it did in Bulgaria nearly a generation ago.

Just as are the grievances of the Christians domiciled in Turkish territory, it must not be imagined that all Macedonians are martyrs or heroes, or that all of them are desirous of dying in order to alter the present status, bad as it is. Macedonia suffers from demagogues as much as do other lands, and many of its people find themselves forced into revolt because "leaders" or "chiefs" have decided the time is ripe for a popular upheaval. Indeed, in the present crisis, the old race hatreds between the Christian elements of the population are so fierce that the Greeks are upholding Turkey rather than see the Bulgars in the lead for freedom. All of them, in fact—Greeks, Bulgarians, Roumanians, Servians—are a unit in but one respect, the determination that none of the others shall be permitted to obtain ascendency in Macedonia.

If Bulgaria can truthfully be said to be the most subservient of the Danubian states, Montenegro may well be considered its peculiar antithesis. Though not so large as the tier of Pennsylvania counties bordering on the Delaware River, and with a population not so numerous as some wards in the city of New York, it has had a history that reads like romance. Part of Roman Illyricum, it was afterwards a portion of old Servia and became tributary to the Ottomans in the fourteenth century. It soon acquired a quasi independence, which it has maintained to this hour. War after war has been fought, only to end in disastrous defeat to the Turks, except in the attempt of 1714, when they sent a force of 120,000 men to the Mountain, probably as many as the entire population of the principality at the time. No less than 20,000 of the natives were captured and the land was reduced to the sorest straits, when complications with the Venetians compelled the invaders to retreat. Several wars ensued. In that of 1796, 30,000 Turks lost their lives. Other attacks followed in 1820, 1832, and in 1852, when the intervention of Austria and the mediation of other Powers again saved the brave mountain-

eers. The years 1858, 1861, and 1876 saw fresh wars. In April, 1877, there was more bloodshed, for the Montenegrins joined the attack on the Turks begun by the Russians. In the operations of that time, after a mountain defile fight, 1,400 Turkish corpses were counted outside of one Montenegrin redoubt.

Astonishing as the history of Montenegro has been, it would, standing alone, avail little to give it political importance. The prominent place in the eye of the European world now occupied by the little state has been acquired by the much more pacific method of marriage. The reigning family of the principality has given a queen to Italy, and members by marriage to Russian, German, and Servian royal or princely houses. Its international importance has wholly outgrown its material proportions. But its alliances have served to bind it more than ever to the Russian interest and, in the case of the Queen of Italy, have tended to weaken the adherence of her adopted country to the Triple Alliance.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, now a part of the Austrian Empire, seem valuable in sketches of present conditions only as showing the logical fate of the Danubian principalities, the fate which would have overtaken all had the Turks had but one powerful neighbor instead of several who were interested in acquiring Ottoman territory, or in keeping the others from doing so. Their present status might be compared to that of a piece of metal in the midst of powerful magnets, pulling in different directions at the same time. They would seem to be inevitably destined to yield at some time to one or the other; yet they are kept in perpetual suspense by the very intensity of the desire of their neighbors to swallow them up. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a brave but futile war against Turkey in 1875, under the Russian General Tschernayeff, would seem to have entitled them to as much independence as fell to the lot of Bulgaria; but nearness to Austria, and the determination of that power to receive recompense for Russian and English gains after the Turkish war, proved too strong for sentimental considerations. They became part of the Austrian Empire, or, in the language of diplomacy, were "occupied" by the troops of His Hapsburg Majesty. Thus disposed of by the Congress of Berlin, the Mohammedan portion of the population made a bloody but utterly futile resistance to the Austrian columns of occupation. The gradual elimination

of the Turks, who had lived in the principalities for nearly five centuries, is now going on. I witnessed some aspects of it when I was at Belgrade. I saw, on the streets of the city, some travellers, evidently Mohammedans from their dress, yet blue-eyed and fair-skinned. They appeared to be wanderers, sad, downcast, and manifestly out of touch with their surroundings. On inquiry, I found they were Bosnian Moslems, on their way back to Turkey, abandoning the land that had been theirs for ages, their further residence rendered impossible by their Christian neighbors. It was one of the last acts in a drama that had been in progress since the fourteenth century, the ebb of the Mohammedan tide that once threatened the whole of Eastern Europe.

Even in the portions of the Sultan's territory that are inhabited by people a majority of whom are Moslems, the Turks seem to have sown only hate and disorder. Albania, most of whose residents are of the faith of the conquerors, is as seriously disaffected from the Porte as any of the Christian portions of the empire. The singular fatuity of the ruling caste, and the principle of Mohammedanism which teaches that no men of any race have rights in government unless they be of the faith of Islam, have resulted in every country in turning the conquerors into parasites. The final result is that no class, throughout the Empire, either Christian or Moslem, is satisfied with government. Both are victims of a system that attempts to rule in the fashion of the fourteenth century.

The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria after the war of 1877-8 might be regarded as a portion of the standing protest against the undue aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of her neighbors. In fact, in the present phase of the Balkan question, Austria might be considered to have fallen heir to most of the anti-Russian feeling and obligation. Austria is growing weaker as Russia grows stronger. The very progress of the imperial Hapsburg realm in the direction of local self-government and toward the democratic ideal, has been her undoing, in so far as relates to her capacity for united effort and for the carrying out of any consistent policy, either at home or abroad. There is also a large element in her population that is affected with Russianism or, as it is sometimes called, "Pan-Slavism," the movement which seeks to draw into one political union all the Slavic peoples of the southeastern part of Europe.

No strong modern state has suffered from race hatreds so much as Austria. The German element has never succeeded in winning the friendship of any large portion of the other races inhabiting the empire. The long-standing feud between the Germans and the Hungarians is to-day keener than ever, notwithstanding the concessions to the Hungarians of autonomy and of a parliament of their own. Slavs against Germans and Hungarians, Hungarians against Germans, Bohemians against both Magyars and Germans, are a few of the historic feuds darkening the closing years of the reign of Francis Joseph. The other subject races—Italians, Croats, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Slovaks—contribute nothing to the stability or coherence of the empire, and are unfelt except as their members occasionally make themselves heard in the Imperial Parliament.

In Austria, indeed, nearly every existing tendency seems to be at war with the stability of the state, and this at the very time when the need for firmness and stability is becoming daily more imperative. Trade, usually deemed a bond of union, is turned by the Austrian form of internal tariff laws into a culture-bed of dissensions. Language, once the badge of servitude to Austria, is now cherished as a mark of defiance to the ruling caste. Race antipathy, another distinction fruitful of cruelties and misunderstandings, needs no explanation in a country which, like the United States, has a gigantic and unsettled race question on its hands; but nothing in this country can supply a parallel or any fit illustration for the array of disorganizing questions—racial, commercial, and linguistic—that confronts the Hapsburg Empire. It is the generally accepted view, among educated men on the Continent of Europe, that the personal loyalty of the people to Francis Joseph is practically the one bond that really makes for unity and order in Austria. Every hour of life granted the venerable ruler means the postponement of the cataclysm which, it is generally feared, must come sooner or later. What it may mean, for the happiness of millions in Eastern Europe, it is impossible now to forecast.

The German element in Austria will probably fare best of all, should the disaster come. Resident in a territory contiguous to the empire ruled by William of Prussia, the Germans must inevitably gravitate to it when the Austrian realm shall cease to be. The rearrangement brought about will profoundly affect

European politics. It will not only mean an enormous addition to the power of the German Empire: it will confer upon that state a part of the compulsion now resting on Austria, to resist the remorseless onward march of Russia.

A contingency of the sort I have forecasted may bring about some good results. In the German Empire, Russia would find an antagonist not disrupted by racial antagonisms, and therefore capable of opposing at least a consistent attitude to her relentless course. On the other hand, Austria's position at present can be compared to nothing more accurately than to a chariot race between a team of horses pulling in several directions at once, and another, running obediently, unhesitatingly, to the goal.

To most minds, the list of hereditary enemies of Russia will include Great Britain. It is true, English interests must forever oppose Russia in spirit. No temporary sentiment of friendship can avoid the obligation of every constituent member of the Anglo-Saxon family of nations to oppose, either in fact or morally, everything for which Russia stands. Tradition, laws, customs, free institutions—human liberty itself—decree that there can be no common ground of action between the gigantic autocracy of the Tzar and the free nations that speak the English tongue. As a matter of immediate political necessity, however, England's obligation to resist Russia in the Balkans and on the Bosphorus is less than it has been for nearly a generation. To fight Russia, whether or no, is less the feeling, I believe, now that England virtually controls Egypt and, through it, the Suez Canal, the great artery of trade to the Eastern world. It was very different in 1878, when Disraeli brought 10,000 native troops from India to Malta, serving notice on Russia and the world in a new manner, that England was still, as in Napoleon's day, the hereditary and unyielding enemy of absolutism. Great Britain did not then occupy or control Egypt or Cyprus, and the Suez route would have been seriously jeopardized had Russia secured Constantinople. In these days, the area of conflict between England and Russia has been transferred to the Far Orient where, morally at least, the American nation finds itself in entire accord with Great Britain in fighting the battle of fair trade and civilization for the one-third of the human species which occupies Eastern Asia.

Out of the seething mass of discord, rivalry, and hatred, solutions are possible which might conserve the real welfare of all

parties whose interests are concerned. Should the heir apparent to the Austrian throne manifest, upon his accession, some measure of appreciation of the vast responsibility of his position, the larger misfortunes may be delayed for an indefinite time, and the partition of Austria be long averted. In such an event, Austria might survive the Turkish Empire in Europe, and fall heir to some of its possessions. Salonika, a seaport the Hapsburgs have long desired, would almost surely come to them, and Austria would become a maritime power to an extent that is impossible with only her present harbor of Trieste. Greece, with almost equal certainty, would gain Macedonia. She may even become the nucleus of a new Christian nation on the Bosphorus, to replace the Asiatic anachronism of the Sultan. With the Dardanelles made free to ships of every nation, and with the new commonwealth guaranteed by the Great Powers, all would gain. Russia would have access to the oceans by ice-free ports, instead of being bottled up, as I feel unjustly, at all points throughout the Western world. The granting of permission to her to traverse the Bosphorus and use her fleets in the Mediterranean would be robbed of its terrors to the Western nations, since they would be on equal terms. England would reap rich advantage. Her tremendous naval preponderance, which is likely to be maintained for generations to come, would then be available for attack and reprisal upon Russia in a way now impossible, except in the extremely improbable contingency that she could have Turkey for an ally, as in the Crimean war.

Surveying the whole field of probabilities, it is difficult to see how any one of the nations in interest could fail to benefit. In the mean time, everything would seem to depend upon the capacity of Austria, not only to meet existing emergencies and maintain the present status, but so to consolidate her people as to preserve her unity until the Turkish overthrow in Europe and thus prevent overwhelming preponderance by Russia. Until that time, Austria must remain the only real barrier to Muscovite aggression in Southeastern Europe. Every one who desires happiness for the millions in the Balkan states and believes in popular government, must devoutly wish well to the house and empire of the Hapsburgs.

A. Loudon Snowden.

JAMES McNEILL WHISTLER.

BY JOSEPH PENNELL.

THE greatest artist of modern times is dead. These are strong words, and I mean them to be. If the time has not come to discuss and analyze the art and the personality of James McNeill Whistler, it is none too soon to state facts and to state them as strongly as they can be stated. For, ere he was in his grave, many of those who, a few days before, had cringed after years of toadying turned, as is their nature, to revile him. Many of those whose mouths he had shut opened them rudely again; and yet scarcely a voice has been raised in his defence, even in his praise.

Among the few artists the world over the man was known, revered and honored. No one since Velasquez and Rembrandt has had such an effect on the art of the world. And not alone by the graphic arts will he live, but by what he wrote and by what he said. There is no one who has carried on the traditions of English literature of the days of Elizabeth and James, as this man has done, in one book. Nor is that all. As a patriot, as an American, it would be hard to find his peer, and yet he scarcely ever was in his native land. In his painting, the man was the heir of the masters. Though he never looked on Velasquez, in all his glory, at Madrid, nothing of the great Spaniard was hid from him. He was nearly fifty before he knew Italy, and even then it was only the fringe of Italy he knew. But what had it to show him? Holland he had worked in; still it was not until a summer or so ago that he studied its art. But the man knew everything almost before he saw it. The merest suggestion of a great work taught him more than the average student can learn by ten years of copying, and, like the truly great, he rarely copied anything. He had no time for it, no use for it.

After a year or two of study at West Point and of work in the Coast Survey at Washington, after a year or two of training at Gleyre's in Paris—and all had their effect—he painted the White Girl and the Piano Picture, he etched the French Series and the Thames Set. And they are immortal. From that time till yesterday, he triumphed. If he did not, where is the failure? There were failures, and there are unfinished works, but they have not been seen, and I hope they will not be seen. Between the White Girl and the crowd of pictures which are yet to dazzle the world—a world knowing nothing of them—is but the change wrought by never-ending development. Every phase of genuine contemporary art interested and impressed him, at times influenced him; that of Courbet directly, of Rossetti momentarily, of Hiroshige and Hokusai immensely. With it all, however, there was only one end in view, and that was great art and the carrying on of great traditions. He knew he was making great art. He was so sure of it that, even during his lifetime, he compelled an unwilling public to admit it. But for those of us of the younger generation, it is impossible to understand this compulsion. As a schoolboy, my first strong impressions of painting came from the Portrait of his Mother, shown in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and the White Girl in the Metropolitan Museum of New York; and of etching when I first saw his prints in the Claghorn collection. There was no question of acceptance. I had to acknowledge them. Yet I learn now, even to-day, from the British critics, for whose existence he saw no necessity, that though Whistler thought subject was nothing, and pathos was nothing and sentiment was nothing, yet he put all these into the portrait of the person he loved best—his mother; and the critics say, even Swinburne has said, he contradicted his theories. He proved them. As well be surprised at dignity in Michelangelo, or craftsmanship in Frans Hals. But then one is always surprised at common sense in anything connected with British art-criticism. Why should the critics understand, and what does it matter? And now, a quarter of a century later, we read Ruskin with astonishment, and learn with amazement the standards of that high priest of British art. For there was no explanation of the shriek by which he will live—the coxcomb throwing a pot of paint in the public face. For upon the few inches of canvas which contained this masterpiece is all the beauty and the mys-

tery of the East wedded to all the mystery and beauty of the West—the work of a master whose like the world has never seen. But because he put sentiment in his portrait of his mother and beauty in the nocturnes, he is absurd. To the critic, certainly!

There is one phase of Whistler's art, however, which the critics, especially in Britain, never weary of asserting that they did appreciate, his etchings. Doubtless; but the fact remains that until he, looking farther into futurity than any of them, made these etchings valuable from the only point of view from which art works are considered — the financial one — they could be bought, and mainly were bought by artists, up to a few years ago, for fewer shillings than pounds are now offered. It may be interesting to remember that it was of one of the Venice etchings, the "Nocturne, Riva," a celebrated critic said the "subject did not admit of any drawing."

In speaking of the "Wool Carders," another remarked, "they have a merit of their own, and I do not wish to understand it." That has an honest ring; it is a monumental record which can never be lived down. But, as if that were not enough, the same gentleman defined his position as critic by saying that Whistler was an artist who had "never mastered the subtleties of form." No wonder that for years this critic has been trying to deny his past. To crown all, a Professor of Art, an authority on prints, found in the "Rialto" but "scampering caprice," and in the "Salute, Dawn" that Whistler had "pushed a single artistic principle to the verge of affectation." Again, in summing up the Venetian prints, they were pronounced "disastrous failures"; "failures that are complete and failures that are partial"; that have gained "a publicity rarely bestowed upon failures at all." Such an awful failure of critical faculty was never exhibited before even in England, yet this did not prevent one of the critics from cataloguing the prints; he was "refreshed . . . with money" for it, however, he says himself. These are the opinions of the people who praised Mr. Whistler's etchings when they were published. This was the praise bestowed upon them, one of the most favorable comments upon the Venice being that they were "another crop of Mr. Whistler's little jokes."

It is a popular superstition that Whistler was accepted in France. Until 1883, he was treated rather worse, officially, in France than in England, and it is only this year that, sending to

Budapest, he found himself carefully ignored. Success for him meant a fight in every country for recognition.

As to Mr. Whistler's paintings there was little attempt to take them seriously. There is but little more now. It is a fact that, until within the last five or six years, his commissions for portraits could be counted upon the fingers of one hand, and it is also a fact that, since that time, it would be difficult to count those life was too short for him to carry out, which mostly came from America. There were, I think, only two English ones. Why was it, he himself said, if people now clamored for his work, they refused it when he would have been glad to let them have it? Was it better? No. It is a question of fashion, but this is one of the fashions that will not change. Rembrandt has not changed, and Velasquez has not changed, and Whistler will not change. For genius was the portion of these three artists, and immortality is their reward; and if only one of them—Velasquez—was wholly successful in his life, they have left a heritage which will never die.

I know that it is not the fashion to write like this. I know that one should be calm and judicial and anæmic—that is, one should be a coward, and a craven, and afraid to say what one believes. But, when the world was young, those who discovered it, and made its history, and fought its battles, and ruled its peoples, did what their hands found to do with all their heart, and all their soul, and all their might; and so did this great man throughout his life. With Whistler, painting, when he was painting, was the only thing to live for. When he fought, he meant to fight, and it was with the most wonderful rapier, which none could withstand. When he wrote, those who could read stopped to hear his message. But no longer is it the fashion to paint like that, nor to fight like that, nor to write like that. The man who can paint so well hurts too many mediocrities, and mediocrities are always official and in power. The man who fences so well kills his rival; he does not fail to touch him, and then shake hands. And the man who writes as Whistler wrote is neither forgotten nor forgiven. So, from out their holes, are crawling already the official ones of art, and saying: "It is just as well we did not make him one of us; we do not know what he might have done." And the critical ones, though killed, are now reviving, and are no longer so cowardly as to be afraid to jeer at him, no matter how

much they toadied a few weeks ago. The so-called literary tributes offered him in England are little but a tissue of jeers and sneers and taunts and lies, which, later, will only, as they have before, recoil upon their utterers; and few dare to admit the greatness of the man and artist. All hesitate, lest some day, sooner or later, if they do not hedge, the world might call them fools. They cannot realize the seriousness of Whistler. Because he was so serious, because he was so honest and strong, they think he must have been a fraud, and that they—it does not matter what happens to him!—will be made ridiculous if they praise. They cannot realize that he was as stern as he was great in his painting, his fighting, and his writing. No one paints or writes or fights so honestly nowadays, and therefore they fear that he was only playing with them, only fooling them. But some of us know that no greater honor could come to us in this world than to find ourselves working, or fighting, or writing on his side.

Not merely with his brush and his needle did he struggle for art. He fought for a great federation of the arts, when exhibitions should be for artists and not for intriguers, when artists and not politicians should be judges. And in this, as in everything, he worked for art. Where is the politician who has not the dread of his voters before him? How many authors are there who do not think of their readers?

But Whistler thought of art and the future of it, and if many never understood him at all, and fewer with difficulty, it was because his ideals were so great and his methods so subtle, though so clear to himself, that, at times, he had to explain them even to those who believed most truly in him. I do not mean to say that he did not make mistakes; he did, as every one does. At times he was taken in by charlatans, and, at others, "acted as though he was not a genius," Degas once said of him in despair. His aims were far beyond those of the unworthy association with which he allowed himself to be allied some years ago. But, later, as the President of another body, the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers, he made his ideal known and his power felt from one end of the artistic world to the other; and some of his younger followers may live to see him acknowledged, not only for what they know him to be now, the master, but as the founder of a great world-wide art movement, which will influence art and artists everywhere.

In literature, too, his influence for style and for truth has been enormous. Not only was he the first, nearly fifty years ago, to paint the beauty of London, but in that masterpiece, the "Ten O'clock," he preached it later to a crowd that came to jeer and went away to praise, and to imitate. Who before had seen the wonder of night, or the splendor of fog, or the mystery of twilight in London? Now none can avoid it; yet who remembers that it was he who revealed it? It is the fashion for writers to say that Rossetti was a painter, and for painters to say that Rossetti was a poet. But the future will acknowledge that Whistler was both. For, just as he knew how to paint and to etch because he knew the science and traditions of those arts, so he knew how to write because his writing was founded on the immortal works of the past. In painting and in writing, he carried on scientifically the great tradition, and this is all the great artist has ever done. Never was there less of an innovator, an iconoclast, or a sensationalist, though those are the mildest terms applied to him. He was the humble student of all time and all tradition, who used the knowledge of a lifetime in the service of his art.

This is not the time or place to defend him from his enemies, or to slay them. The future will do that. But there is one phase of his life which should at this very moment be referred to—his patriotism, his Americanism. He was the most intensely American of Americans, continuously reviled though he is by being called an Anglo-American, a Franco-American: impossible hybrids. Whistler was an American and nothing else. His ideals were American, his ambition was for America. And yet, because he did not live in Skaneateles or Kalamazoo, or even in New York or Boston, because it so happened that he found his first motives in London, as well as his last, because his most intimate friends were in that city, he and some other people, with him, who also love England because of what it gives them in their art, are virtually denounced as traitors to the land of their birth and of their fathers' birth, mainly, it is true, by people who were not even born there. But though Whistler passed almost all his life in England and but a few years in France, in those few years, however, learning all there was to learn, he was not of France, though he was in it, nor was he of England either. He followed American affairs with the feelings and the emotions of a patriot. His early training was that of a New England schoolboy, and his

standards of right and wrong and of conduct were those of the West Point of his time, while not a little of his devotion to details was gained in the United States Coast Survey. In all the important American movements of the last few years, schemes for empire, the question of the blacks, everything that concerns the American, his interest was boundless,—the interest of the real American, not of the sentimentalist or the politician. The sooner the American nation can understand that this great man was one of those who are compelled to live out of their country by their profession, their business, or their trade, though they may love their land, care more for it, and do more for it, than those who never stir beyond the borders of their own ward, the broader will be the American outlook. The American appreciation which came to him from America was always a delight, and his friends were nearly all Americans. At any rate, they were not Englishmen; and if some of them live in London they no more than he are of it. It is true that to-day England, with the sense of appropriation which has always been hers, is ready enough to speak of him as an English artist. He was in no sense an English artist; English artists never did one single thing for him during his life nor since his death; nor English collectors either, save to unload at advanced prices, his works they possessed—luckily, and as he wished, to Americans.

He had no interest in British art, save that which is above nationality, like Hogarth's. And near Hogarth he now sleeps. Had England appreciated these two artists, both would have been buried in St. Paul's. His only sympathy with England was because of the things he found there, and because of the friends he had there. For him, blood was not thicker than water, and sentimental and shop-keeping politics did not make international alliances. He cared far more for France. But he cared most of all for America. And though he has built for himself a fame that will never die, it is time America recognized that this great man has triumphantly placed her first and foremost among the artistic nations of the world. No tribute that can be bestowed upon him by the United States will be too great for his glory, nor fail to redound with honor upon his native land.

JOSEPH PENNELL.

BRITISH NAVAL PROGRESS.

BY ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

In spite of the great expenditure which Great Britain has made on her navy in the past decade, her position on the seas has, relatively, not improved. She has reached equality in battle-ships with the two next greatest Powers with a margin for contingencies, which is the standard of strength of the British Admiralty; but, since this standard was adopted in 1889, the conditions upon which it was framed have changed. Then there were only two serious rivals, France and Russia; while to-day there is, in addition, the navy of Germany, flanking the British Isles, to be reckoned with, not to mention the fast-increasing power afloat of the United States. Germany has felt the ruling hand and responded to the naval enthusiasm of her "War Lord"; and she has also completed the Kiel Canal, which gives her access to the North Sea and renders her a far more menacing neighbor to England than she was when her comparatively insignificant forces in the Baltic and at Wilhelmshaven were separated. The United States has experienced the tingle of victory over one of the proudest nations of Europe, and the fascination of imperialism and events in Venezuela in 1895 and 1903 have given the Republic a strong navy and will give her a yet stronger. As President Roosevelt has insisted again and again, the Monroe Doctrine requires at its back a powerful fleet.

Relatively to the progress of rivals in the world's naval handicap, Great Britain does not on paper occupy as strong a position as she did.

This may be illustrated by the latest return of the British authorities,* from which it appears that the number of ships of each country built and building is as indicated in the following

* Issued May 25, 1903.

tables, in which the numbers of vessels now building or on order are given in parentheses:

Battle-ships.

	First class.	Second class.	Third class.	Total built.
Great Britain	42 (15)	4	2	48
France	19 (7)	8 (1)	1	46
Russia	13 (8)	4	1	
Germany	12 (8)	4	12	28
Italy	12 (6)	—	5	17
United States	10 (14)	1	—	11
Japan	6	1	—	7

Cruisers.

	Armored.	Protected.	Unprotected.	Total built.
Great Britain	18 (23)	105 (9)*	10	133
France	9 (14)	40	1	72
Russia	8	11 (5)†	3	
Germany	2 (4)	19 (7)‡	20	41
Italy	5 (1)	16	—	21
United States	2 (11)	16 (6)§	11	29
Japan	6	18 (3)¶	9	33

Torpedo Craft.

	Torpedo-Boat Destroyers.	Torpedo-Boats.	Submarines.
Great Britain	112 (34)	85 (5)	5 (14)
France	14 (23)	247 (43)	15 (43)
Russia	48 (6)	132 (7)	— (2)
Germany	28 (10)	93 (—)	—
Italy	11 (2)	145 (8)	1 (3)
United States	14 (6)	27 (4)	3 (5)
Japan	17 (2)	67 (18)	—

In addition, each of the Great Powers has coast-defence ships, vessels only able to operate near bases and as a rule of inferior fighting capacity: Great Britain, 2; France, 14; Russia, 13; Germany, 11; United States, 15; Japan, 2; and Russia has three building. It being England's traditional policy to search out the enemy in his own ports, these coast-defence ships might affect the issue of an encounter. In the British Two-Power Standard of strength, account is taken only of battle-ships, since of cruisers she needs a large number to protect her over-sea commerce.

* England is building two second and seven third-class protected cruisers.

† Russia has in hand three first-class protected cruisers and two of the second class.

‡ Germany's new protected cruisers are all of the third class.

§ The United States is building six second-class protected cruisers.

¶ One of the new Japanese protected cruisers is of the second class and the other two of the third.

In battle-ships built Great Britain has a slight superiority over France and Russia combined, and each British vessel is of greater displacement and presumably of better fighting capacity; but in comparison with the Dual Alliance she has one battle-ship less under construction, while the United States alone has fourteen battle-ships building to the British fifteen, and Germany has eight, and is actually completing them for sea quicker than is the case in England.

This is not quite an accurate summary of the situation, because the Russian fleet is increasingly concentrated in the Far East, where England and Japan, if not the United States, would stand shoulder to shoulder in any probable cause of conflict. Consequently, Russia's fleet is divided into three parts, one in the Far East, one in the Black Sea, and one in the Baltic, and a widely distributed naval force is at a disadvantage, especially when, as in the case of Russia, the three sections are not linked by bases from which to draw supplies of coal. Great Britain, on the other hand, keeps only four of her forty-eight battle-ships outside the English Channel and the Mediterranean. While it is true, therefore, that the British navy is weaker relatively to the progress which has been made by the other Great Powers, she is not so badly off as the figures quoted would suggest. A noteworthy fact is the indication that the pendulum, which a few years ago seemed to be swinging towards a British fleet equal to the combined fleets of any three European Powers, has an inclination to return. The hot fever shows distinct signs of giving place to a cold fit, in part no doubt due to the financial burden of the late war and the rapid increase in all branches of national expenditure.

In quite another direction a remarkable awakening has taken place, and this has been an almost clear gain. For this the British people have to thank, in a large measure, the example set on a small scale by the German navy, methodical, determined, and practical. In the Naval Bill of 1900 which authorized the augmentation of the German fleet now in progress, this statement is made: "Our endeavors must be directed towards compensating for this superiority (of some other individual Powers) by the individual training of the crews, and by tactical training by practice in large bodies."

"Quality, not quantity," is the watchword of the German navy. In the British Isles it has at last been understood that the

mere possession of ships will not suffice to achieve victory, that the trained human element—the student of war, the admiral in command of each squadron, the captain in the conning-tower controlling his ship, the executive and engineering officers at their several posts, the men behind the guns and in the magazines supplying shell and ammunition as swiftly as it can be fired—will influence the result of battle possibly more than a mere superiority in warlike material, and that behind the battle fleets must be an organization for war. It has been recognized that fast, straight shooting, not bright brass-work and pretty paint, is the essential precedent to victory, and that to increase the efficiency of the admirals and captains and the men at the guns and in the magazines is to add to the striking power of a navy more effectually than by building additional ships. President Roosevelt has admitted that there is a great difference in fighting capacity between certain races, but, he added:

"When the day of battle comes, the difference of race will be as nothing when compared with differences in thorough and practical training in advance. The victory in any contest will go to the man or nation that has earned it by thorough preparation. This preparation was absolutely necessary in the days of sailing ships; but the need for it is even greater now, if it is intended to get full benefit from the delicate and complicated mechanism of the formidable war-ships of the present day."

These words tell the secret of victory ashore and afloat, and especially afloat; and it is in this spirit that naval policy in England is being shaped. It is seen that the day may come when, in face of financial stress and keen rivalry, a navy planned on the generous scale of the past may be unattainable, and therefore what is lacking in quantity must be compensated for in the quality of material and highly trained *personnel.* Slowly, in British fashion, the administration and the fleet are adopting the motto of the great gunnery school at Whale Island, Portsmouth: *"Si vis pacem, para bellum."* Ten, even three, years ago, these words signified little; but month by month they are gaining fresh meaning, and policy is being moulded in accordance with their teaching.

On these lines much remains to be done, but much, very much, has been accomplished. Probably it is not too much to say that, compared with fifteen years ago, almost every ship in the fleet

is of twice the fighting value that it was. The Admiralty has been not merely reorganized, but electrified into new life; the new fleet which has been built at a cost of over one hundred millions, sterling, has been placed in a state of "war readiness"; a new scheme for training officers and men for the complex ships of to-day, rather than for the old sailing ships of yesterday, has been introduced; and into the old bones of service-tradition and custom has been breathed a vitalizing spirit. Every detail in the control, organization, distribution, and equipment of the British navy has been searchingly reviewed. In the spring of the new century, the fleet has been spring-cleaned.

It is not until an effort is made to count the gain of the past few years—there has been no loss of the old spirit of the officers and men of Nelson's day, the *esprit de corps,* the willingness to take smooth and rough with good humor, the dogged courage and the adequate resourcefulness—that one realizes how fast events have moved. Putting aside the mere increase of ships and men which has proceeded more or less *pari passu* with the progress of other European Powers, much has been done to vindicate the mission of each British man-of-war to fight, if need be, and not to appear merely pretty and yachtlike—a temptation in all fighting forces in charge of men who believe cleanliness to be next to godliness, as Anglo-Saxons undoubtedly do.

In taking stock of Great Britain as a naval Power, much might be written about her added strength in the Mediterranean and the two new squadrons in her home waters; but the importance of all such actions can be judged only after careful examination of the movements of neighboring fleets. After all, the important fact is the recognition by the nation and by the naval authorities that organization and the training for war of the human element are the secret of victory. Not only are all the sea-going squadrons and bases in distant waters more adequately supplied than ever before, but there has been created and is now being created an entirely new fleet of auxiliary ships. For the impulse to this end the British people are indebted to the example of the American people in the late war with Spain, while in one instance a hospital ship was the gift of an American citizen, Mr. Baker of the Atlantic Transport Co. The Spanish-American War illustrated the need for auxiliaries of various types. It was seen that the highest efficiency of the fleet was to be obtained only if ade-

quate supplies were forthcoming, colliers with coal, distilling ships with pure water, floating bases for small repairs, mother-ships for the care and maintenance of destroyers, telegraph ships for dealing with ocean cables, floating hospitals for succoring the wounded and removing them from the scene of action, and store ships for replenishing food and other requirements of an attacking force. On these lines much has already been accomplished, and year by year further provision is being made for perfecting this auxiliary fleet. In this respect Great Britain stands absolutely alone among the European Powers. Apart from the colliers of various types which have either been purchased or are under charter for use in case of war, the British navy has acquired or had adapted to their new service the following vessels: Distilling ship "Aquarius," the cost of which has been £55,400; repairing ship "Assistance," with foundry, machine tools, etc., built at an expense of £216,216; torpedo-depot ships "Vulcan," "Warrior," "Triumph," "Orion," "Audacious," "Invincible," and "Leander." Some of these ships are for sea-going duties, accompanying the destroyers, while others are of the stationary type, serving as bases to which torpedo craft can go for stores and repairs. The battle-ship "Audacious" has had £56,772 spent upon her to fit her for her new duties, and a sum exceeding £37,000 has been expended on the battle-ship "Invincible," while for the cruiser "Leander's" refit £56,511 has been assigned. There are, in addition to these, the hospital ship "Maine," now doing duty in the Mediterranean, and additional store ships which have been purchased or specially built and equipped. Craft are provided for in the Estimates for 1903-4 for supplying oil to ships at sea which burn this type of fuel. Cable ships, belonging to private owners, are under contract for Admiralty use in time of war. Additional hospital ships have been arranged for, and will be speedily fitted out when war threatens.

The provision of these auxiliary ships is one of the most significant features of recent British development; and other vessels are to follow.

Ten years ago, or less, gunnery in the British squadrons was largely neglected, and cases have been sworn to of ammunition which was thrown overboard so as to avoid the trouble and dirt and injury to paint-work consequent on firing it, on the one hand, and the explanations following on its return to stores, on

the other. A young lieutenant of the fleet, a gunnery enthusiast and since promoted to commander, drew attention, in a series of anonymous articles in May, 1895, to the neglect of shooting, while Captain Percy Scott, in the cruisers "Scylla" and "Terrible," showed by his ship's records how startlingly bad the practice made with the guns of the fleet had become, and a revolution has been effected. Gunnery is no longer shelved. It has become on many ships the standard of warlike efficiency, as it should be and will be on every ship under the newly awakened official recognition of its supreme importance in a fighting-ship. From the King downwards, every effort is being made to arouse all the officers and men in the fleet to a keen emulation of the best records. Quick coaling of ships has long been one of the evolutions in which the greatest rivalry has been evinced. Competition in filling the bunkers with fuel is desirable, since the sooner it is accomplished in time of war the sooner the ships will be available to take their places in the squadrons for duty. Now gunnery has been raised, by public promptings of the authorities, to the chief place in the drills of officers and men, and has taken rank even above coaling ship. Contrary to all precedent, the British Admiralty have decided to publish annually a list of ships in their order of merit as regards gunnery efficiency, and the King has approved the bestowal of a medal upon the men who are returned as the best shots with each class of gun in each ship, subject to their performances being up to a fixed standard of merit. The medal will be the permanent possession of the winner, and in each year that he holds this distinction he will be paid a bonus as an official recognition, and in addition he will share the prize money as at present. It is hoped that publicity of the records and desire for the Royal medals will lead to an increase in the rivalry for gunnery efficiency, and steps have been taken to insure that the firing is carried out in accord with strict service regulations.

At last the officers and men are to be trained for a mechanical navy. Up to the present, they have been fitted for a fleet of sailing ships and have learnt an immense amount of the lore of an art which has ceased to have any bearing on the conduct of war afloat. In future, every officer and every man will be a mechanician, and every shred of the old routine which has no influence on his future life, either as navigator, gunner, torpedo expert, signaller, or trained mechanician, will be banished; while

at the Greenwich College a course of study in tactics and strategy for senior officers has already more than fulfilled expectations.

Even at the Admiralty itself, reform has left its mark. In 1889 there was no Intelligence Department. Now the "Thinking Department" of the administration is a large and well-equipped office, which keeps the members of the Board of Admiralty informed of all that is going on in the navies of the world, and devotes attention to the ever-changing problems suggested by the defence of over-sea commerce and an Empire which is distributed over the seas of the world. A new scheme affecting the whole Admiralty as a naval War Office is now in course of adoption. It aims at securing that "each department at the Admiralty," to quote the Earl of Selborne, the First Lord, "shall at the same time as the fleet is mobilized for war, be able to mobilize itself for war administration, and that as little as possible shall be left for decision when war breaks out: every department will expand automatically and know exactly how to 'carry on' without referring to the Board for instructions." This in itself is a revolution, for in British history of all the centuries of warfare no naval or military department has ever been ready for hostilities. The ports and squadrons are organized on a basis that will enable instant expansion to a war footing, and the central administration is being modelled in the same mould.

These and other more detailed achievements in the careful preparation for war are of more account than the building of skeleton ships, a mob of targets for the guns of any enemy better trained. Consequently, in face of many depressing circumstances in Europe, the British people have little reason to be discouraged, though it may be that in the future the British fleet will not occupy its traditional position of numerical superiority in comparison with other Powers, unless the Colonies volunteer more financial assistance than they now render.

In every branch of the British service, a new energetic spirit is apparent, and the confident and almost careless attitude handed down from the hard-fought battle of Trafalgar is being banished, now that the truth is realized that victory in the hour of battle will go to the men who win it by constant and thorough training in times of peace.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

WHY THE PANAMA ROUTE WAS ORIGINALLY CHOSEN.

BY CRISANTO MEDINA, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM GUATEMALA TO FRANCE.

THE first Scientific Congress held in Europe to study the Central-American Canal question met in Antwerp in 1871. At that Convention resolutions were passed, recommending to the attention of all Europe a project submitted by Mr. de Gogorza, who, it was thought at the time, had discovered a new route that solved the Canal problem, between the rivers Tuyra and Atrato.

The Geographical Convention held in Paris in 1875 treated the Canal question at great length, provoking long and serious discussions among the world's foremost authorities. It was then proposed to call together an International Congress to study and pass upon all projects submitted, and to decide in favor of that which presented the most practicable features. The Geographical Society of Paris, seconded by the Society of Commercial Geography, took the initiative in the organizing of that Congress. De Lesseps's towering figure was already noticeably conspicuous at those meetings.

The scheme was first to obtain the approval of the International Congress to some plan, and at once organize an international company under the presidency of De Lesseps to undertake the work of construction. With this object a syndicate was formed in Paris, which, in turn, appointed a technical commission to go to the Isthmus and report on the best and most practicable means of carrying the work through to a speedy completion.

This syndicate was practically organized through the influence of De Lesseps, although General Türr was its nominal chairman. No time was lost in raising the requisite funds for equipping the expedition, which was soon in readiness. This Commission sailed

from Saint Nazaire on the steamer "Lafayette," bound for Colon, on the 6th of November, 1876.

In the party were the engineer Réclus, the unfortunate Italian officer Bixio, Victor Celler, and six other engineers under the orders of Lucien N. B. Wyse, Lieutenant in the French Navy.

I had the good fortune to be a fellow passenger on the "Lafayette" on that voyage, and, as many of the members of the Commission were personal friends of mine, I had every opportunity of assuring myself that none of them had, at that time, any special interest in favoring any particular project, but that they were all resolved to decide in favor of the route that appeared to them the easiest and most economical, and were prepared to make all necessary contracts before returning to Europe.

During the voyage the different members of the Commission, especially Wyse and Bixio, repeatedly impressed me with the decisive importance of their mission, assuring me that, as soon as their surveys were completed, the work of construction would be undertaken without delay, thanks to the power and influence of De Lesseps, in whom Europe had reposed unlimited confidence after the success of the Suez Canal.

I was much pleased with their enthusiasm, and, naturally enough, did not waste a single opportunity to impress them with the immense advantages of the Nicaraguan route; pointing out the greater clemency of the climate, the great abundance of timber, the facilities of living, the presence of game, fish, and fruits, and the comparative density of population.

Their intention was, then, to visit Nicaragua as soon as their surveys and reports on Panama were completed, and their contract with the Colombian government signed, in order to study the Nicaraguan route, so that they might return to Europe equipped with every detail necessary to enable the International Congress to decide on either route in an impartial spirit.

Upon Lieutenant Wyse's return to Europe, however, it was found that he had only entered into a contract with the Colombian government for the construction of the Panama Canal.

It appeared that, for reasons which it is unnecessary to go into in this paper, Lieutenant Wyse had been unable to come to terms with the Government of Nicaragua. It was, therefore, self-evident that Lieutenant Wyse and all his associates in the Türr syndicate were obliged to be stanch supporters of the Panama route.

Such was the status of affairs when the meeting of the International Congress was called to make its definite decision on the Canal matter.

This Convention met in Paris, holding its sessions in the Geographical Society's Building, from the 15th to the 29th of May, 1879. There were present sixty-two foreign delegates, representing Germany, Austria, Belgium, China, Spain, the United States, Great Britain, Colombia, Hawaii, Holland, Mexico, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Russia, Switzerland, and Peru. Of the Central-American Republics only three were represented: Salvador, by the eminent writer, José Maria Torres Caicedo, a Colombian by birth; Costa Rica, by Manuel M. de Peralta; and Guatemala, which I represented.

Besides the sixty-two foreign delegates, there were present, as members of the Congress, over eighty French delegates, many of them engineers of distinction, and almost all men of talent and worth; but all selected, appointed, and inspired by De Lesseps. On these men he could rely as the controlling majority necessary to insure the triumph of his unyielding will.

The Convention was divided up into five "Special Committees." I had the honor of being elected vice-president of the first Committee, whose task it was to estimate the probable earnings of the Canal on the basis of existing data and statistics of trade. The result of our calculations was an estimated tonnage of 7,250,000 tons.

In spite of these enormous figures, it was found necessary to raise the rate previously fixed for toll or canal dues; and, even then, the anticipated total earnings were barely sufficient to pay the interest on the capital necessary to build the canal through Panama, though ample for the Nicaragua project, where the estimated cost of construction was much lower.

The learned Levasseur, Chairman of our Committee, in an extensive and carefully prepared report (too long and tiresome, however, to quote for the purposes of this article), figured the annual increase in traffic that might be anticipated in fifteen years. It would be interesting to-day to compare his estimates with actual traffic returns, but such a comparison, however valuable it might be in establishing new estimates for the future, is foreign to our present purpose.

The fourth Committee, composed of the most eminent engineers

in the world, was assigned to study, from a purely technical point of view, the advantages offered, and the engineering difficulties presented, by each of the projects submitted to the Convention. Project after project was passed upon and thrown out, until the two or three really serious ones presented, remained before the board for consideration. These related to Panama and Nicaragua.

The French engineers, from the start, were unanimous in endorsing the Panama Canal project submitted by Lieutenant Wyse; for the construction of which, moreover, he submitted copies of the contract entered into with the Colombian government, as before stated.

At one of these sessions, the Secretary of the Committee read a letter received from Mr. Lucien Puydt, complaining that his project had not received proper consideration. In it he says:

"In the light of recent developments, I have come to the conclusion that the International Congress was convened for but one purpose: that of assuring a definite victory for Mr. Wyse's project; that only such projects as may possibly be privileged with the distinction of the same Mr. Wyse's protection will even deserve the attention of this Congress; that the projects and labors of his predecessors must be swept aside and forgotten to make room for those he attributes to himself; that the International Congress would not be in existence if Mr. Wyse did not happen to exist; that Mr. De Lesseps is solely interested in the financial future of his 'Company,' and that the opening of the Canal from the standpoint of universal interest and benefit is entirely a secondary consideration depending on the acceptance, by the International Congress, of his protegé's project."

These unvarnished expressions, that at the time savored of brutal frankness, had a certain effect on the impartial members of the Congress.

The reason that De Lesseps gave for preferring the Panama route was made to appear as a purely technical one, viz.: the necessity of a canal of uniform grade; but the real truth was, that he feared that, if the Convention were to decide in favor of Nicaragua, the government of that republic would insist on terms that would endanger the realization of the enterprise.

It so happened that a change of government had taken place in Nicaragua on the eve of the meeting of the International Congress. President Chamorro had been succeeded in office, on March 1st, 1879, by General Zavala. Prior to this, the govern-

ment had signed a contract with M. Blanchet for the construction of a canal in Nicaragua; but, when presented to the Senate for approval, that body had refused to ratify it. This led President Zavala to declare, in a letter that was read at one of the sessions of the Congress, that he was determined never to enter into any contract whatever, for the building of a Nicaragua Canal, during his term of office. The effect of this Presidential declaration on the members of the International Congress can be readily appreciated.

The foreign engineers, notwithstanding, continued to strive for the acceptance of the Nicaragua route, realizing its superior advantages from a practical standpoint.

The only objection that the French engineers could make was that, in Nicaragua, a system of locks would be indispensable. This point was argued at great length. In a masterly speech, Sir John Hawkshaw, the famous English engineer, proved mathematically the absolute impossibility of building a canal of uniform grade across the Isthmus of Panama, and further predicted that, even with the use of locks, the Panama route would present insurmountable obstacles. Sir John's prognostications impressed many of his colleagues who shared his views; and his arguments, as well as those of other eminent engineers, soon began to turn the tide in favor of the Nicaraguan project.

The delegation from the United States were ardent partisans of the Nicaragua route; so were the Dutch and Belgian representatives. Gradually, every one of the foreign commissions endorsed that project, until finally, without a single exception, every foreign delegate championed the Nicaraguan project. At this juncture, during one of the last meetings of the Congress, De Lesseps called me aside, and said:

"The majority seems to be in favor of Nicaragua. I have personally no interest one way or the other, especially as any outlay for expenses incurred by the Türr-Wyse surveying party can be refunded by the new Company. It would however be necessary to come first to an understanding with the Nicaraguan government as to the general bases of a contract; otherwise, if the Congress votes in favor of Nicaragua and we then send a Commissioner to deal with that government, without any previous understanding, the result will be that Nicaragua will demand such conditions and terms as to render the entire project out of the question. Is there any one here authorized to make any offer in the name of the Nicaraguan government?"

Unfortunately, I knew too well that there was not. I assured M. De Lesseps, however, as a friend and citizen of the Central-American Republic, that Nicaragua was too keenly alive to its own interests to take undue advantage of such a situation, and I used every effort to persuade him to allow the Convention to make a free and impartial decision.

All my arguments were, however, of no avail in the face of the fears entertained by De Lesseps and the pressure brought to bear by the Colombian syndicate, whose every energy was at work in an effort to secure a decision in favor of Panama.

De Lesseps then threw off his mantle of indifference and vacillation; and, going before the Convention, declared himself boldly and openly in favor of Panama, confident of carrying the vote of all the French engineers present.

When the foreign representatives understood what was taking place, they, almost to a man, abstained from voting, so much so that, at the decisive moment, only eight of us voted in favor of Nicaragua.

On the other hand, seventy-eight ballots were cast in favor of Panama. The remainder preferred to reserve their vote rather than attempt to oppose the irresistible will of him who was then "*Le Grand Français,*" but who in after years, broken in heart and spirit, died a lingering death in his country place, in peaceful ignorance of the criminal proceedings through which the Courts of Justice of Paris were making him, and his son Charles, responsible for the sins and prevarications of an infamous ring of swindlers.

CRISANTO MEDINA.

RIVAL SYSTEMS AND THE MALAYAN PEOPLES.

BY HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G.

THE peoples of the Malayan stock, which of old was the dominant race in a portion of the mainland of southeastern Asia and in the neighboring archipelagoes, have seemingly been marked out in an especial manner to be the victims of a strange variety of experiments. Collectively, rabbits, it is popularly supposed, fare worse than other members of the brute creation at the hands of vivisectors; and, similarly, the Malayans, above their fellows, have been selected by the caprice of fate to fill the patient's bench in a vaster laboratory. But here the shining scalpels are religious systems and rival theories of administration, and the blood let flows, not from individual veins, but from the hearts of nations.

Malayans, in different localities and at various times, have been converted to Hinduism, to Mohammedanism, and to Christianity: some have been conquered and ruled by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the British; and now the republicans of the West are trying to induce a section of this Oriental race to accept the citizenship of the United States as their eventual destiny.

The history of Hinduism among the Malayan peoples is obscure; but at one time it was the prevailing cult, and traces of it still linger in the incantations and magic observances of the Malay medicine-men. The ruins of temples in Java bear witness to the firm root which it had once taken in that island, and it survives to this day, albeit in a degenerate form, in Lômbok and Bâli.

During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries of our era, however, the faith of Mohammed spread gradually, through the agency of Arabian and Persian traders, from Âcheh in Sumatra to the islands of the Celébes group and to the Sûlu Archipelago—which geographically forms the southern extremity of the Philippines—thus gaining a long start in the race with its

rival, Christianity. The magnificent doctrine which bids men believe in a single Deity is a conception that has always made a strong appeal to the Malayan imagination, wherefore the new creed quickly submerged the rude pantheism of the Malayans, and as easily routed Hinduism from most of its strongholds.

The Cross was first planted among a Malayan people who had not already accepted Mohammedanism in 1521, when Magellan cast anchor in the harbor of Cebu, and proceeded, as was the fashion of his age, to spread the love of God and of our neighbors by the aid of some of man's least amiable devices, such as thumbscrews and the like. It was not until 1565, however, that Legaspi landed in Luzon, and, with the help of a handful of brave Spaniards and his band of redoubtable friars, set about the conquest of the archipelago in the name of His Most Catholic Majesty. Even the zeal and love of a Xavier had availed nothing in the Malay Peninsula, for the Mohammedan faith, which is propped by pride and hate, holding as its first principle that the professors of other creeds are deserving only of contempt, had already gripped the people in that region, and against its calm, unquestioning self-content Christianity has never yet prevailed. In the Philippines, however, the Spanish friars had a virgin field in which to work, and the conquest of the huge archipelago was accomplished by them, by their fearless devotion, their noble self-sacrifice, and the attraction which the great truths they taught had for the Filipinos, rather than by the swords of Legaspi's knights.

Thus we find to-day the Malayan peoples professing Mohammedanism in the Peninsula and the Archipelago, Christianity in the Philippines, but retaining in each place something of the rude pantheism which was their natural religion. The Mohammedan Malays are probably the laxest of all the Prophet's adherents: the Filipinos are among the most completely *pas pratiquants* of Roman Catholics: and the conclusion which the observer must draw from a study of these people is, that neither Christianity nor Mohammedanism has had any power materially to alter them.

Passing from a consideration of the religions professed by the Malayans to an examination of the various systems of administration which have been imposed upon them by Europeans, a similar conclusion is forced upon our recognition. Though they have come into contact with races of such different character as the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the British, and have been submitted

by them to treatment dictated by methods and principles which in each case are strongly individual, the Malays continue to be what Nature, not man, has made them. No matter what their circumstances, what the manner in which their fate has been ordered, no matter whose the hands to which the framing of their destiny has been intrusted, through everything there crop up the inextinguishable tendencies of a people wedded to fantastic beliefs, essentially unmoral, cursed by an apathetic indolence and a childish incontinuity of purpose.

Of the Portuguese system little need be said, for the earliest of their European conquerors were driven from the Malayan lands when Malacca fell to the joint-attack of the Dutch and the Achehnese in 1641. Of the methods of administration employed by the Spaniards in the Philippines, too, no detailed examination is necessary. It is enough to say that it continued to the end to be incredibly inefficient, hopelessly corrupt, wholly divorced from any altruistic consideration for the real welfare of the governed, and that it was further marred by injustice, bigotry, greed, cruelty, and stupidity. In so far as contact with their Spanish rulers has had any influence at all upon the Malayan people of the Philippines, it has tended to emphasize, rather than to diminish, their innate faults and weaknesses of character and habit.

The methods employed in the government of Malayans by the Dutch and British merit careful attention; for both the Dutch and the British have, for longer or shorter periods, been engaged in this particular task; the efforts of both have, to all outward seeming, been attended with a fair measure of success; yet each has been actuated by wholly different principles, has worked on different lines, and has attained to distinct results.

To take the Dutch system first, the ruling theory of Holland has always been what was the principle of all the white nations when in the beginning they sought possessions over sea. That is to say, the *raison d'être* of a colony is supposed to lie in its ability to yield material advantages to the mother-country, and to grant special privileges to those of her offspring who may elect to seek their fortune away from home. The Dutch have worked out their system upon this hypothesis with characteristic thoroughness. Finding their share of the East Indies thickly populated by an indolent, ease-loving brown people, they early perceived that, unless some means could be devised of stimulating these men to

perform a fair share of toil for the benefit of the community at large, the Malayan possessions of Holland would fail to fulfil the requirements demanded of them by the mother-country. Accordingly, they hit upon the plan of so taxing the native population that, unless each individual devoted himself to work, with something as nearly approaching energy as a man of Malayan blood can compass, no margin should be left over for the support of himself and his family, after the demands of the government had been satisfied. In pursuit of this plan a bewildering number of burdens were imposed upon the natives of the Dutch colonies. They were called upon to pay a poll-tax, as soon as each male attained to the age of puberty, as a preliminary justification of their existence; a tax was put upon their land; a tithe was taken of their crops; in many districts agriculturists were required to set aside a portion of their land whereon to grow produce which was a government monopoly, and which, as such, was taken over by the administration at about sixty per cent. of its market value. In addition to this, the Dutch made the natives responsible for the up-keep and maintenance of the roads constructed through or near their villages, and forced them further to devote a certain number of days in each year, free of wage, to work upon the estates of European planters in their vicinity. In this way, the government of Netherlands-India derived a large revenue, and was able to remit satisfactory sums to Holland wherewith to swell the surpluses of the mother-country. Of late years, the capabilities of the colonies in this direction have been greatly restricted, for not only has the revenue itself declined, owing to bad seasons, but the constant drain on the local treasuries caused by the thirty-years' war in Âcheh has led to serious financial difficulties. The Dutch system, however, has in other ways continued to produce the results expected of it, for the inhabitants of the colonies have, to some extent, been made diligent by law. That is to say, they have learned to work as hard as they know how—not because they like it, but because they must starve if they do not toil.

But is the Malay population contented? If it be contented, how account for the frequent rebellions against its Dutch rulers? How account for the eagerness which the natives of Netherlands-India display to emigrate, whenever the opportunity serves, to the lands of British Malaya, whence no counter-stream of emigrants flows to the colonies ruled by Holland? How, too, account

for the scarcely veiled sympathy with which the struggle in Âcheh has been watched throughout the length and breadth of the Dutch possessions, a consciousness of which has done more than aught else to force the government to continue, for nearly thirty years, a war of extermination of which Dutchmen are heartily weary and more than a little ashamed? How, too, account for the elaborate precautions against insurrection which are habitually taken in all Dutch stations, even in Batavia itself—the orders promulgated, the *rendezvous* appointed as rallying-points for the European inhabitants, and the constant, galling emphasis which is persistently laid upon the inferiority of the native, as compared with the European, for the purpose of impressing upon him his impotence? These things any observer of average intelligence who visits the Dutch Indies may discover for himself; and he will find the explanation in the undeniable fact that the system in force is, from its very nature, repugnant to the character, the feelings and the pride of a Malayan people. And, more dangerous still, the difference in the treatment meted out to the European and the Asiatic has its reason, from the point of view of the native, not in a dissimilarity of color, but in the accident of creed. "Are Mohammedans permitted to travel in these carriages?" a Malay asked the present writer at the railway-station in Batavia, indicating a first-class compartment. To one who knew the race to which the inquirer belonged, that simple question conveyed a sinister meaning; for it spoke of the devotees of the proudest religion in the world forced to accept a position of inferiority by reason of their adherence to the Prophet's creed. Such a question could never have been put, in that particular form, by a Malay of the British Protectorate: that it came quite naturally, instinctively, from the lips of a Malay of Batavia is, perhaps, more crushing testimony than aught else could be to the radical unsoundness of the Dutch system. No government of an Oriental race by white men can flourish, and fulfil the ends of its being, unless it rest ultimately upon the will of the vast majority of the governed.

The methods devised by the British for the administration of the Malay Peninsula present as strong a contrast to those in favor with the Dutch as it would be possible to find. From the first, the Native States of British Malaya have been regarded by their English rulers as countries held in trust for their native inhabitants, the people who, according to this view of the matter, have to them

an inalienable right. The temptation to depart from this governing principle has been happily reduced to a minimum, by the extraordinary wealth which these countries have developed and the prosperity which has resulted from the exploitation of their mineral deposits. During the past twenty years, the tin exported from the Peninsula has represented an appreciable fraction of the world's out-put of that metal, amounting in some cases to more than half of the whole. This has given the government of Malaya ample funds with which to open up the country, and at the present time more than 2,250 miles of road have been constructed, and by the end of 1903 no less than 340 miles of railway will be open to traffic. All these and other public works, too, have been paid for out of current revenue, without recourse being had to loans; while the taxes paid by the Malayan population work out at the inconsiderable figure of a trifle over two Mexican dollars per head. When all has been said that can be said, however, the fact remains that, under British rule, not a penny has been diverted from the states which yield the revenue to the government of Great Britain or to the neighboring colony of the Straits Settlements; that every farthing that Malaya has yielded has been devoted to the development of the country; that the actual cost of administration amounts to only 17.63 per cent. of the revenue, and that the native population, which has been relieved of a grinding tyranny and the galling exactions and mulctings inseparable from native rule, is called upon to contribute a quite insignificant sum towards the cost of government. In one direction, an European administration must always appear to a Malayan people to be more oppressive than its own râjas, for the latter, by reason of their very inefficiency, are precluded from despoiling their people as thoroughly as they desire, while the white men's systematic methods insure the collection of all taxes which may be imposed, without leaving any loopholes for evasion. When, as is the case in the Dutch colonies, the taxes are excessive, this efficiency becomes in itself an object of bitter detestation to the natives; but in British Malaya the tax burden is so light that even the monotonous regularity of its collection can be forgiven to the government.

Starting with the theory that the British hold these lands only in trust for the native population, care has been taken to give this principle full expression in practice. The government has conceived that it has no right to deprive its Malayan subjects of a

single shred of their personal liberty. In all matters that touch the native population, even remotely, the closest attention is paid to native opinion, feelings, and susceptibilities. Every official is required to possess a working knowledge of the vernacular, and men are selected for the posts of District Officer, and for other appointments which bring them into close contact with the natives, for their knowledge and understanding of Malay character and idiosyncrasy and for their profound sympathy with the people. Holding firmly to the belief, for which their past history supplies ample grounds, that men of the Malayan race are incapable of wise or just self-government, the British administration holds forth to its subjects no delusive prospect of ultimate autonomy, but it is at great pains to consult the wishes of the Malays in all matters that affect their interests, and its practice has been consistently to lead, rather than to drive, them along the path in which they should go. Also, though it regards the natural indolence of the Malays with profound regret, the respect which it entertains for the personal liberty of the individual restrains it from compelling him to engage against his will in the labor which he from his soul abhors. In this region, as in all Malayan lands, Nature is very loving to her children, giving them full measure, pressed down and running over, in return for the veriest minimum of grudging toil; wherefore, though the Malays are suffered to loiter away their lives in the fashion that best commends itself to them, there is no poverty among them, no poor-rates because there are no Malay paupers, no starving unemployed because there is land enough for every one and a little scratching of it yields a generous crop. The result is a thoroughly and justly contented native population, relieved, as by a miracle, from the tyranny under which their fathers groaned, taxed lightly, and endowed with a measure of personal liberty which finds no parallel in their past history; and it is upon this general contentment, this popular allegiance to the new régime, that British rule in Malaya stands four-square, "broad-based upon a people's will."

But, in order to insure to the Malays the enjoyment of complete liberty—which, in their case, means the concession to them of the right to shun unnecessary toil—while at the same time developing the resources of the country in an adequate manner, the British government has been under the obligation of removing all restrictions from the free immigration of Chinese and other

aliens, the men who are fitted by their character and predilections to act as the working-bees of the hive. The whole vast question of Chinese immigration will be found, I think, when reduced to its simplest elements, to be governed by the old, unchangeable, natural law of the survival of the fittest. If we apply this law to any special region, we shall find that in certain localities the law of nature would allow the Chinese immigrant to increase and multiply, while in others the working of the same law would lead to his speedy extinction. For instance, in a temperate climate, such as that of California or New South Wales, the Chinaman could survive, when brought into competition with a white population, only if all manner of artificial means were devised for his protection and for the circumvention of the law of nature. In Malayan lands, on the other hand, he would thrive in similar circumstances, because there his is the race best fitted to survive, and because he is needed to supply a want in the character of the native inhabitants. In such places, left to himself, he would rush in in his thousands, as inevitably as air flows into a vacuum, and any attempt directed towards his exclusion is an artificial contrivance designed to frustrate the natural law. In their Malayan colonies, the Dutch have partially excluded the in-rush of the industrious Chinese, by forcing the immigrants to occupy a gallingly inferior position. In British Malaya, the Chinese have been welcomed with open arms, have been allowed the free enjoyment of their liberty and their wealth, and have been utilized for the development of the country. Lacking their aid, it is safe to say, the Malay States of the Peninsula could never have attained to their present pitch of phenomenal prosperity, and their resources could only have been exploited at all at the sacrifice of that principle upon which British rule in these lands is based.

I have left myself but little space in which to draw the moral which, in my opinion, is to be deduced from these facts—the moral applicable to America's new departure in the Philippines.

The Dutch system, it may be premised, is one which will not readily commend itself to the people of the United States. The main principle underlying it they will instinctively discard, for, though they may not desire to see the Philippines continuing indefinitely to make large demands upon the public purse, they entertain no expectation or wish that the islands should contribute directly to the revenues of the mother-country. All that is

hoped for, then, is that the archipelago may become prosperous, and that its inhabitants may attain to such a measure of happiness and well-being as a government has it in its power to bestow.

Similarly, it is probable that there will be found much in the British method of administration in Malaya which is antagonistic to American ideas. The calm recognition of the fact—for Englishmen who have won an understanding of the character of the Malayan peoples hold it to be a fact as undeniable as the law of gravity itself—that men of this race are, by reason of their innate limitations, incapable of self-government, will not come to them save through the channel of long and, it may be, bitter experience. The cry of "the Philippines for the Filipinos" will doubtless be raised, and the Chinese will, to that end, be rigorously excluded. The hope will be entertained—a generous hope, but based upon a misconception of the capabilities of the race—that the natives of the Philippines can be educated, trained, elevated until they shall be fitted to take their place as citizens of an over-seas State of the Union: and, as long as these illusions remain undispelled, so long will American administrators in the archipelago labor out their lives in a task like that of Sisyphus.

As I have said, the desire of the United States is twofold: to see the Philippines raised to a fair measure of material prosperity, and to bring to the islanders personal liberty and happiness. But, alas, the character and nature of the Malayan races being what it is, these two objects are mutually antagonistic the one to the other, provided always that the archipelago is to be treated as a mere fraction of the Union, in defiance of the immutable facts of geography and of the wholly different circumstances which prevail in it and in America. For, in this case, what is sauce for the goose is by no means necessarily sauce for the gander: what may fit a State of the Union to perfection may spell economical suicide in the Philippines. If the resources of the islands are to be developed, if the new possession is to become self-supporting, labor must be forthcoming, and if the stream of Chinese immigration is to be obstructed by barriers, that labor must be supplied by the native population. And here we encounter the real crux of the situation; for men of the Malayan stock will not work more than their very few wants make inevitable, if left to their own devices as in British Malaya, unless they be compelled to do so, as in the Dutch Indies. In the one case, they become un-

profitable and unsatisfactory members of the community; in the other they are sullen, discontented, ripe for revolt, and constitute a perpetual menace to the men who have taken upon themselves unasked the ordering of their destinies.

The solution of this problem will, I conceive, be readily suggested by the sanguine spirit of the American people. "Granted," they will say, "that the Filipino of to-day is what you declare him to be, a Malay of the Malays, a brown man whom circumstances have Latinized; but why, in the sacred name of Education, should he be denied the capability of improvement? We will take him in hand, as neither the Dutch nor the British have ever done. We will educate, train, develop him. We will awake in him that divine discontent which is the foundation of all desire for better things. We will arouse his slumbering ambition, increase his wants and with them his ability to satisfy them. Thus we shall stimulate his patriotism, strengthen his character, enable him to grasp the white man's views of life and duty, and in the end shall so transform him that he shall learn to govern himself and to take his place among the citizens of the Union!"

There speaks the hopefulness and the energy of the Anglo-Saxon, ever ready and eager to undertake great enterprises, ever triumphantly confident in the efficiency of the machinery at his command: but there also speaks the spirit of the white man who has not come into contact with the grim facts of the oldest continent upon earth; the energy which has no knowledge of the sheer, dead inertia of the Malayan peoples; the ignorance to which no long residence in this land of darkness under sun-glare has brought its flood of dreary enlightenment. A homely proverb supplies the crushing retort: "You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear!" In other words, you cannot leave the personal element out of the calculation: you must make allowances for human nature, as it is, not as it ought to be: you must accept the Malayan peoples as God and their climate have fashioned them—as races on the decline, races which expended their share of energy ere ever the history of the Anglo-Saxons had had its obscure beginnings, as races which have had their day and can never be galvanized into new, artificial life by no matter what strenuous endeavor, no matter what lavish expenditure of intelligence and devotion. Another fact, too, calls for recognition. The education of the Malays has been, is being, attempted by the Dutch

and the British, both races, be it remembered, which have at their service a tremendous accumulated experience of Orientals, and the results are the reverse of encouraging.

There is yet one more factor in the problem which I would urge upon the attention of American readers. Both Holland and Great Britain are small, thickly-populated countries, which are altogether too cramped to afford accommodation for all their children. Thus there has never been any lack of Dutchmen and of Englishmen, of the required calibre, willing to accept lifelong exile in Malaya as their lot, receiving as their reward a quite trifling pecuniary recompense. From these European countries it has been men of superior, rather than of inferior, energy and ability who have gone far afield in search of room in which to live; but the conditions of the United States are wholly different. For many years to come, there will still be many partially undeveloped lands to be exploited nearer at hand than the Philippine Archipelago. Congestion of population, as it is understood in England or Holland, does not exist in the States taken as a whole, and therefore there is reason to question whether Americans of the required character will be found ready to accept banishment in an uncongenial climate as their fate. For it must be borne in mind that, if the work undertaken in the Philippines is to yield any good fruit at all, it must be done by men who are prepared to devote their whole lives to it. An intimate knowledge of the character, the customs, views, and language of the natives of the islands is essential, and this can only be gained by long study on the spot. Yet, if the American theory of administration is to have even a bare chance of success, the *personnel* of the Civil Service is of vastly more vital importance to the United States in the Philippines than it is to Great Britain or to Holland in their Eastern possessions; for the theory is based upon the hope that Americans will be able to achieve a feat which the British and the Dutch have failed to accomplish. I have expressed an uncompromising opinion concerning the feasibility of that project: the hopes of its fulfilment will be rendered yet more desperate unless the tools at the disposal of the American government be quite extraordinarily efficient; for in Eastern lands it is the rank and file of the rulers, rather than the men at the head of the service, who chiefly influence the people whom they govern.

HUGH CLIFFORD.

THE IDEAL OF A UNIVERSITY.

BY CHARLES WALDSTEIN, PROFESSOR IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY (CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY) AND FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

A University is educational because it is scientific; a school is scientific because it is educational.

It is not so much a question of science taking cognizance of life, as of life taking cognizance of science.

THERE has never been a period when, as at the present moment, the question of education—especially of higher university education—has been so prominently in the minds of the English-speaking nations as a question of practical interest. There are several causes which have conduced to this wide-spread and active interest; though none of these alone can be said to be the really efficient one. First, a need for reform has been realized and urged from within, *i. e.*, by the teachers and officials of the universities themselves. Then, public munificence has in England as well as in America been directed towards the universities, and the question has naturally arisen as to the best uses to which wealth thus bestowed can be put. Lastly, the needs of actual, material life, the necessity of regulating commerce and industry—all the arts of peace and war—by the highest intelligence available in the nation, have been felt more strongly than ever before. It has been realized that those countries in which the highest intellectual education is most directly and immediately brought to bear upon the problems of actual life, where science and life, so far from being divorced, are most closely wedded together in united action towards the increase of public efficiency and prosperity, that those nations are advancing rapidly; while those where this is not the case are likely to fall into retrogression, whatever may be their

natural resources and the strength of their tradition of national wealth or predominance.

As regards the movement for university reform from within, there have been in America and Great Britain a number of thoughtful and experienced university teachers who have the interests of their own universities at heart, as they constantly bring enthusiasm and intelligence to bear upon the problem of advancing science and improving the intellectual life of the nation to which they belong. Their number in English-speaking countries is great, and they may fairly be said to represent the leaders of the nation's intelligence. In America, I would single out one name among a host, as the man who has done more than any other in following up his expressed views by the actual organization of a university embodying, for the time being, the elements of modern needs in a tangible example and model university, the very establishment of which has gone far to influence the spirit and the work of all the other American universities—I mean Dr. Gilman, the first President of the Johns Hopkins University.

In England, the most momentous reform of the great English universities, during more than six centuries of continuous activity, was initiated with the new statutes which came into operation in 1880. This reform, approaching near to a revolution of the whole system, had its origin within the universities themselves, and was supported by the majority of university teachers at Oxford and Cambridge, who (with all fairness to the more conservative students who acted in all conscientiousness) may be said to have represented the most prominent teachers and researches in the universities and in the country. If, for the sake of symmetry, I were to select one name as a leading representative of this movement, I should single out that of the late Professor Henry Sidgwick of Cambridge.

But the intellectual atmosphere within the universities of both countries had, for a long time, been modified and prepared by the fact that a large number of university teachers in both countries have travelled and studied abroad, especially at the universities of Germany. While there imbibing the current methods of learning and research, they realized the ideals which underlie and actuate the intellectual life of German universities, as well as the elements in which these differed from the ideals current in their own country. Such comparative study, besides freeing their

minds from provincial prejudice, and raising their standards of academic efficiency, brought home to them with great force the crying need for academic reforms in their own universities.

As regards the action of public munificence: A number of new universities and colleges have been founded in the United States, as well as in the provinces of England, by private generosity. Many of these new American universities are excellent and promising foundations. In many cases, however, the means supplied are ludicrously inadequate for the maintenance—not to speak of the higher development—of real universities. Frequently these new institutions were started in localities where there already existed one or more colleges of ancient standing, which were merely in want of financial support to rise to a higher state of efficiency. In a country which has the inestimable advantage of a large number of higher institutions of learning, diffused all over the land, the question is not so much one of extension as of concentration. The injudicious foundation of such ill-equipped new bodies has not only burdened the land with an intellectual incubus and obligation; but it has seriously jeopardized the development of the older institutions—both together tending to prevent any approach to an ideal university education and a consequent advance of the intellectual vitality of the nation. Had the misguided philanthropists bestowed their funds for the endowment of new studies or new chairs in the existing institutions; or better, for the adequate remuneration of the professoriate; or, better still, had they transferred their funds unconditionally into the hands of competent and trustworthy officials to bestow them where needed—nothing but good could have resulted.

In England, on the other hand, there has been for centuries a practical monopoly of university education on the part of Oxford and Cambridge, retarding even the advance of a great metropolitan university in London. The need for decentralization in this sphere of national life has rightly been felt to be paramount. In recent years, the timely advent of private generosity has resulted in the foundation of several colleges and universities in the "provinces," especially in the great manufacturing centres, which certainly tend to supply a crying want, and which may, if wisely directed, lead to the quickening of university life, and to a new era of higher education in the British Empire. But up to the present there is danger lest these foundations, with their short-

sighted, hand-to-mouth policies and ideals, may retard and vitiate, rather than advance and elevate, the higher learning of Great Britain. The founder or founders of such bodies insist upon carrying out their own preconceived notions as to the needs, the purpose or the utility of a university, crude notions based upon some individual experience or taste in their own life or education —or even trade. A bias may thus be given to the organization, to the aims and to the spirit of the work, which is far from harmless, which cannot be remedied subsequently when bitter experience has led to the recognition of a mistake; for a bias in the very foundations affects the durability as well as the usefulness and beauty of a structure. There is in the minds of such people either a total absence of ideals, or a mistaken ideal as to the nature and purpose of universities; and their views are rapidly being absorbed by the whole nation, perhaps thus retarding the intellectual advance of an empire.

The thoughtful among us must often realize that "public munificence" is not an unmixed blessing. It is one of the charges which the opponents of congested capital may urge against the possession of great wealth by one person, that the power it gives to an individual may be directed into channels affecting public life and wide-spread interests *without responsibility*. In fact, any inquiry as to capability, motive or responsibility, where actions decidedly have the character of charity and philanthropy, readily assumes the appearance of the ungenerous and ungrateful. Still, it may fairly be questioned, whether the action of individuals—whose good intentions are unassailable—in giving a positive and definite direction to the spirit and methods of public work, and in affecting the distant future of higher national life by some preconceived theory or conviction held by one to whom the nation would never have looked for guidance in such matters, may not be nefarious.

If the possible evils arising out of misdirected munificence apply to the foundation of universities, they apply to the endowment of scholarships, purses and all other forms of endowment leading or forcing or bribing the young to learn. These present the readiest, most common and most manifest form of doing something for learning and for the poor, while at the same time it requires least thought and trouble to the donor who wishes "to do the right thing." In former ages, when, on the one hand, na-

tional institutions of learning were not organized or readily accessible, or when the learned class of "clerks" was chiefly enlisted from the poor, there was a call for the wide application of such benefaction. But to-day, whatever good may be manifest in individual cases, the need no longer exists—nay, I strongly hold that the existing profusion of such scholarships in schools and universities in England effectively blocks the way to the spread of the highest spirit of education, and that the tendency of further endowments of this kind is to *pauperize the national intelligence.* I do not mean research-scholarships, but those given to support the student at school or university during the period of his preparatory education. The sums recently lavished towards helping the learners would have been more effectively used if devoted to the refinement and elevation of the centres where the highest learning is to be given. I am reconciled to the splendid bequest of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, because it embodies, impresses, and perpetuates a great idea of significance to the world's history: the international, the uniting power which the higher intellectual life possesses among the nations who represent civilization. The huge sums thus given by Mr. Rhodes will not be wasted if they merely serve to bring before the eyes of the world this common tie of humanity and perpetuate this lesson. But the same cannot be said, for instance, of the signal generosity which Mr. Carnegie has shown to his native Scottish land. One of the several reasons why England lags behind Scotland in the diffusion of university education among its population lies in the overgrowth of such endowments in England. The present system of scholarships has gone far to jeopardize the traditions of higher learning in England; while in Scotland the appreciation of—nay, the enthusiasm for—learning is one of the most valuable national assets; and I sincerely trust that Mr. Carnegie's well-meant philanthropy may not seriously threaten the existence of this national virtue.

Lastly, we come to the strong desire for reform of the university system which is wide-spread among the general public both in England and in the United States.

Both countries have exceptional advantages for the advance of national prosperity in the possession of great capital and of natural resources. But, while Great Britain sees its long-standing position of commercial and industrial predominance threatened, the United States recognizes the stupendous potentiality of its

future economic development and is anxious now to prepare for its realization; nay, seeing still farther and deeper, it has misgivings with regard to the period when the fortune inherent in virgin soil and the vigorous, untrammelled spirit of young enterprise will no longer be its peculiar advantage over the competing nations of the Old World.

More and more, though in a vague and loose way, the public has come to realize, on the one hand, the practical use of Science, and, on the other, a deficiency in our educational system which does not produce a sufficiently immediate application of scientific achievement to the needs of actual life. This has been impressed still more forcibly when the competition of a country like Germany in commerce and manufacture is keenly felt, a country, moreover, which is not blessed with any of those advantages in capital or natural resources, or any previous position of vantage from which to begin its onward movement of economic ascendency. In every class it is being realized that something must be wrong when England appears to be falling back where Germany is advancing. Cheapness of labor alone cannot account for this, especially in view of the advance of American industry and the dearness of labor there. But the merchant and manufacturer find that the principle of organization and direction of work in their own spheres, that the "staff," from the highest to the lowest, are more efficient even when Germans leave home and come into competition in other countries: that the clerks, the travellers, the chemists, and electricians employed from Germany are more efficient and successful. There may be, perhaps justly, some reasons for accounting for this superiority less wounding to our national self-esteem. But it seems to be universally felt by the leaders of our commerce and industries that men are better trained for these practical economical purposes in Germany than they are at home. "Something must be wrong at home," they feel and freely say. "What are our schools and universities for? They must take immediate cognizance of our national wants. They have been going on for years and centuries in their happy-go-lucky old-fashioned way of training clergymen and gentlemen. Let them now respond to the crying needs of life."

The first phase of the movement following upon the indefinite discontent is the one we have now attained to, both in England and the United States. I should like to call this the Technical

Phase. And, though I believe in technical education when rightly conceived and rightly pursued, the present is, I sincerely hope, merely a phase of transition in the establishment of the true ideals of national education. Each member of the community made discontented with our educational system through the sensitive channels of material self-interest, desires to see reform or improvement in the immediate sphere of his own narrow horizon. Though not as grotesquely unintelligent as the butcher whose letter a head-master of a prominent school in one of our great manufacturing towns showed me, their views are the same in kind. The butcher wrote that "he desired his boy to be a good butcher, and that only those subjects should be taught to his lad which would make him that." But the would-be educational reformer who is a merchant demands that our universities, if they are to be of use to the country and have his support, should at once establish Commercial Departments or Colleges. If the industry be concerned with one aspect of chemistry or brewing, or tanning or weaving, the narrow and disjointed part of "applied" chemistry, the art (or science) of brewing, tanning and textile studies, and every conceivable division of craft and learning are to have their departments, or, at least, are to be directly considered in the teaching of a university. The same applies to agriculture and the other occupations of modern life. That is what, in the minds of such people, is meant by "the universities' taking cognizance of life."

In a less grotesque form, eminent men of light and leading have given public expression to views which, if they do not advocate such absurd developments of our national educational system, tend to encourage such views. We are constantly reminded of the great use which universities and men of higher science in Germany are to the advance of national prosperity; but the fact is ignored that in Germany the government and the people at large are by tradition and training prepared to appreciate the utility of such higher education and of higher science, and make direct appeal to the sources of highest information. The German manufacturer is sufficiently well educated to follow sympathetically the efforts of men of pure science, whether in chemistry, in physics, in mathematics, in history or languages and literature, to respect their high vocation and to encourage them in their pursuits. Such a man will, for instance, employ twenty chemists

who are carrying on researches in directions remote from the industrial chemistry applying to his immediate manufacture, where in England there are but two chemists carrying on "hand-to-mouth" science for the unimproved production of staple articles which will soon be superseded by new articles evolved out of higher scientific research.

In these views of our advocates of university reform the cart is put before the horse. The applicability of science to the actual needs of economic life is increased and made facile by the intelligent readiness of the public to receive it and, above all, to possess some correct notion of its nature, its province, its methods and aims. The premature intrusion of the "technical" point of view will only retard this reasonable application, as it will lower or stultify the efforts of true men of science.

Even Germany seems for the moment to be contaminated by this lowering atmosphere of technical science which penetrates into all strata of national education. It is not likely to do them much harm, because the traditions and living effectiveness of their highest scientific institutions are so strong that they are bound to predominate, to modify, and to direct the work and the teaching of their technical institutions (nearly all the teachers of these are drawn from the professoriate of their universities), and the strength of these traditions will probably outlast the momentary contamination before it has reached the core of the intellectual life of the nation. Germany is, in every phase of its intellectual life, at this moment living on the work of its great thinkers and workers of the generations immediately preceding our own, of which Virchow may be the last representative—though a large number of younger university professors are prepared to maintain the spirit of the past in its highest and purest form.

What the German universities have done for their national life, and what they stand for in the eyes of the world, is the establishment and the diffusion of the Spirit of Thoroughness which goes down to the root of things and aspires to the summit of human knowledge. Germany is great in this respect, because the intellectual life of the nation and the educational system have, in their very constitution and in the actual history of their development, been regulated by the highest aims, the highest attainments of intellectual life, in their universities, to which all the lower forms lead or tend. These highest attainments and ideals are not left

to themselves as the haphazard result of the lower necessities of education; the schools do not so much produce the universities as the universities infuse their spirit of thoroughness and their intellectual ideals into the schools. Both thus react upon the people and upon the actual material and economic life of the whole nation. The teaching of the industrial sciences, of agriculture, of medicine, nay, of school-mastering, is carried on by men trained in the universities in the spirit of pure science as there cultivated. Thus, as an ever-present force beyond the confines of the universities themselves, in all strata of national life, whether consciously held or indirectly and vaguely felt as a remote tradition, there is before the nation the true ideal of a university.

The possession of true ideals may be one of the most practical, not to say material, assets of an individual or a nation. As it may be the most practical method of setting out on a journey before all things to know exactly the journey's goal, so it is most important in the organization of national education to be clear as to the highest goal in the development of intellectual life. As we often find it important to correct the morbid tendency of the unpractical man, the doctrinaire, the visionary, by reminding him of the impracticability of his ideas and by directing his attention to the physical conditions which decide their realizability—the ways and means—so it may often be necessary to remind the "practical man," the man of action or the opportunist, to look to his fundamental principles and his ideals, and only then to set his practical energies in the direction prescribed by them. This is especially the case when the work is concerned with wider, more general, as well as more fundamental subjects and organizations, which are not ephemeral but which determine the life of a nation for ages to come.

A university is for a nation the nearest approach, as a recognizable, tangible, and living institution, to the ideal of man's intellectual development—as, in another way, the churches are the tangible and recognizable centres of the moral and religious life, and the art academies, museums, and theatres of the æsthetic life, of a nation.

It is not the outcome of vague theorizing, but the result of sober observation and experience, which leads us to conclude that the German educational system is thus efficient because, not only does its whole organization culminate in this highest type, the uni-

versity, with its pure ideals of science and learning, but because the keynote of the whole intellectual education, down to the elementary schools (*a fortiori* for the technical schools) is struck by this highest form, at once most general and comprehensive as well as special and thorough. It thus penetrates through all layers of society and has become a national characteristic. Life takes cognizance of science. The more civilization advances, the greater becomes the need for the regulation of practice by theory, the more important for each state that universities should be thus efficient and should be organized in view of the highest and purest ideals of science and learning.

This view of a university, however, is far from being the predominant one in England and the United States. The mistake with us is that, until quite recently, the only conception of a university has been purely educational, if not pedagogic. It was considered an establishment for the higher training of a small percentage of the inhabitants in each country, chiefly of the upper or professional classes. It was simply a higher school—really a high-school for older boys.

I think it so important that this fatal misconception should be exposed and that the right view should prevail, that I do not shrink from applying the two methods which the late Bishop Creighton considered powerful instruments of education—exaggeration and paradox. A university, then, differs from a school in that it is not primarily educational; a great part of its function in national life would remain if there were not a single pupil or student within its walls to teach. The spirit of the place should be as different from that pervading a school as—though in quite a different way—the atmosphere of the real practical life which follows upon the university studies is to the graduate entering upon his active vocation in the struggle for existence. Each will produce the greatest effect educationally, the more each is true to its own peculiar spirit. For the moment I choose to ignore the directly educational function of a university; though, by maintaining its impersonal and purest ideal as the national embodiment of highest science and learning, it becomes most efficient as an educational institution for the production of the active and successful as well as cultured citizens.

But the real danger at this moment comes, not so much from the confusion of a university with a school, as from its contamina-

tion by the technical spirit. Here lies the real danger. The startling and epoch-making discoveries made of recent years by the application of science to the needs of commerce and industry have at last impressed the unthinking with the use of science, until such tangible use has become the test for its right of existence, the justification for its pursuit. The institutions where "science" is cultivated and advanced are supposed to derive their claim to existence and support from such use, and their organization and work are to be regulated in view of the direct application of science and learning to the needs of life.

Not only in such a view is a narrow and grossly material aspect of economical life substituted for the whole of the intellectual life of a civilized community; but science is narrowed down to the most irrational conception of applied science, the very nature and function of which are grossly misunderstood. For one instance of applied science which has produced results appreciable by the commercial mind, innumerable attempts and experiments are made in every direction without such results; there is a continuous and vast expenditure of reasoning power about us constantly at work, which never comes to the cognizance of the public and can never be apprehended by the commercial mind. Just as, to use a trite simile, the stupendous fortunes made by one great speculation, and which obtrude themselves upon the public notice, are not true tests of the effort and the energy expended in the whole world of finance and commerce, of which nothing rises to the plane of manifest and startling public recognition.

A puerile attempt to organize the study of "hand-to-mouth" science with a view to achieving such signal success in its immediate application, will end in failure. For the weakness of the "technical" aspect of science is, that, not going sufficiently deep, it does not carry science farther. Empiricism in science is most "unpractical," because it leaves to chance what the human mind in its highest theoretical function tends to control. Most of the discoveries and inventions which have had such momentous bearings upon our material and industrial life could never have been made but for the work of the highest scientific theorists, carried on in a spirit in no way technical, which is, in one aspect, opposed to practical application—at all events, ignores it while the inquiry is progressing. I mean scientific work which has no manifest practical application. Examples are innumerable and are familiar

to those who are at all conversant with true science. Let me but single out a few.

The most recent invention is perhaps the most startling and, in some ways, the most momentous as regards its effect upon life in our age—I mean Wireless Telegraphy.

Yet I am not overstating my case when I say that this invention is inconceivable without a continuous series of purely theoretical inquiries preceding it. In one sense, it is but a corollary of the general scientific and purely theoretical work, in its bearings upon electricity, done by Faraday, by Sir Humphry Davy in his separation of Sodium and Potassium, and finally by Hertz and Clerk-Maxwell in their theoretical work upon certain electrical waves. Perhaps it may be said that the development of most of Modern Physics, in its minutest practical applications, could not have been achieved without the purely theoretical work of Sir Isaac Newton grouping round his discovery of the law of gravitation.

The work of Pasteur, whose whole life illustrates the realization of the highest scientific ideals, has led to the most varied applications of scientific principles to the needs of human life—nay, of industries concerned with our daily subsistence. The same may be said of Cohn, whose researches into Bacteriology were begun in a purely theoretical study of botany; or of Lister's application of these general biological results to antisepsis. Nay, it would be easy to show how the thoroughness of such theoretical work on micro-organisms has directly influenced brewing and many other industries, besides advancing agriculture in all its ramifications. But the main point to bear in mind is: that it is inconceivable how any amount of technical work in brewing, in industrial or agricultural chemistry, could by itself have produced the "practical and material" results which commerce and industries now exploit. These were only achieved by the concentration of all intellectual power, in a strictly scientific method, on pure theory, without any thought of practical application. One small outcome of the stupendous theoretical work of the great chemist Bunsen is the "Bunsen burner," known to nearly every artisan. I venture to say that, without the establishment of the theoretical principle therein involved, the main factors underlying the development of locomotion in the motor-car, as well as many other practical results, would never have been attained. Professor Ewing informs me that his researches which led to the establishment of the prop-

erty of *hysterisis* in metals (now in direct use and constant application by manufacturers of metal and engineers), was the result of purely theoretical work with no immediate apprehension of its practical use even after it was made. I wonder what the giant in pure mathematics, Gauss (who made the famous toast: "I drink to Pure Mathematics, the only science which has never been polluted by a practical application"), would think of the practical application of his *Methode der Kleinsten Quadrate;* or La Place, were he to see the results of his work on the Doctrine of Probabilities in daily application in the offices of actuaries and Life Insurance Companies.

I could continue page after page to give striking illustrations, which would all show how the most momentous and practical inventions of "Science" were either directly made by the pursuit of research in its highest and purest theoretical form, or, at least, could not have been made unless based upon such work. I could show that the life of "Science" upon which the material prosperity of a nation depends, can only be advanced, can only progress into the dim regions of the unknown and unachieved, through the conscientious labor of individuals who make up what constitutes a real university, who realize and maintain its spirit.

But in view of the pressure of actual life and of the clamor of ignorant popular opportunism, it is no easy task to maintain this spirit of pure science and learning, both for the individual "professors" of such a high vocation, and for the institutions which ought to be their natural home—the universities. The temptations and allurements of material, mercenary reward are often too great for the man of science, and the insinuation of the immediately "technical" spirit into the universities is the rock ahead in their course of beneficent action for the nation and the world at large.

It requires the supreme effort of self-repression, the constant presence of the living ideals, enforced upon the workers by the atmosphere of the universities supported by the government and by public opinion, to produce effective scientific work, and to maintain this efficiency, upon which even the ultimate material well-being of the whole community depends. The premature intrusion of secondary application, of practical and economic use, into any scientific inquiry is likely to prove fatal to its fruitful termination. The standard and test of the value of higher academic

work are in no way to be this "application." If anything, it is wiser to adhere to Gauss's paradox—it will in the aggregate prove to be more practical and profitable to the national life as a whole. The chairs of pure mathematics and of Sanscrit are to be regarded as equally important and equally worthy of honor and support as the chairs of mechanics and agricultural chemistry.

It is in the interest of the nation that these high and pure ideals of a university, as above all the impersonal centre of the nation's striving after truth, be maintained—nay, that by the action of the government, of munificent patrons, and of the whole public, they be enforced and be diffused and made familiar among the population itself. Life will then take cognizance of Science to the advancement of both.

I have endeavored in the above merely to impress the most important, the essential one, among the ideals which a university implies; and I have, moreover, impressed this chiefly by insisting upon its bearings on actual life, especially the economic aspect of life. When such an ideal is developed and insured in a university, the technical training and technical institutions, no doubt of deep importance to the nation, will derive inspiration from the universities and will be all the more efficient. Without such ideals, however, I doubt whether technical training will be of great or lasting advantage.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

HOW SHAKSPERE LEARNT HIS TRADE.

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS, PROFESSOR OF DRAMATIC LITERATURE IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

I.

In England, when Elizabeth was queen, the little companies of wandering actors were greatly increased in number. They had placed themselves under the protection of rich nobles or high officials, whose servants they declared themselves to be. Their membership was as limited as their repertory; and four or five players were sufficient to produce such simple pieces as were then available, each of the performers assuming more than one character, if need be, very much as all the parts in a Greek play had to be divided between three actors. A slim youth might have to impersonate all the female characters,—and here the English, oddly enough, were more mediæval than the Spanish, who had already admitted women upon the stage. They carried no scenery with them, for it is scarcely too much to say that scenery had not then been invented. They took with them only the most obvious properties, perhaps a crown for the king and a couple of swords for a combat, and the like. They wore as rich apparel as they could get, with no thought of its propriety to the time and place of the play itself. Thus lightly encumbered they could rove at will, ready to-day to amuse the guests of a noble gathered in the great hall of the castle, and prepared to-morrow to please the humbler audience that might come together in the village.

In those days, the English inn was often a hollow square, with a central courtyard girt with galleries; and here, with the permission of the innkeeper, the strollers would put up a hasty platform around which the country-folk might stand, while the persons of quality could look down from the galleries. In London, the performances in places of public entertainment drew such

concourses of people that the city authorities were scandalized, and strove to forbid them; and as a result the players, who had been wanderers hitherto, were forced to build houses of their own just outside of the municipal limits and to establish themselves permanently. They had no models to go by, and in planning their theatres they gave no thought to the sumptuous edifices that had adorned the chief towns of Greece and Rome. They were used to performing in the courtyard of an inn; and, therefore, the first theatre that they built for themselves was apparently no more and no less than the courtyard of an inn—without the inn itself.

The new building was but a hollow square of about eighty feet each way, open to the sky in the centre, and consisting of little more than a quadrangle of galleries, to be divided into "rooms," as they were then called, private boxes as we should now term them, for the accommodation of the more particular playgoers. The whole ground floor was the yard, wherein the solid body of the more vulgar spectators had to stand; and into this yard there was thrust out the stage, a platform perhaps forty feet square. Where the rear gallery ran across the stage there hung an arras, a heavy tapestry curtain, to cut off the space behind, which might be used as a dressing-room. The rear gallery itself, just over the platform, was also made useful, serving as a balcony, a pulpit, a roof, or whatever upper chamber might be called for in the progress of the play. The stage was so spacious that some of the spectators were allowed to sit to the right and to the left, on stools to be hired. There was no curtain to pull up or to pull aside; and there was absolutely no scenery of any kind.

The simplicity of the projecting platform, with its pendent arras at the back and its room in the gallery above available on occasion, the absence of all decoration, leaving the space between the spectators on the stage to represent whatsoever strange sequence of places the playwright might need,—all this was perfectly acceptable to most of the uncritical subjects of Elizabeth. It was not acceptable to the critical Sidney, enamored of antiquity and nourished on the Italian theorists. He protested against a stage on which the scene could seem to change continually simply because there was no scenery to be changed.

Sidney was annoyed that "the player, when he comes in, must ever begin with telling where he is; or else the tale will not be conceived. Now shall you have three ladies walk to gather flowers,

and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by, we hear news of shipwreck in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while, in the mean time, two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field." Sidney's contemporaries were not hard-hearted; and they were ever willing to accept a bare stage as a battle-field and as a cave, as a rock and as a garden, as the castle of Elsinore, as the forest of Arden and as the forum of Rome.

II

The play-makers of that time were men of far more ability than the unknown writers in whose footsteps they were following; but they never set themselves up as innovators. They worked in the old tradition cheerfully, trying to provide the players with the kind of play that they knew the playgoers liked. No doubt, they wished to better their copy if they could, but they were scarcely conscious that they were really making over anew the art they had inherited from their forgotten predecessors. Like these predecessors, they wrote especially to please the groundlings who stood in the yard, but they sought also not to displease the gallants who sat on the stage. They were better educated, and therefore they could go farther afield, not only for material, but also for effects. From Seneca, they borrowed the practice of frequent murder and the evocation of frequent ghosts. In their heaping up of horrors they were probably encouraged by the contemporary popularity of the Italian novelist, with his constant commingling of lust and gore. The laxly knit chronicle-play was soon stiffened into the so-called tragedy-of-blood, a dramatic form which was very pleasing to the Elizabethan audiences and which was tempting even to Shakspere himself.

While a true tragedy should purge the soul with terror, the tragedy-of-blood was satisfied to thrill the nerves with horror. A necessary figure in the conduct of such a play was a ghost, who proclaimed the duty of revenge, and who, in anticipation, gloated over every bloody stroke of vengeance. The author charmed the eyes of the spectators with combats, hangings, tortures, dumb-shows, and masques, while also he tickled the ears of the audience

with vehement phrases and high-sounding bombast. And yet, however coarse may seem the art of this tragedy-of-blood, it was at least alive, which could be said of only a few of the miracle-plays. As it dealt with the clash of passion against passion, it was essentially dramatic, which the chronicle-plays at first were not. However violent the crudities in the early "Spanish Tragedy" of Kyd, and whatever the flagrant faults of taste and structure in the later "Duchess of Malfi" of Webster, there is no denying the vigor of these plays nor their exceeding vitality. They were planned to be acted then, and with no thought that they would ever be read now. They were devised to hit the taste of the London playgoer of those unsettled days, and they achieved this purpose amply. In so doing the tragedy-of-blood helped and hastened the coming of the true tragedy which was to supersede it.

Thomas Kyd was not the only predecessor of Shakspere by whose labors the great dramatist was to profit. While Kyd was showing how to knit a plot and how to heap up situations tempting to energetic actors, his friend Christopher Marlowe was helping to transform the shapeless chronicle-play. If in "Hamlet" Shakspere was at first following Kyd's lead, in "Richard III." he was treading in the footprints of Marlowe. Kyd is the more dexterous playwright, no doubt; but Marlowe is the more gifted poet, with a deeper insight into human motive. Marlowe it was in whose hands blank verse revealed itself as an incomparable instrument for the dramatic poet; and Marlowe it was who showed how to search the soul of man in more than one notable passage.

But his best-known play, "Doctor Faustus," proves that he was not a born play-maker, instinctively grasping the essential struggle and unfailingly presenting it in the necessary scenes. The play was little more than the mere slicing into dialogue of the old story-book; and only in a chance speech here and there did Marlowe appear to apprehend the full philosophic value of the suggestive theme he had chosen to treat. Now and again he seemed to get to the heart of the matter and to voice his vision with unfailing felicity of phrase; but for the most part he was content to make a use of the supernatural which is not unfairly to be called puerile, just as the comic passages are almost childish. Among the characters were the Good Angel and the Evil Angel and the Seven Sins, all serving to show how close the connection was between the mediæval drama and the Elizabethan.

While Marlowe with his "Edward II." was setting a model for the splendid series of Shakspere's histories, and while Kyd was complicating the ghastly plot of the "Spanish Tragedy," which was to serve as a stepping-stone to the great tragedies of Shakspere, other young spirits were lighting up the path leading to the realm of fantasy, where romantic-comedy best could flourish. In the mediæval drama the scenes intended to be amusing were sometimes truly humorous, with a shrewd homeliness of phrase and a direct realism of character-drawing; but most of them were trivial and coarse, and dependent for their immediate effectiveness rather upon horse-play than upon genuine humor. The free adaptations which later scholars had made from the Latin and from the Italian, possessed plots more artfully put together; and sometimes the plays had acquired a certain simple flavor of the soil to which they had been transplanted. But not in the boisterous scenes of the miracle-plays, not in the ingenious imbroglios of the Italian or of the Latin, was there any worthy model for a truly English comedy; and yet in the earlier attempts at romantic-comedy the influence of all three of these can be traced, accompanied by a large contribution from the contemporary English novel, itself derived indirectly from the pastoral-romance of the Continent.

The comedies of John Lyly, "Endymion" and its fellows, seem to us to have literary merit rather than dramaturgic effectiveness. They appear to us too artificial to hit the taste of the town, too distended with labored allusiveness; but before an audience of courtiers they were performed more than once and with some measure of approval. There was a gentle suggestion of gracious courtliness in the atmosphere of these comedies of Lyly's not to be perceived in any earlier plays—a gracious courtliness which is to be found later in full flower in "As You Like It" and "Twelfth Night."

In its main theme Robert Greene's "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" recalls Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus," with its naïve handling of the supernatural; but the underplot sets forth a story of young love triumphant over circumstance; and we have here another source of romantic-comedy, with its fresh love-making in the open air, as prettily pastoral as one could wish, though it was also only doubtfully dramatic. Indeed, even in his plays Greene revealed himself rather as a novelist, with a graceful lyric note

of his own. None the less, he had advanced a step beyond the courtly Lyly, a step nearer to that kingdom of romance which was to call itself Verona or Illyria or Bohemia, a desert country by the sea, where exiled dukes were to roam the lonely forest and where lovely heroines were to disguise themselves as lads.

III

Greene and Lyly, Marlowe and Kyd, had all of them aided the advance of the English drama from out the monotonous formlessness of the mediæval pieces; and they had all striven to devise the kind of play most likely to hit the taste of the Elizabethan playgoer, with his sturdy body, his free spirit, and his alert mind. Then a dramatist more gifted than any of the four came forward to profit by what they had done. This newcomer was no theoretic reformer; he had no artistic code already formulated; he was simply a practical playwright who happened also to be a great poet. Shakspere's first labors were humble enough, merely the patching of old pieces, whereby he learned the secrets of the craft. Even when he started to write plays of his own there was no overt effort for novelty. He began where the others had left off, as might have been expected from a capable young fellow who sought to earn his daily bread by preparing plays to suit the existing conditions of the theatrical market,—plays intended first to tempt the actors to perform them, and then to tempt the spectators to applaud and to come again the next time the comedy or the tragedy or the history might be announced for repetition.

But, even in this prentice work, there was evidence that the young hack-writer had an individuality of his own. Better than any of his groping predecessors could he use situation to reveal character, and find fit expression for feeling and for thought at the moment of crisis. His earliest plays were little more than imitations; and in "Love's Labor's Lost" he was almost as artificial as Lyly, although he was at once closer to life and far cleverer. "Titus Andronicus," wherein horrors on horrors' head accumulate, was simply a tragedy-of-blood on the model of Kyd's most popular play. The "Comedy of Errors" was only a farce with an ingeniously mechanical plot, and yet redeemed by more than one character of a true humanity. In "Richard III.," the disconnected episodes of a history were artfully knit into a certain unity by the incisive presentation of the royal villain. In few of

these earliest plays was there any hint of audacious ambition; indeed, all that the author was aiming at was a chance to earn his living while learning his trade. He was not yet sure of himself or of his audiences.

"Steeped in humor and fantasticality up to its very lips, the Elizabethan age," so Matthew Arnold tells us, "newly arrived at the free use of the human faculties after their long term of bondage, and delighting to exercise them freely, suffers from its own extravagance in this first exercise of them, can hardly bring itself to see an object quietly or to describe it temperately." Shakspere was a true Elizabethan and he had his full share of this fantasticality and of this intemperance. These characteristics are most paraded in the earliest plays, but they are not absent from the latest, in not a few of which we cannot but note a careless playfulness at times and a reluctance to be bound by any restraint that irked him. The austere perfection of Sophocles was not his ideal; yet when he chose and when the theme he had chanced upon happened to arouse all his powers, he revealed the possession of a constructive faculty not inferior to the great Greek's. When his interest flagged, as for example in "All's Well that Ends Well," he might let his story loiter as languidly as it was wont to do in the old chronicle-plays; or when his subject might be unworthy of him, as happened now and again, notably in "Measure for Measure," he failed to exert himself.

But when his imagination kindled at his theme and he put forth all his strength, it was with unerring certainty that he pierced to the centre of the subject and presented in action one after another the needful scenes,—the *scènes à faire*. "Romeo and Juliet" and "Julius Cæsar," "Macbeth" and "Othello," are plotted with conscious art and consummate skill. They are each of them plays of a wonderful unity of construction. Each has a marvellous beauty of form, being exquisitely proportioned as a whole and carefully wrought in all its parts. These plays, conceived for performance in the little cockpit, which the Elizabethan theatre was, with a bare platform projecting into the yard, with no scenery and no propriety of costume, with the women's characters impersonated by shaven boys, with the gallants smoking on the stage, and with the groundlings restless in the yard,—this "Othello" and this "Macbeth" are truly as architectonic as the stately Attic tragedies, which were performed in the spacious

theatre of Dionysus before the cultivated Greeks. These English tragedies have a solid simplicity of their own, not Greek indeed, but of a kind which the open-minded Greek would have been able to appreciate. They meet the requirements laid down by Aristotle quite as well as the best plays of the Athenian tragic writers—although not quite in the same way. The Greek perfection has been defined as "fit details, strictly combined, in view of a large general result nobly conceived"; and even this perfection Shakspere attained now and again. He attained it, indeed, whenever he took the trouble to do his best. He attained it in "Hamlet," which is outwardly a mere tragedy-of-blood, with its revenge and its ghost and its final massacre, but which is inwardly the eternal tragedy of the human soul at war with inexorable circumstance. Rarely indeed does the foremost of the English dramatists take the trouble to seek the simplicity of form and the solidity of structure which even the least of the Greek dramatists was ever striving for, although without always achieving them. Here we see how the highly trained Athenian audiences helped to hold the Greek dramatic poet up to a lofty standard; whereas the London audiences, eager and tumultuous and uncultivated, exacted nothing from the English dramatic poet, except that he should deal with life directly and forcibly.

IV

Shakspere was not only the foremost of English dramatists: he was also a practical man of affairs, clear-headed and self-possessed; and it is not to be wondered at that he did not often exert himself more than was needful. He did not write his plays for publication and for posterity: he wrote them to be acted in the theatre in which he was a sharer; and for the most part he seems to have been satisfied when they pleased the playgoers and brought in large audiences. But he was also a great artist, with the great artist's sensual enjoyment in the dexterous exercise of his technical skill; and thus it was that from time to time a rich theme would waken his ambition to go far beyond any demands of the Elizabethan spectators, and to work out an imperishable masterpiece, which would move his contemporaries, no doubt, but which would also carry a message to later generations—a message his contemporaries may not even have suspected.

But it was on the audience of his own day that he kept his eye steadily; and he gave them what he knew they relished, the

coronations and processions and stately spectacles they were amused by, the combats and battles they delighted in, the ghosts and the witches they believed in, even if he himself did not. He had imagination beyond other men, but he had also common sense in the same superlative degree. He had his head in the clouds at times, but he always kept his feet firm on the ground. An idealist, as a poet must be, he was a realist, as a successful playwright always is. He was never remote or unfriendly or retiring; indeed, all the records remind us that he was hearty in his friendships and that he gave himself freely to his associates. He had broad human sympathy; and, although apparently rather aristocratic in his political opinions, he could fellowship with common men; and perhaps this is why common men did not fail to understand him then, and indeed often understand him now better than the more dainty and the supersubtle.

He was not over-squeamish, and he never shrank from plain speech. But he was clean-minded beyond most of his fellow playwrights of those spacious days; and in his attitude toward women he was a gentleman, even in his comedies,—whereas men of far better breeding, Beaumont and Fletcher, for example, were frequently dirty in thought and often foul in phrase. His manners were better than those of the contemporary men-of-letters, and so also were his morals. There was in his plays no silly practice of so-called "poetic justice"; for anything so petty Shakspere's vision was too broad and his insight too piercing. But neither was there any paltering with the law of life nor any extenuation of wrong-doing. The sinner has ever to pay the dread reckoning at last, even though it is only by himself that he is called to account. Shakspere's philosophy was sound all through, and so was his ethical code, even though it is unformulated. The moral might not be tagged to the fable, but only the wilfully blind could fail to find the lesson. Shakspere did not think it wise to crystallize his morals; rather they were held in solution, to be tasted and felt, not seen or measured.

Perhaps this was specially evident in the histories, that grand gallery of full-length portraits, in which the long line of English kings step one by one from out the dull annals and start into life, illumined by the inner light of imagination. But it was evident also in the joyous group of poetic comedies, creations of airy and capricious fantasy, in which the poet peopled a world of exquisite

unreality with figures of eternal truth and beauty. What were "As You Like It" and "Twelfth Night" but pure romances shown in action with young lovers wooing wittily, moved rather by pretty sentiment than by any unplumbed depth of passion? Just as other dramatists had relieved a story of terror with scenes of lively humor, so Shakspere, in "Much Ado about Nothing" and in the "Merchant of Venice," sustained the comedy, which was his chief interest here, by underplots so serious that they might seem almost tragic.

For these delightful fantasies we have no other term than comedy; and yet nothing can be more remote from what we ordinarily understand by the word. "Romantic-comedy" we must call it, and of this romantic-comedy Shakspere was the undisputed master. Contemporary life is the stuff out of which the comedy-of-manners is wrought; and to contemporary life Shakspere seems scarcely to have given a thought. The only play of his in which he dealt avowedly with the men and women of his own time and of his own country was the "Merry Wives of Windsor," which was, in effect, only a farce, since the situations of the story determined the characters.

Yet, although Shakspere gave no thought to contemporary life, it is true also that he never sought to represent anything else. He was no historical novelist to attempt the impossible; and the lovers of the "Merchant of Venice," the men of the watch of "Much Ado about Nothing," the mob of "Julius Cæsar," and the courtiers of "Hamlet," are all of them English, and all subjects of the Virgin Queen. They were first of all human beings, set in special circumstances of time and place; and then they were also Elizabethans, with all the vigor, the humor, and the whim of the men and women whom Shakspere knew as boy and man in country and in town. Because Shakspere neglected the comedy-of-manners, his fellow playwrights could not climb unaided to the lofty level of high comedy. For romantic-comedy, as for tragedy and for history, he had set a pattern, and the others were able to work in accordance therewith. But for the modern comedy-of-manners men had to wait for Molière to supply a model which should endure for centuries.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE.

BY HARVEY GRAEME FURBAY, PH.D., FIELD SECRETARY OF THE LEAGUE.

In December, 1887, the Temperance Alliance of Oberlin, Ohio, took the initiative in forming a Local Option League, to secure, if possible, some needed legislation. Three months later a League was organized among the churches in Lorain County, Ohio. On September 3rd, 1893, in Oberlin, the Ohio Anti-Saloon League was formally constituted. In December, 1895, in Washington, D. C., the American, or National, Anti-Saloon League was instituted. It is installed in thirty-five States and Territories.

The object of the League is the extermination of the saloon. It seeks the repeal of laws favoring the existence of the saloon and the enactment of laws contributory to its abolishment. Recognizing the principle that the enactment and enforcement of law is dependent upon the desire of the majority in a community, the League endeavors to keep abreast of that sentiment, if it be progressive, and to awaken or develop it by educational methods, if it be dormant or lethargic.

The tangible, visible part of the League is the corps of workers; the vital part is the supporting constituency, which is a moral force as well as a financial support. This constituency is composed of those persons who favor an advance in restrictive liquor legislation and consistent enforcement of existing liquor laws. Politically, this constituency is drawn from all parties; morally, it embraces adherents of all phases of religious belief as well as those who are followers of no creed.

The executive agents of the League can continue their work only as long as they are faithful to the principles in which this constituency believes, and as long as they are efficient in producing a dividend of results adequate to the money expended. A

safeguard against ineffectiveness is found in the supervision of Boards of Trustees for State organizations, and Headquarters Committees for the sub-organizations. The authority of these organizations insures the integrity and trustworthiness of the workers in this cause to as great an extent as in any other business governed by a directorate.

The working force of the League, at present, in the thirty-five States and Territories in which it is organized is represented by two hundred and fifty persons. These persons give their whole time to the work. The entire work of the movement, indeed, does not devolve upon them, nor is that which is accomplished to be wholly credited to them. Thousands of clergymen and laymen only await definite instructions to exert their energy and influence in favor of given policies. The official agents of the League are sentinels, as it were, heralds, and, in some instances, captains. Those who constitute the great army of workers simply await the warning, the proclamation or the command that will cause it to move simultaneously to the point of defence or attack.

The policy of the League is practical rather than theoretical. It demands tangible results. What is practicable in Brockton, Massachusetts, may be impossible in Peoria, Illinois. While the general purpose of the League is unchanged, the means used to secure ultimate results will differ in different localities. In Illinois there is no law that would give to Peoria the right to create conditions such as exist in Brockton. The League would interest itself, then, in seeing that existing laws were enforced in Peoria, Illinois, to whatever extent public sentiment there would support. The League would conduct a campaign of education in order to beget a desire on the part of the people of Illinois for liquor legislation as restrictive as would be tolerated. In fact, this has been done. A Local Option Bill is now before the Legislature of Illinois.

The methods of the League are political, but not partisan. The League never can present candidates for office, for, if it should do so, it would cease to be a popular League. The political power of the League depends upon its honesty in dealing with candidates for political office impartially and without partisan bias. The League represents the sentiment for restrictive liquor legislation in all parties, and makes its force felt by administering

punishment to the recreant, regardless of party. It is interested in securing liquor-restriction laws and having them enforced; hence, in the election of the members of the State Legislature, it uses its influence to prevent the choice of any man who may be unfavorable to the laws it desires to have enacted. If the dominant party in a legislative district nominates for the Legislature a man who is favorable to the temperance issues, the League stands aloof. If the nominee is unfavorable to the temperance issues, the League will help to elect a temperance man against him, regardless of party affinities.

Thus, in the State of Ohio, during the last eight years, over seventy members of the Legislature (who were entitled by the custom of their parties to renomination and re-election), who had been antagonistic to legislation which the League desired, were opposed by the League; and every one of them was defeated.

The League is interested in the executive officers whose duty it is to enforce the laws. In Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in the fall election of 1902, a candidate for County Prosecutor, who, as a member of the preceding Legislature, had been unfriendly to temperance legislation, was considered by the League an undesirable man. His legislative record was put by the League in the hands of every Christian voter in Cuyahoga County, and he suffered an overwhelming defeat, although other candidates on his ticket were elected.

In California, the Board of Supervisors is the County Legislature. The Anti-Saloon victories in San Diego, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, and Alameda Counties were made effective by the election of county officials pledged to vigorous enforcement of law. Where all regularly nominated candidates were seriously objectionable, independent candidates were supported by the League and triumphantly elected.

In Nebraska, in the election of Governor in 1902, there was a direct issue between the liquor interests and the League. John H. Mickey, the successful candidate, had been nominated by a Convention of which two hundred members were Leaguers; so, not only his election but his nomination was the product of the League's work.

In Oklahoma, a District Judge and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (in this Territory judges hold the two offices) was manifestly against the Anti-Saloon policy, and was biased

in favor of the liquor men. The Anti-Saloon League secured evidence of his unfitness and presented it to President Roosevelt, who promptly required his resignation.

The contention of the League is, that the saloon is a liability from an economic standpoint. Business men and business interests are sustaining this proposition. In Collinwood, Ohio, when the Local Option election was called, the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad, which has its repair shops there, announced that if the town went "dry" it would enlarge its plant by the expenditure of $1,000,000. The town promptly voted out the saloons, and the railroad began its improvements.

The Warren Featherbone Company, of Three Oaks, Michigan, offered to pay the taxes ordinarily received from the saloons if the saloons were voted out; otherwise, it would be necessary for them to find another location. The saloons were banished.

In Leipsic, Ohio, the Ohio Stave Company awaited the result of a saloon or no saloon vote as the determining factor with regard to their investing $100,000 in a plant in that town.

The liquor interests constantly make the assertion that elimination of the saloons, especially in high license or high tax districts, will increase taxes. The experience of Local Option communities has indicated that the contrary is the truth. The Secretary of the Ohio Brewers' Association admits that there is no record of a town in Ohio, or in the United States, which shows an increased tax rate or a decreased volume of business to be due to banishing the saloon.

The saloon is the distributing and collecting agent for the manufacturer. On an average, sixty-six per cent. of money received by the retail liquor dealer passes immediately out of his hands to pay the manufacturer, the transportation companies, and the United States internal revenue. If this money remained within the local community and became a part of its working capital, it must necessarily increase the property valuation and yield a revenue in the ordinary routine of taxation. That this money does remain in the community, and does enter other lines of business, is shown by the experience of Local Option communities in which other lines of business invariably show an increased volume after the saloon has been abolished.

There are thirteen cities in the United States, each having a population of more than 30,000, that have no saloons. The ag-

gregate population of these cities is 648,285. Thirteen other cities, corresponding, in sequence, in size with the ones first mentioned, have twelve hundred and sixty-eight saloons and a population of 652,200. In the cities without saloons, during the year 1901-02, the total number of arrests was 23,896, or thirty-seven per thousand of population. In the cities with saloons, for the same period, there were 37,147 arrests, or fifty-six per thousand.

The property valuation *per capita* in the "dry" cities is $724.99, and in the "wet" cities $488.04. The average total tax in the cities without saloons is $24.01 on the $1,000, while in the cities with saloons it is $31.49. In the smaller municipalities the same results are seen, with but rare exceptions.

The educational part of the work of the League embraces the collection and publication of such data, and gradually the fallacies perpetrated by the advocates of the liquor trade are being exposed. In eight States the League has a weekly paper with 50,000 subscribers. Eighteen States publish a monthly paper, and have 135,500 subscribers.

It is the desire of the League, finally, to send a trained speaker into every church congregation, at least once during the year, to give a detailed report of the work which has been done and of the plans framed for the future, and to communicate authentic data respecting the different phases of the saloon interests.

In Oregon, Virginia, New York, Tennessee, Washington, and Wisconsin the League has secured within the last year desired legislation. In some instances, as in the case of Virginia, it has achieved all for which it contended; in others, as in Wisconsin, the result was but a small part of what was attempted.

The general influence of the League has been felt to a remarkable degree in church circles. In every locality where the League has been active there has been a development of the spirit of unity among all church denominations. The League furnishes an opportunity to the various branches of the church for federating their forces without surrendering their individuality or departing from characteristic dogma and polity. Protestants and Catholics unite their forces heartily in local campaigns against the saloon. The records show that, where the Catholic Total Abstinence Society exists, the Catholic vote has been against the saloon.

The League is securing, through its law enforcement depart-

ment, a greater respect for the law. Disregard for law, where it exists, is traceable invariably to the saloon's defiance of law. Where respect for laws made for the regulation or suppression of the saloon is established, marked advance is seen in the general respect for the law in general and for the administration of all municipal affairs.

In a very large number of towns in Ohio, the local issue in the spring election of 1903 was law enforcement, and this was due to the agitation of the League. Reform candidates in many towns and cities were elected. Already, a better condition exists in the State because of the enforcement of statutes against Sunday opening, against screens, slot machines, and wine-rooms.

Local Option elections in Ohio have resulted so generally against the saloon* that the Brewers' Association has notified retailers that strict observance of existing laws seems the most rational way of avoiding a vote on the question.

The enforcement of law is dependent upon public officers; and, usually, after the saloon has been prohibited in municipalities, the issue in the next municipal election is whether the law has been enforced. The League interests itself in the public conduct of municipal officers, and the result has been that a higher type of men has been secured. In most instances, these men have been selected because of personal character rather than party affinities.

For the year ending December 1st, 1902, the fund available for all branches of the League's work in the United States was $235,000. The indications are that not less than $500,000 will be furnished for the current year.

The probable trend of restrictive liquor legislation, for which the League will stand as a unit, will be to extend Local Option in such a way that an entire State may be covered by geographical units, including municipalities and rural districts. For the larger municipalities some form of district or ward Option Law will be favored. It is probable that the League will favor further restrictions in those municipalities and other localities which vote to continue the sale of liquors, by having the sale of liquors placed in the hands of special agents rather than allowing it to remain in the hands of the class of men who now conduct it.

HARVEY GRAEME FURBAY.

* During the ten months ending April 30, 1903, 145 towns, ranging from 16,000 population down, out of 200 voting, have voted "dry."

LEFT-HANDEDNESS AND LEFT-SIDEDNESS.

BY PROFESSOR CESARE LOMBROSO.

As is universally known, we use the right hand very much more commonly than the left, the number of persons who are more agile with the left hand being comparatively small. They are ordinarily found among women, children, and savages, and they were more numerous in ages past than they are now. Much has been written of these persons, but as no one has heretofore tried to determine their frequency by means of statistics, I decided to undertake that task with the aid of my friend Professor Marro.

Amongst 1029 operatives and soldiers I found a proportion of four per cent. in men and five to eight per cent. in women. Among lunatics the proportions are not much different. On the other hand, studying a certain number of criminals, the quota of left-handedness was found more than tripled in men, thirteen per cent., and nearly quintupled in women, twenty-two per cent. Some particular kinds of criminals, however, as, for example, swindlers, offered me again a much greater proportion, thirty-three per cent., while murderers and ravishers give less—from nine to ten per cent. At all events, this is a new characteristic, which connects criminals with savages, and differentiates them from sane people as well as lunatics.

As appetite comes in eating (according to the proverb), so, once in the midst of these first discoveries, I wished to see if I could not go farther in my researches. Until now, I thought, left-handedness only has been studied. Would it not be worth the trouble to search if there be not, also, what one may call "left-sidedness" as applied to the senses—that is, if there be not men who have a greater sensibility on the left than on the right side? With this idea I instituted a kind of physiological surveillance over a number of my friends and colleagues, and over some working-men.

As a result I found that left-sidedness is in much larger proportion than left-handedness, showing itself in no less than twenty-six per cent. of normal people. The curious fact appeared also that left-handed people do not have more of this sensitive left-sidedness than right-sided people, and not even as much, at least in the sense of touch, as criminals, who average twenty-seven per cent., although they show a difference in the intensity of the sense of touch. The proportion of sensitive left-sided people among criminals, however, becomes very much more if one takes into account the sensibility to pain, which they have more highly developed in the left side, and visual sharpness, which, according to the calculations of Dr. Bono, is not only greater in them than in honest men, but is more accentuated in the left eye than in the right. In lunatics, as is revealed by the researches of Tonnini and Amadei, this sensitive left-sidedness is almost more the rule than the exception, rising as high as forty-four per cent. It appears, then, that left-handed people are more numerous among criminals, and sensitive left-sided people among lunatics.

To understand the exact significance of these researches, it is necessary to know that a greater tendency to asymmetry is seen in the animal species the nearer they approach man and the more perfect they are. According to Livingstone, parrots are left-handed and so are wild animals (lions, etc.). Camerano found in decapod crustaceans the left tentacle stronger by 200 grams than the right, while Rollet (*Revue Scientifique,* 1889) found in twenty-seven anthropomorphous monkeys the left shoulder heavier than the right. Parot noted that in the new born the weight of the members of either side of the body is the same, the child using indifferently one or the other; it is only at two years of age that it begins to prefer the right; in middle age the difference becomes really acute, while, however, it lessens in old age. Furthermore, one notes that the asymmetry increases in proportion as the organs are noble, and more so the more they are exercised; so it is natural that in man one side of the body should prevail over the other and especially in the brain. The reason why the right predominates in most cases, above all, in the extremities, principally in the arms, is explained by the fact that the movements of the limbs are under the supreme direction of the brain, which, as we all know, is one of the highest organs, is the least symmetrical, and is divided into two parts not per-

fectly alike. In fact, the left lobe takes precedence. Receiving the blood from the heart more directly and in greater quantities than the right, it is the first to develop from the embryo, works more, and is the more voluminous of the two, the right only serving, one may say, as a help or reinforcement to the other.

Thanks to the lesser activity of the right lobe, the left parts which get their strength from it (in the world of nerves the organs always cross, and the right members of the body receive the nerves from the left of the brain, and *vice versa*) remain less agile and robust than those of the opposite side. As asymmetry always grows in proportion to the development, and as the brain is among the organs which develop the most, it becomes more asymmetric the more it works. Therefore, as man advances in civilization and culture, he shows an always greater right-sidedness as compared to savages, the masculine in this way outnumbering the feminine and adults outnumbering children. Thus women and savage races, even when they are not properly left-handed, have certain gestures and movements which are a species of left-handedness. Some time ago Delaunay observed that the man holds out the right arm, which the woman takes with the left; that the woman buttons her clothes from right to left, while the man does so from left to right, and that women and children, when they trace a line or turn a key, for instance, of a watch, initiate the movement from right to left, while the adult man does so always from left to right. This explains why, in early times, and still among people little civilized, such as Arabs, the writing was preferably from right to left, which is the habit of children until corrected. Delaunay even went so far in his observations as to discover that antique chronometers were wound from right to left, while modern ones are wound in the opposite direction.

When the two lobes of the brain do not work as usual, a greater difficulty is observed in controlling the emotions or those exceptional phenomena which, until now, have never been satisfactorily explained, such as, for instance, the doubling of personality. Such a case was mentioned by me in "Genius and Lunacy," in which a person subject to hallucinations, while declaring that he heard voices right and left, confessed that those on the right were not true ones but his own fantasy, because evidently on that side the ailment was less strong and disturbed the system less.

Ball describes another, who, going mad from sunstroke, heard a voice asking news of his health. Later, to the voice was added a phantom, with a long beard and black eyes, who little by little became his master, or more precisely his jailer. The phantom ordered him to throw a watch into the fire, and he did so; to poison a woman and child, and he, although with repugnance, killed them. As he explained to his physician: "I have two brains, a right which is mine, and a left which is my tyrant's; unfortunately, the latter always ends by vanquishing." Perhaps thus may be explained that frenzy of doubt, where "the yes and no in the head dispute," in which one sees a man incapable of making a decision, supplicating others with words and gestures to do so for him. This is a case in which there is contradiction between the two lobes of the brain, as in the case of a pair of horses, one wishing to go in one direction and the other in another, so that the great effort to act is frustrated by a complete inertia, when an extraneous influence does not intervene to re-establish order. In the same way I try to explain another and more curious fact, which occurs in certain old lunatics, that of writing backwards as is done in lithographs. We, from children, imagine and probably acquire the forms of the letters correctly in the left lobe, and backwards in the right, and so we reproduce them according as the left or right lobe predominates. Vogt, in fact, in an interesting experience with about a hundred children, noted that when they were made to write a word with the right hand and then with the left, a likeness in the writing was scarcely ever attained; but, on the contrary, if that of the left hand was written backwards and shown in a mirror, a likeness was seen.

These, however, are simple hypotheses; but what is sure is, that criminals are more often left-handed than honest men, and lunatics are more sensitively left-sided than either of the other two. That fact indicates that in criminals and lunatics the right lobe predominates very much more often than in normal persons. While the healthy man thinks and feels with the left lobe, the abnormal thinks, wills, and feels more with the right—thinks "crooked," as the popular proverb truly has it. I may say that the little research I have made in brains and skulls of criminals shows a singular prevalence of the right lobe. In the only brain of a criminal weighed by Bischoff, the right lobe was twenty-one grains heavier than the left. In fifteen brains of homicidal

thieves, weighed by Professor Giacomini, eight had the right lobe twenty-one grains the heavier, and only in seven was the left heavier, with an average of thirty grains. I have studied forty-four heads of criminals in my museum at Turin, and I find asymmetry very prevalent in the right lobe in forty-one per cent., and in the left in twenty per cent. This agrees (in a negative way) with what Boyd and Ireland ("The Brain," 1880) find in normal brains, which present a greater development on the left side, and Bastian, who finds a greater specific weight in the gray substance of the left hemisphere in comparison with that of the right.

Here it may be said: How is it that one person is left-handed, and another sensitively left-sided, and not both together? How is it that there are in the world left-handed people who are anything but lunatics and idiots and even less criminals? This is explained by the fact, that the workings of the brain which influence the movements are quite different from those which act on the sensibilities, and so it may easily be that the first predominate over the last.

Besides, the presence of a single hereditary trait in an individual does not at all mean that all his organism is in a state of arrested development or of inferiority. As long as there is nothing but left-handedness or sensitive left-sidedness, it is as though we had only one musical note, which, taken alone, signifies nothing and gives no harmony; that is, such traces of lunacy or criminality, until associated with other symptoms, such as exaggerated cranium asymmetry, hallucinations, etc., mean nothing. So one can without difficulty find among good men real left-handedness, as among the greatest evil-doers there are some who have not that characteristic. I do not dream at all of saying that all left-handed people are wicked, but that left-handedness, united to many other traits, may contribute to form one of the worst characters among the human species.

Here I will note a curious thing. Long before I, after much technical observation, came to this conclusion, the people in the provinces of Emilia, Lombardy, and Tuscany had already declared the same when they framed and used the saying, "He is left-handed," to express the idea that a person is untrustworthy.

CESARE LOMBROSO.

THE HOUR-GLASS.

A MORALITY.

BY W. B. YEATS.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ:

A WISE MAN. SOME PUPILS.
A FOOL. AN ANGEL.
THE WISE MAN'S WIFE AND TWO CHILDREN.

SCENE.

A large room with a door at the back and another at the side opening to an inner room. A desk and a chair in the middle. An hour-glass on a bracket near the door. A creepy stool near it. Some benches. An astronomical globe. A blackboard. A large ancient map of the world on the wall. Some musical instruments. Floor strewed with rushes. A wise man sitting at his desk.

Wise Man (turning over the pages of a book). Where is that passage I am to explain to my pupils to-day? Here it is, and the book says that it was written by a beggar on the walls of Babylon: "There are two living countries, the one visible and the one invisible; and when it is winter with us it is summer in that country, and when the November winds are up among us it is lambing-time there." I wish that my pupils had asked me to explain any other passage, for this is a hard passage. *(The Fool comes in and stands at the door holding out his hat. He has a pair of shears in the other hand.)* It sounds to me like foolishness; and yet that cannot be, for the writer of this book, where I have found so much knowledge, would not have set it by itself on this page, and surrounded it with so many images and so many deep colors and so much fine gilding, if it had been foolishness.

Fool. Give me a penny.

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Wise Man (turns to another page). Here he has written: "The learned in old times forgot the visible country." That I understand, but I have taught my learners better.

Fool. Won't you give me a penny?

Wise Man. What do you want? The words of the wise Saracen will not teach you much.

Fool. Such a great wise teacher as you are will not refuse a penny to a Fool.

Wise Man. What do you know about wisdom?

Fool. Oh, I know! I know what I have seen.

Wise Man. What is it you have seen?

Fool. When I went by Kilcluan where the bells used to be ringing at the break of every day, I could hear nothing but the people snoring in their houses. When I went by Tubbervanach where the young men used to be climbing the hill to the blessed well, they were sitting at the crossroads playing cards. When I went by Carrigoras where the friars used to be fasting and serving the poor, I saw them drinking wine and obeying their wives. And when I asked what misfortune had brought all these changes, they said it was no misfortune, but it was the wisdom they had learned from your teaching.

Wise Man. Run round to the kitchen, and my wife will give you something to eat.

Fool. That is foolish advice for a wise man to give.

Wise Man. Why, Fool?

Fool. What is eaten is gone. I want pennies for my bag. I must buy bacon in the shops, and nuts in the market, and strong drink for the time when the sun is weak. And I want snares to catch the rabbits and the squirrels and the hares, and a pot to cook them in.

Wise Man. Go away. I have other things to think of now than giving you pennies.

Fool. Give me a penny and I will bring you luck. Bresal the Fisherman lets me sleep among the nets in his loft in the winter-time because he says I bring him luck; and in the summer-time the wild creatures let me sleep near their nests and their holes. It is lucky even to look at me or to touch me, but it is much more lucky to give me a penny. *(Holds out his hand.)* If I wasn't lucky, I'd starve.

Wise Man. What have you got the shears for?

Fool. I won't tell you. If I told you, you would drive them away.

Wise Man. Whom would I drive away?

Fool. I won't tell you.

Wise Man. Not if I give you a penny?

Fool. No.

Wise Man. Not if I give you two pennies?

Fool. You will be very lucky if you give me two pennies, but I won't tell you.

Wise Man. Three pennies?

Fool. Four, and I will tell you!

Wise Man. Very well, four. But I will not call you Teigue the Fool any longer.

Fool. Let me come close to you where nobody will hear me. But first you must promise you will not drive them away. *(Wise Man nods.)* Every day men go out dressed in black and spread great black nets over the hills, great black nets.

Wise Man. Why do they do that?

Fool. That they may catch the feet of the angels. But every morning, just before the dawn, I go out and cut the nets with my shears, and the angels fly away.

Wise Man. Ah, now I know that you are Teigue the Fool. You have told me that I am wise, and I have never seen an angel.

Fool. I have seen plenty of angels.

Wise Man. Do you bring luck to the angels too?

Fool. Oh, no, no! No one could do that. But they are always there if one looks about one; they are like the blades of grass.

Wise Man. When do you see them?

Fool. When one gets quiet; then something wakes up inside one, something happy and quiet like the stars—not like the seven that move, but like the fixed stars. *(He points upward.)*

Wise Man. And what happens then?

Fool. Then all in a minute one smells summer flowers, and tall people go by, happy and laughing, and their clothes are the color of burning sods.

Wise Man. Is it long since you have seen them, Teigue the Fool?

Fool. Not long, glory be to God! I saw one coming behind me just now. It was not laughing, but it had clothes the color of burning sods, and there was something shining about its head.

Wise Man. Well, there are your four pennies. You, a fool, say "glory be to God," but before I came the wise men said it. Run away now. I must ring the bell for my scholars.

Fool. Four pennies! That means a great deal of luck. Great teacher, I have brought you plenty of luck! *(He goes out shaking the bag.)*

Wise Man. Though they call him Teigue the Fool, he is not more foolish than everybody used to be, with their dreams and their preachings and their three worlds; but I have overthrown their three worlds with the seven sciences. *(He touches the books with his hands.)* With Philosophy that was made for the lonely star, I have taught them to forget Theology; with Architecture, I have hidden the ramparts of their cloudy heaven; with Music, the fierce planets' daughter whose hair is always on fire, and with Grammar that is the moon's daughter, I have shut their ears to the imaginary harpings and speech of the angels; and I have made formations of battle with Arithmetic that have put the hosts of heaven to the rout. But, Rhetoric and Dialectic, that have been born out of the light star and out of the amorous star, you have been my spearman and my catapult! Oh! my swift horsemen! Oh! my keen darting arguments, it is because of you that I have overthrown the hosts of foolishness! *(An Angel, in a dress the color of embers, and carrying a blossoming apple bough in his hand and a gilded halo about his head, stands upon the threshold.)* Before I came, men's minds were stuffed with folly about a heaven where birds sang the hours, and about angels that came and stood upon men's thresholds. But I have locked the visions into heaven and turned the key upon them. Well, I must consider this passage about the two countries. My mother used to say something of the kind. She would say that when our bodies sleep our souls awake, and that whatever withers here ripens yonder, and that harvests are snatched from us that they may feed invisible people. But the meaning of the book must be different, for only fools and women have thoughts like that; their thoughts were never written upon the walls of Babylon. *(He sees the Angel.)* What are you? Who are you? I think I saw some that were like you in my dreams when I was a child—that bright thing, that dress that is the color of embers! But I have done with dreams, I have done with dreams.

Angel. I am the Angel of the Most High God.

Wise Man. Why have you come to me?

Angel. I have brought you a message.

Wise Man. What message have you got for me?

Angel. You will die within the hour. You will die when the last grains have fallen in this glass. *(He turns the hour-glass.)*

Wise Man. My time to die has not come. I have my pupils. I have a young wife and children that I cannot leave. Why must I die?

Angel. You must die because no souls have passed over the threshold of Heaven since you came into this country. The threshold is grassy, and the gates are rusty, and the angels that keep watch there are lonely.

Wise Man. Where will death bring me to?

Angel. The doors of Heaven will not open to you, for you have denied the existence of Heaven; and the doors of Purgatory will not open to you, for you have denied the existence of Purgatory.

Wise Man. But I have also denied the existence of Hell!

Angel. Hell is the place of those who deny.

Wise Man (kneels). I have, indeed, denied everything and have taught others to deny. I have believed in nothing but what my senses told me. But, oh! beautiful Angel, forgive me, forgive me!

Angel. You should have asked forgiveness long ago.

Wise Man. Had I seen your face as I see it now, Oh! beautiful Angel, I would have believed, I would have asked forgiveness. Maybe you do not know how easy it is to doubt. Storm, death, the grass rotting, many sicknesses, those are the messengers that came to me. Oh! why are you silent? You carry the pardon of the Most High; give it to me! I would kiss your hands if I were not afraid—no, no, the hem of your dress!

Angel. You let go undying hands too long ago to take hold of them now.

Wise Man. You cannot understand. You live in that country people only see in their dreams. You live in a country that we can only dream about. Maybe it is as hard for you to understand why we disbelieve as it is for us to believe. Oh! what have I said! You know everything! Give me time to undo what I have done. Give me a year—a month—a day—an hour! Give me to this hour's end, that I may undo what I have done!

Angel. You cannot undo what you have done. Yet I have this power with my message. If you can find one that believes before

the hour's end, you shall come to Heaven after the years of Purgatory. For, from one fiery seed, watched over by those that sent me, the harvest can come again to heap the golden threshing floor. But now farewell, for I am weary of the weight of time.

Wise Man. Blessed be the Father, blessed be the Son, blessed be the Spirit, blessed be the Messenger They have sent!

Angel (at the door and pointing at the hour-glass). In a little while the uppermost glass will be empty. *(Goes out.)*

Wise Man. Everything will be well with me. I will call my pupils; they only say they doubt. *(Pulls the bell.)* They will be here in a moment. I hear their feet outside on the path. They want to please me; they pretend that they disbelieve. Belief is too old to be overcome all in a minute. Besides I can prove what I once disproved. *(Another pull at the bell.)* They are coming now. I will go to my desk. I will speak quietly, as if nothing had happened. *(He stands at the desk with a fixed look in his eyes.)*

Enter Pupils and the Fool.

Fool. Leave me alone. Leave me alone. Who is that pulling at my bag? King's son, do not pull at my bag.

A Young Man. Did your friends the angels give you that bag? Why don't they fill your bag for you?

Fool. Give me pennies! Give me some pennies!

A Young Man. Let go his cloak, it is coming to pieces. What do you want pennies for, with that great bag at your waist?

Fool. I want to buy bacon in the shops, and nuts in the market, and strong drink for the time when the sun is weak, and snares to catch rabbits and the squirrels that steal the nuts, and hares, and a great pot to cook them in.

A Young Man. Why don't your friends tell you where buried treasures are?

Another. Why don't they make you dream about treasures? If one dreams three times there is always treasure.

Fool (holding out his hat). Give me pennies! Give me pennies!

They throw pennies into his hat. He is standing close to the door, that he may hold out his hat to each newcomer.

A Young Man. Master, will you have Teigue the Fool for a scholar?

Another Young Man. Teigue, will you give us your pennies

if we teach you lessons? No, he goes to school for nothing on the mountains. Tell us what you learn on the mountains, Teigue?

Wise Man. Be silent all. *(He has been standing silent, looking away.)* Stand still in your places, for there is something I would have you tell me.

A moment's pause. They all stand round in their places. Teigue still stands at the door.

Wise Man. Is there any one amongst you who believes in God? In Heaven? Or in Purgatory? Or in Hell?

All the Young Men. No one, Master! No one!

Wise Man. I knew you would all say that; but do not be afraid. I will not be angry. Tell me the truth. Do you not believe?

A Young Man. We once did, but you have taught us to know better.

Wise Man. Oh! teaching, teaching does not go very deep! The heart remains unchanged under it all. You believe just as you always did, and you are afraid to tell me.

A Young Man. No, no, Master!

Wise Man. If you tell me that you believe I shall be glad and not angry.

A Young Man (to his neighbor). He wants somebody to dispute with.

His Neighbor. I knew that from the beginning.

A Young Man. That is not the subject for to-day; you were going to talk about the words the beggar wrote upon the walls of Babylon.

Wise Man. If there is one amongst you that believes, he will be my best friend. Surely there is one amongst you. *(They are all silent.)* Surely what you learned at your mother's knees has not been so soon forgotten.

A Young Man. Master, till you came, no teacher in this land was able to get rid of foolishness and ignorance. But every one has listened to you, every one has learned the truth. You have had your last disputation.

Another. What a fool you made of that monk in the market-place! He had not a word to say.

Wise Man (comes from his desk and stands among them in the middle of the room). Pupils, dear friends, I have deceived you all this time. It was I myself who was ignorant. There is a God.

There is a Heaven. There is fire that passes and there is fire that lasts forever.

Teigue, through all this, is sitting on a stool by the door, reckoning on his fingers what he will buy with his money.

A Young Man (to another). He will not be satisfied till we dispute with him. *(To the Wise Man.)* Prove it, Master. Have you seen them?

Wise Man (in a low, solemn voice). Just now, before you came in, some one came to the door, and when I looked up I saw an angel standing there.

A Young Man. You were in a dream. Anybody can see an angel in his dreams.

Wise Man. Oh, my God! It was not a dream! I was awake, waking as I am now. I tell you I was awake as I am now.

A Young Man. Some dream when they are awake, but they are the crazy and who would believe what they say? Forgive me, Master, but that is what you taught me to say. That is what you said to the monk when he spoke of the visions of the saints and the martyrs.

Another Young Man. You see how well we remember your teaching.

Wise Man. Out, out from my sight! I want some one with belief. I must find that grain the Angel spoke of before I die. I tell you I must find it, and you answer me with arguments. Out with you, or I will beat you with my stick! *(The young men laugh.)*

A Young Man. How well he plays at faith! He is like the monk when he had nothing more to say.

Wise Man. Out, out, or I will lay this stick about your shoulders! Out with you, though you are a King's son! *(They begin to hurry out.)*

A Young Man. Come, come; he wants us to find some one who will dispute with him. *(All go out.)*

Wise Man (alone; he goes to the door at the side). I will call my wife. She will believe; women always believe. *(He opens the door and calls.)* Bridget! Bridget! *(Bridget comes in wearing her apron, her sleeves turned up from her floury arms.)* Bridget, tell me the truth; do not say what you think will please me. Do you sometimes say your prayers?

Bridget. Prayers! No, you taught me to leave them off long

ago. At first I was sorry, but I am glad now for I am sleepy in the evenings.

Wise Man. But do you not believe in God?

Bridget. Oh, a good wife only believes what her husband tells her!

Wise Man. But sometimes when you are alone, when I am in the school and the children asleep, do you not think about the saints, about the things you used to believe in? What do you think of when you are alone?

Bridget (considering). I think about nothing. Sometimes I wonder if the pig is fattening well, or I go out to see if the crows are picking up the chicken's food.

Wise Man. Oh, what can I do! Is there nobody who believes? I must go and find somebody! *(He goes towards the door, but stops with his eyes fixed on the hour-glass.)* I cannot go out; I cannot leave that!

Bridget. You want somebody to get up an argument with.

Wise Man. Oh, look out of the door and tell me if there is anybody there in the street. I cannot leave this glass; somebody might shake it! Then the sand would fall more quickly.

Bridget. I don't understand what you are saying. *(Looks out.)* There is a great crowd of people talking to your pupils.

Wise Man. Oh, run out, Bridget, and see if they have found somebody that believes!

Bridget (wiping her arms in her apron and pulling down her sleeves). It's a hard thing to be married to a man of learning that must be always having arguments. *(Goes out and shouts through the kitchen door.)* Don't be meddling with the bread, children, while I'm out.

Wise Man (kneels down). "*Salvum me fac, Deus—salvum—salvum. . . .*" I have forgotten it all. It is thirty years since I have said a prayer. I must pray in the common tongue, like a clown begging in the market, like Teigue the Fool! *(He prays.)* Help me, Father, Son and Spirit!

Bridget enters, followed by the Fool, who is holding out his hat to her.

Fool. Give me something; give me a penny to buy bacon in the shops, and nuts in the market, and strong drink for the time when the sun grows weak.

Bridget. I have no pennies. *(To the Wise Man.)* Your pupils

cannot find anybody to argue with you. There is nobody in the whole country who had enough belief to fill a pipe with since you put down the monk. Can't you be quiet now and not always be wanting to have arguments? It must be terrible to have a mind like that.

Wise Man. I am lost! I am lost!

Bridget. Leave me alone now; I have to make the bread for you and the children.

Wise Man. Out of this, woman, out of this, I say! *(Bridget goes through the kitchen door.)* Will nobody find a way to help me! But she spoke of my children. I had forgotten them. They will believe. It is only those who have reason that doubt; the young are full of faith. Bridget, Bridget, send my children to me!

Bridget (inside). Your father wants you; run to him now. *The two children come in. They stand together a little way from the threshold of the kitchen door, looking timidly at their father.*

Wise Man. Children, what do you believe? Is there a Heaven? Is there a Hell? Is there a Purgatory?

First Child. We haven't forgotten, father.

The Other Child. O no, father. *(They both speak together as if in school.)* There is no Heaven; there is no Hell; there is nothing we cannot see.

First Child. Foolish people used to think that there were, but you are very learned and you have taught us better.

Wise Man. You are just as bad as the others, just as bad as the others! Out of the room with you, out of the room! *(The children begin to cry and run away.)* Go away, go away! I will teach you better—no, I will never teach you again. Go to your mother; no, she will not be able to teach them . . . Help them, O God! *(Alone.)* The grains are going very quickly. There is very little sand in the uppermost glass. Somebody will come for me in a moment; perhaps he is at the door now! All creatures that have reason doubt. O that the grass and the planets could speak! Somebody has said that they would wither if they doubted. O speak to me, O grass blades! O fingers of God's certainty, speak to me. You are millions and you will not speak. I dare not know the moment the messenger will come for me. I will cover the glass. *(He covers it and brings it to the desk, and the Fool is sitting by the door fiddling with some flowers which he has*

stuck in his hat. He has begun to blow a dandelion head.) What are you doing?

Fool. Wait a moment. *(He blows.)* Four, five, six.

Wise Man. What are you doing that for?

Fool. I am blowing at the dandelion to find out what time it is.

Wise Man. You have heard everything! That is why you want to find out what hour it is! You are waiting to see them coming through the door to carry me away. *(Fool goes on blowing.)* Out through the door with you! I will have no one here when they come. *(He seizes the Fool by the shoulders, and begins to force him out through the door, then suddenly changes his mind.)* No, I have something to ask you. *(He drags him back into the room.)* Is there a Heaven? Is there a Hell? Is there a Purgatory?

Fool. So you ask me now. I thought when you were asking your pupils, I said to myself, if he would ask Teigue the Fool, Teigue could tell him all about it, for Teigue has learned all about it when he has been cutting the nets.

Wise Man. Tell me; tell me!

Fool. I said, Teigue knows everything. Not even the owls and the hares that milk the cows have Teigue's wisdom. But Teigue will not speak; he says nothing.

Wise Man. Tell me, tell me! For under the cover the grains are falling and when they are all fallen I shall die; and my soul will be lost if I have not found somebody that believes! Speak, speak!

Fool (looking wise). No, no, I won't tell you what is in my mind, and I won't tell you what is in my bag. You might steal away my thoughts. I met a bodach on the road yesterday, and he said, "Teigue, tell me how many pennies are in your bag. I will wager three pennies that there are not twenty pennies in your bag; let me put in my hand and count them." But I pulled the strings tighter, like this; and when I go to sleep every night I hide the bag where no one knows.

Wise Man (goes towards the hour-glass as if to uncover it). No, no, I have not the courage! *(He kneels.)* Have pity upon me, Fool, and tell me!

Fool. Ah! Now, that is different. I am not afraid of you now. But I must come near you; somebody in there might hear what the Angel said.

Wise Man. Oh, what did the Angel tell you?

Fool. Once I was alone on the hills, and an angel came by and he said, "Teigue the Fool, do not forget the Three Fires; the Fire that punishes, the Fire that purifies, and the Fire wherein the soul rejoices forever!"

Wise Man. He believes! I am saved! Help me. The sand has run out. I am dying. . . . *(Fool helps him to his chair.)* I am going from the country of the seven wandering stars, and I am going to the country of the fixed stars! Ring the bell. *(Fool rings the bell.)* Are they coming? Ah! now I hear their feet. . . . I will speak to them. I understand it all now. One sinks in on God; we do not see the truth; God sees the truth in us. I cannot speak, I am too weak. Tell them, Fool, that when the life and the mind are broken the truth comes through them like peas through a broken peascod. But no, I will pray— Yet I cannot pray. Pray, Fool, that they may be given a sign and save their souls alive. Your prayers are better than mine.

Fool bows his head. Wise Man's head sinks on his arm on the books. Pupils enter.

A Young Man. Look at the Fool turned bell-ringer!

Another. What have you called us in for, Teigue? What are you going to tell us?

Another. No wonder he has had dreams! See, he is fast asleep now. *(Goes over and touches him.)* Oh, he is dead!

Fool. Do not stir! He asked for a sign that you might be saved. *(All are silent for a moment.)* . . . Look at the butterfly!

A Young Man. It is his soul! *(They all kneel. The butterfly goes up. The Fool points upward.)*

CURTAIN.

THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART IX.

XXII.

"THE difficulty is," Strether said to Mme. de Vionnet a couple of days later, "that I can't surprise them into the smallest sign of his not being the same old Chad they've been for the last three years glowering at across the sea. They simply won't give any, and as a policy, you know—what you call a *parti pris,* a deep game—that's positively remarkable."

It was so remarkable that our friend had pulled up before his hostess with the vision of it; he had risen from his chair at the end of ten minutes and begun, as a help not to worry, to move about before her quite as he moved before Maria. He had kept his appointment with her to the minute and had been intensely impatient, though divided in truth between the sense of having everything to tell her and the sense of having nothing at all. The short interval had, in the face of their complication, multiplied his impressions—it being meanwhile to be noted, moreover, that he already frankly, already almost publicly, viewed the complication as common to them. If Mme. de Vionnet, under Sarah's eyes, had pulled him into her boat, there was by this time no doubt whatever that he had remained in it and that what he had really most been conscious of for many hours together was the movement of the vessel itself. They were in it together this moment as they had not yet been, and he had not at present uttered the least of the words of alarm or remonstrance that had died on his lips at the hotel. He had other things to say to her than that she had put him in a position; so quickly had his position grown to affect him as quite excitingly, altogether richly, inevitable. That the outlook, however—given the standpoint—had not cleared up half so much as he had reckoned was the first warning she had had to receive from him on his arrival. She had replied with indulgence that he was in too great a hurry, and had remarked soothingly that if she knew how to be patient surely *he* might be. He felt her presence, on the spot, he felt her tone and everything about her, as an aid to that effort; and it was perhaps one of the proofs of her success with him that he

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seemed so much to take his ease while they talked. By the time he had explained to her why his impressions, though multiplied, still baffled him, it was as if he had been familiarly talking for hours. They baffled him because Sarah—well, Sarah was deep; deeper than she had ever yet had a chance to show herself. He didn't say that this was partly the effect of her opening so straight down, as it were, into her mother, so that, given Mrs. Newsome's profundity, the shaft thus sunk might well have a reach; but he was not without the resigned apprehension that, at such a rate of confidence, he was likely soon to be moved to betray that already, at moments, it had been for him as if he were dealing directly with Mrs. Newsome. Sarah, to a certainty, would have begun herself to feel it in him—and this naturally put it in her power to torment him the more. From the moment she knew he *could* be tormented—!

"But *why* can you be?"—his companion was surprised at his use of the word.

"Because I'm made so—I think of everything."

"Ah, one must never do that," she smiled. "One must think of as few things as possible."

"Then," he answered, "one must pick them out right. But all I mean is—for I express myself with violence—that she's in a position to watch me. There's an element of suspense for me, and she can see me wriggle. But my wriggling doesn't matter," he pursued. "I can bear it. Besides, I shall wriggle out."

The picture, at any rate, stirred in her an appreciation that he felt to be sincere. "I don't see how a man can be kinder to a woman than you are to me."

Well, kind was what he wanted to be; yet, even while her charming eyes rested on him with the truth of this, he none the less had his humor of honesty. "When I say suspense I mean, you know," he laughed, "suspense about my own case too!"

"Oh yes—about your own case too!" It diminished his magnanimity, but she only looked at him the more tenderly.

"Not, however," he went on, "that I want to talk to you about that. It's my own little affair, and I mentioned it simply as part of Mrs. Pocock's advantage." No, no; though there was a queer present temptation in it, and his suspense was so real that to fidget was a relief, he wouldn't talk to her about Mrs. Newsome, wouldn't work off on her the anxiety produced in him by Sarah's calculated omissions of reference. The effect she produced of representing her mother had been produced—and that was just the immense, the uncanny part of it—without her having so much as mentioned that lady. She had brought no message, had alluded to no question, had only answered his inquiries with hopeless, limited propriety. She had invented a way of meeting them—as if he had been a polite, perfunctory poor relation, of distant degree—that made them almost ridiculous in him. He couldn't moreover, on his own side, ask much without appearing to publish how he had lately lacked

news; a circumstance of which it was Sarah's profound policy not to betray a suspicion. These things, all the same, he wouldn't breathe to Mme. de Vionnet—much as they might make him walk up and down. And what he didn't say—as well as what *she* didn't, for she had also her high decencies—didn't diminish the effect of his being there with her at the end of ten minutes more intimately on the basis of saving her than he had yet had occasion to be. It ended in fact by being quite beautiful between them, the number of things they had a manifest consciousness of not saying. He would have liked to turn her, critically, to the subject of Mrs. Pocock, but he so stuck to the line he felt to be the point of honor and of delicacy that he scarce even asked her what her personal impression had been. He knew it, for that matter, without putting her to trouble; that she wondered how, with such elements, Sarah could still have no charm, was one of the principal things she held her tongue about. Strether would have been interested in her estimate of the elements —indubitably there, some of them, and to be appraised according to taste—but he denied himself even the luxury of this diversion. The way Mme. de Vionnet affected him to-day was in itself a kind of demonstration of the happy employment of gifts. How could a woman think Sarah had charm who struck one as having arrived at it herself by such different roads? On the other hand, of course, Sarah wasn't obliged to have it. He felt as if, somehow, Mme. de Vionnet *was*. The great question meanwhile was what Chad thought of his sister; which was naturally ushered in by that of Sarah's apprehension of Chad. *That* they could talk of, and with a freedom purchased by their discretion in other directions. The difficulty, however, was that they were reduced as yet to conjecture. He had given them in the day or two as little of a lead as Sarah, and Mme. de Vionnet mentioned that she had not seen him since his sister's arrival.

"And does that strike you as such an age?"

She met it in all honesty. "Oh, I won't pretend I don't miss him. Sometimes I see him every day. Our friendship is like that. Make what you will of it!" she whimsically smiled; a little flicker of the kind, occasional in her, that had more than once moved him to wonder what he might best make of *her*. "But he's perfectly right," she hastened to add, "and I wouldn't have him fail in any way, at present, for the world. I would sooner not see him for three months. I begged him to be beautiful to them, and he fully feels it for himself."

Strether turned away under his quick perception; she was so odd a mixture of lucidity and mystery. She fell in at moments with the theory about her that he most cherished, and she seemed at others to blow it into air. She spoke now as if her art were all an innocence, and then again as if her innocence were all an art. "Oh, he's giving himself up, and he'll do so to the end. How can he but want, now that it's within reach, his full impression?—which is

much more important, you know, than either yours or mine. But he's just soaking," Strether said as he came back; "he's going in, conscientiously, for a saturation. I'm bound to say he *is* very good."

"Ah," she quietly replied, "to whom do you say it?" And then more quietly still: "He's capable of anything."

Strether more than reaffirmed—"Oh, he's excellent. I more and more like," he insisted, "to see him with them;" though the oddity of this tone between them grew sharper for him even while they spoke. It placed the young man so before them as the result of her interest and the product of her genius, acknowledged so her part in the phenomenon and made the phenomenon so rare, that, more than ever yet, he might have been on the very point of asking her for some more detailed account of the whole business than he had yet received from her. The occasion almost forced upon him some question as to how she had managed and as to the appearance such miracles presented from her own singularly close standpoint. The moment, in fact, however, passed, giving way to more present history, and he continued simply to mark his appreciation of the happy truth. "It's a tremendous comfort to feel how one can trust him." And then again while, for a little, she said nothing—as if, after all, to *her* trust there might be a special limit: "I mean for making a good show to them."

"Yes," she thoughtfully returned—"but if they shut their eyes to it!"

Strether for an instant had his own thought. "Well, perhaps that won't matter!"

"You mean because he probably—do what they will—won't like them?"

"Oh, 'do what they will'—! They won't do much; especially if Sarah hasn't more—well, more than one has yet made out—to give."

Mme. de Vionnet weighed it. "Ah, she has all her grace!" It was a statement over which, for a little, they could look at each other sufficiently straight, and, though it produced no protest from Strether the effect was somehow as if he had treated it as a joke. "She may be persuasive and caressing with him; she may be eloquent beyond words. She may get hold of him," she wound up—"well, as neither you nor I have."

"Yes, she *may*"—and now Strether smiled. "But he has spent all his time, each day, with Jim. He's still showing Jim round."

She visibly wondered. "Then how about Jim?"

Strether took a turn before he answered. "Hasn't he given you Jim? I mean, before this, done him for you?" He was a little at a loss. "Doesn't he tell you things?"

She hesitated. "No"—and their eyes once more gave and took. "Not as you do. You, somehow, make me see them—or at least feel them. And I haven't asked too much," she added; "I've wanted so, of late, not to worry him."

"Ah, for that, so have I," he said with encouraging assent; so

that—as if she had answered everything—they were briefly sociable on it. It threw him back on his other thought, with which he took another turn; stopping again, however, presently, with something of a glow. "You see, Jim's really immense. I think it will be Jim who'll do it."

She wondered. "Get hold of him?"

"No—just the other thing. Counteract Sarah's spell." And he showed now, our friend, how far he had worked it out. "Jim's intensely cynical."

"Oh, dear Jim!" Mme. de Vionnet vaguely smiled.

"Yes, literally—dear Jim! He's awful. What *he* wants, heaven forgive him, is to help us."

"You mean"—she was eager—"help *me?*"

"Well, Chad and me in the first place. But he throws you in too, though without, as yet, seeing you much. Only, so far as he does see you—if you don't mind—he sees you as awful."

"'Awful'?"—she wanted it all.

"A regular bad one—though of course of a tremendously superior kind. Dreadful, delightful, irresistible."

"Ah, dear Jim! I should like to know him. I *must.*"

"Yes, naturally. But will it do? You may, you know," Strether suggested, "disappoint him."

She was funny and humble about it. "I can but try. But my wickedness then," she went on, "is my recommendation for him?"

"Your wickedness and the charms with which, in such a degree as yours, he associates it. He understands, you see, that Chad and I have above all wanted to have a good time, and his view is simple and sharp. Nothing will persuade him—in the light, that is, of my behavior—that I really didn't, quite as much as Chad, come over to have one before it was too late. He wouldn't have expected it of me; but men of my age, at Woollett—and especially the least likely ones—have been noted as liable to strange outbreaks, belated, uncanny clutches at the unusual, the ideal. It's an effect that a lifetime of Woollett has quite been observed as having; and I thus give it to you, in Jim's view, for what it's worth. Now his wife and his mother-in-law," Strether continued to explain, "have, as in honor bound, no patience with such doings, late or early—which puts Jim, as against his relatives, on the other side. Besides," he added, "I don't think he really wants Chad back. If Chad doesn't come—"

"He'll have"—Mme. de Vionnet quite apprehended—"more of the free hand?"

"Well, Chad's the bigger man."

"So he'll work now, *en dessous,* to keep him quiet?"

"No—he won't 'work' at all, and he won't do anything *en dessous.* He's very decent, and he won't be a traitor in the camp. But he'll be amused with his own little view of our duplicity, he'll

sniff up what he supposes to be Paris from morning till night, and he'll be, as to the rest, for Chad—well, just what he is."

She thought it over. "A warning?"

He met it almost with glee. "You *are* as wonderful as everybody says!" And then to explain all he meant: "I drove him about for his first hour, and do you know what—all beautifully unconscious—he most put before me? Why, that something like *that* is at bottom, as an improvement to his present state, as in fact the real redemption of it, what they think it may not be too late to make of our friend." With which, as, taking it in, she seemed, in her recurrent alarm, bravely to gaze at the possibility, he completed his statement. "But it *is* too late. Thanks to you!"

It drew from her again one of her indefinite reflections. "Oh, 'me'—after all!"

He stood before her so exhilarated by his demonstration that he could fairly be jocular. "Everything's comparative. You're better than *that*."

"You"—she could but answer him—"are better than anything." But she had another thought. "*Will* Mrs. Pocock come to me?"

"Oh yes—she'll do that. As soon, that is, as my friend Waymarsh—*her* friend now—leaves her leisure."

She showed an interest. "Is he so much her friend as that?"

"Why, didn't you see it all at the hotel?"

"Oh"—she was amused—"'all' is a good deal to say. I don't know—I forget. I lost myself in *her*."

"You were splendid," Strether returned—"but 'all' isn't a good deal to say: it's only a little. Yet it's charming so far as it goes. She wants a man to herself."

"And hasn't she got *you*?"

"Do you think she looked at me—or even at you—as if she had?" Strether easily dismissed that irony. "Every one, you see, must strike her as having somebody. You've got Chad—and Chad has got you."

"I see"—she made of it what she could. "And you've got Maria."

Well, he on his side accepted that. "I've got Maria. And Maria has got me. So it goes."

"But Mr. Jim—whom has he got?"

"Oh, he has got—or it's as *if* he had—the whole place."

"But for Mr. Waymarsh"—she recalled—"isn't Miss Barrace before any one else?"

He shook his head. "Miss Barrace is a *raffinée*, and her amusement won't lose by Mrs. Pocock. It will gain rather—especially if Sarah triumphs and she comes in for a view of it."

"How well you know us!" Mme. de Vionnet, at this, frankly sighed.

"No—it seems to me it's *we* that I know. I know Sarah—it's perhaps on that ground only that my feet are firm. Waymarsh will

take *her* round, while Chad takes Jim—and I shall be, I assure you, delighted for both of them. Sarah will have had what she requires —she will have paid *her* tribute to the ideal; and he will have done about the same. In Paris it's in the air—so what can one do less? If there's a point that, beyond any other, Sarah wants to make, it's that she didn't come out to be narrow. We shall feel at least *that*."

"Oh," she sighed, "the quantity we seem likely to 'feel'! But what becomes, in these conditions, of the girl?"

"Of Mamie—if we're all provided? Ah, for that," said Strether, "you can trust Chad."

"To be, you mean, all right to her?"

"To pay her every attention as soon as he has polished off Jim. He wants what Jim can give him—and what Jim really won't—though he has had it all, and more than all, from me. He wants in short his own personal impression, and he'll get it—strong. But as soon as he has got it Mamie won't suffer."

"Oh, Mamie mustn't *suffer!*" Mme. de Vionnet soothingly emphasized.

But Strether could assure her. "Don't fear. As soon as he has done with Jim, Jim will fall to me. And then you'll see."

It was as if, in a moment, she saw already; yet she still waited. Then, "Is she really quite charming?" she asked.

He had got up with his last words and gathered in his hat and gloves. "I don't know; I'm watching. I'm studying the case, as it were—and I dare say I shall be able to tell you."

She wondered. "Is it a case?"

"Yes—I think so. At any rate I shall see."

"But haven't you known her before?"

"Yes," he smiled—"but somehow at home she wasn't a case. She has become one since." It was as if he made it out for himself. "She has become one here."

"So very, very soon?"

He hesitated, laughing. "Not sooner than I did."

"And you became one—?"

"Very, very soon. The day I arrived."

Her intelligent eyes showed her thought of it. "Ah, but the day you arrived you met Maria. Whom has Miss Pocock met?"

He paused again, but he brought it out. "Hasn't she met Chad?"

"Certainly—but not for the first time. He's an old friend." At which Strether had a slow, amused, significant headshake that made her go on: "You mean that for *her* at least he's a new person—that she sees him as different?"

"She sees him as different."

"And how does she see him?"

Strether gave it up. "How can one tell how a deep little girl sees a deep young man?"

"Is every one so deep? Is she too?"

"So it strikes me—deeper than I thought. But wait a little, and, between us, we'll make it out. You'll judge, for that matter, for yourself."

Mme. de Vionnet looked for the moment fairly bent on the chance. "Then she *will* come with her?—I mean Mamie with Mrs. Pocock?"

"Certainly. Her curiosity, if nothing else, will in any case work that. But leave it all to Chad."

"Ah," wailed Mme. de Vionnet, turning away a little wearily, "the things I leave to Chad!"

The tone of it made him look at her with a kindness that showed his vision of her suspense. But he fell back on his confidence. "Oh well—trust him. Trust him all the way." He had indeed no sooner so spoken than the queer displacement of his point of view appeared again to come up for him in the very sound, which drew from him a short laugh, immediately checked. He became still more advisory. "When they do come, give them plenty of Miss Jeanne. Let Mamie see her well."

She looked for a moment as if she placed them face to face. "For Mamie to hate her?"

He had another of his corrective headshakes. "Mamie won't. Trust *them*."

She looked at him hard, and then, as if it were what she must always come back to: "It's *you* I trust. But I was sincere," she said, "at the hotel. I did, I do, want my child—"

"Well?"—Strether waited with deference while she appeared to hesitate as to how to put it.

"Well, to do what she can for me."

Strether, for a little, met her eyes on it; after which something that might have been unexpected to her came from him. "Poor little duck!"

Not more expected for himself indeed might well have been her echo of it. "Poor little duck! But she immensely wants, herself," she said, "to see our friend's cousin."

"Is that what she thinks her?"

"It's what we call the young lady."

He thought again; then with a laugh: "Well, your daughter will help you."

And now at last he took leave of her, as he had been intending for five minutes. But she went part of the way with him, accompanying him out of the room and into the next and the next. Her noble old apartment offered a succession of three, the first two of which indeed, on entering, smaller than the last, but each with its faded and formal air, enlarged the office of the antechamber and enriched the sense of approach. Strether fancied them, liked them, and, passing through them with her more slowly now, met a sharp renewal of his original impression. He stopped, he looked back; the whole thing made a vista, which he found high, melancholy and

sweet—full, once more, of dim historic shades, of the faint far-away cannon-roar of the great Empire. It was doubtless half the projection of his mind, but his mind was a thing that, among old waxed parquets, pale shades of pink and green, pseudo-classic candelabra, he had always needfully to reckon with. They could easily make him irrelevant. The oddity, the originality, the poetry—he didn't know what to call it—of Chad's connection reaffirmed for him its romantic side. "They ought to see this, you know. They *must*."

"The Pococks?"—she looked about in deprecation; she seemed to see gaps he didn't.

"Mamie and Sarah—Mamie in particular."

"My shabby old place? But *their* things—!"

"Oh, their things! You were talking of what will do something for you—"

"So that it strikes you," she broke in, "that my poor place may? Oh," she ruefully mused, "that *would* be desperate!"

"Do you know what I wish?" he went on. "I wish Mrs. Newsome herself could have a look."

She stared, missing a little his logic. "It would make a difference?"

Her tone was so earnest that, as he continued to look about, he laughed. "It might!"

"But you've told her, you tell me—"

"All about you? Yes, a wonderful story. But there's all the indescribable—what one gets only on the spot."

"Thank you!" she charmingly and sadly smiled.

"It's all about me here," he freely continued. "Mrs. Newsome feels things."

But she seemed doomed, always, to come back to doubt. "No one feels so much as *you*. No—no one."

"So much the worse then for every one. It's very easy."

They were by this time in the antechamber, still alone together, as she had not rung for a servant. The antechamber was high and square, grave and suggestive too, a little cold and slippery even in summer, and with a few old prints that were precious, Strether divined, on the walls. He stood in the middle, slightly lingering, vaguely directing his glasses, while, leaning against the door-post of the room, she gently pressed her cheek to the side of the recess. "*You* would have been a friend."

"I?"—it startled him a little.

"For the reason you say. You're not stupid." And then abruptly, as if her bringing it out were somehow founded on that fact: "We're marrying Jeanne."

It affected him on the spot as a move in a game, and he was even then not without the sense that that wasn't the way Jeanne should be married. But he quickly showed his interest, though—as quickly afterwards struck him—with an absurd confusion of mind.

"'You'? You and—a—not Chad?" Of course it was the child's father who made the 'we'; but to the child's father it would have cost him an effort to allude. Yet didn't it seem the next minute that M. de Vionnet was, after all, not in question?—since she had gone on to say that it was indeed to Chad she referred and that he had been, in the whole matter, kindness itself.

"If I must tell you all, it is he himself who has put us in the way. I mean in the way of an opportunity that, so far as I can yet see, is all I could possibly have dreamed of. For all the trouble M. de Vionnet will ever take!" It was the first time she had spoken to him of her husband, and he couldn't have expressed how much more intimate with her it suddenly made him feel. It wasn't much, in truth—there were other things, in what she was saying, that were far more; but it was as if, while they stood there together so easily in these cold chambers of the past, the single touch had shown the reach of her confidence. "But our friend," she asked, "hasn't then told you?"

"He has told me nothing."

"Well, it has come with rather a rush—all in a very few days; and hasn't moreover yet taken a form that permits an announcement. It's only for you—absolutely you alone—that I speak; I so want you to know." The sense he had so often had, since the first hour of his disembarkment, of being further and further "in," treated him again, at this moment, to another twinge; but in this wonderful way of her putting him in there continued to be something exquisitely remorseless. "M. de Vionnet will accept what he *must* accept. He has proposed half a dozen things—each one more impossible than the other; and he wouldn't have found this if he lives to a hundred. Chad found it," she continued with her lighted, faintly flushed, her conscious, confidential face, "in the quietest way in the world. Or rather it found *him*—for everything finds him; I mean finds him right. You'll think we do such things strangely—but at my age," she smiled, "one has to accept one's conditions. Our young man's people had seen her; one of his sisters, a charming woman—we know all about them—had observed her somewhere with me. She had spoken to her brother—turned him on; and we were again observed, poor Jeanne and I, without our in the least knowing it. It was at the beginning of the winter; it went on for some time; it outlasted our absence; it began again on our return; and it luckily seems all right. The young man had met Chad, and he got a friend to approach him—as having a decent interest in us. Mr. Newsome looked well before he leaped; he kept beautifully quiet and satisfied himself fully; then only he spoke. It's what has for some time past occupied us. It seems as if it were what would do; really, really all one could wish. There are only two or three points to be settled—they depend on her father. But this time I think we're safe."

Strether, consciously gaping a little, had fairly hung upon her

lips. "I hope so with all my heart." And then he permitted himself: "Does nothing depend on *her*?"

"Ah, naturally; everything did. But she's as pleased as Punch. She has been perfectly free; and he—our young friend—is really a combination. I quite adore him."

Strether just made sure. "You mean your future son-in-law?"

"Future if we all bring it off."

"Ah well," said Strether decorously, "I heartily hope you may." There seemed little else for him to say, though her communication had the oddest effect on him. Vaguely and confusedly he was troubled by it; feeling as if he had even himself been concerned in something deep and dim. He had allowed for depths, but these were greater: and it was as if, oppressively—indeed absurdly—he was responsible for what they had now thrown up to the surface. It was—through something ancient and cold in it—what he would have called the real thing. In short his hostess's news, though he couldn't have explained why, was a sensible shock, and his oppression a weight he felt he must, somehow or other, immediately get rid of. There were too many connections missing to make it tolerable he should do anything else. He was prepared to suffer—before his own inner tribunal—for Chad; he was prepared to suffer even for Mme. de Vionnet. But he wasn't prepared to suffer for the little girl. So now, having said the proper thing, he wanted to get away. She held him an instant, however, with another appeal.

"Do I seem to you very awful?"

"Awful? Why so?" But he called it to himself, even as he spoke, his biggest insincerity yet.

"Our arrangements are so different from yours."

"Mine?" Oh, he could dismiss that too! "I haven't any arrangements."

"Then you must accept mine; all the more that they're excellent. They're founded on a *vieille sagesse*. There will be much more, if all goes well, for you to hear and to know, and everything, believe me, for you to like. Don't be afraid; you'll be satisfied." Thus she could talk to him of what, of her innermost life—for that was what it came to—he must "accept"; thus she could extraordinarily speak as if, in such an affair, his being satisfied had an importance. It was all a wonder, and it made the whole case larger. He had struck himself at the hotel, before Sarah and Waymarsh, as being in her boat; but where on earth was he now? This question was in the air till her own lips quenched it with another. "And do you suppose *he*—who loves her so—would do anything reckless or cruel?"

He wondered what he supposed. "Do you mean your young man—?"

"I mean yours. I mean Mr. Newsome." It flashed for Strether the next moment a finer light, and the light deepened as she went on. "He takes, thank God, the truest, tenderest, interest in her."

It deepened indeed. "Oh, I'm sure of that!"

"You were talking," she said, "about one's trusting him. You see then how I do."

He wanted but a moment—it all came. "I see—I see." He felt he really did see.

"He wouldn't hurt her for the world, nor—assuming she marries at all—risk anything that might make against her happiness. And—willingly, at least—he would never hurt *me*."

Her face, with what he had by this time grasped, told him more than her words; whether something had come into it, or whether he only read clearer, her whole story—what at least he then took for such—reached out to him from it. With the initiative she now attributed to Chad it all made a sense, and this sense—a light, a lead, was what had abruptly risen before him. He wanted, once more, to get off with these things; which was at last made easy, a servant having, for his assistance, on hearing voices in the hall, just come forward. All that Strether had made out was, while the man opened the door and impersonally waited, summed up in his last word. "I don't think, you know, Chad will tell me anything."

"No—perhaps not yet."

"And I won't as yet speak to him."

"Ah, that's as you'll think best. You must judge."

She had finally given him her hand, which he held a moment. "How *much* I have to judge!"

"Everything," said Mme. de Vionnet: a remark that was indeed—with the refined, disguised, suppressed passion of her face—what he most carried away.

XXIII.

So far as a direct approach was concerned Sarah had neglected him, for the week now about to end, with a civil consistency of chill that, giving him a higher idea of her social resource, threw him back on the general reflection that a woman could always be amazing. It indeed helped a little to console him that he felt sure she had for the same period also left Chad's curiosity hanging; though, on the other hand, for his personal relief, Chad could at least go through the various motions—and he made them extraordinarily numerous—of seeing she had a good time. There wasn't a motion on which, in her presence, poor Strether could so much as venture, and all he could do when he was out of it was to walk over for a talk with Maria. He walked over of course much less than usual, but he found a special compensation in a certain half hour during which, toward the close of a crowded, empty, expensive day, his several companions struck him as so disposed of as to give his manners a rest. He had been with them in the morning, and had called on the Pococks again in the afternoon; but their whole group, he then found, had dispersed after a fashion of which it would amuse Miss Gostrey to hear. He was sorry again, gratefully sorry she was

so out of it—she who had really put him in; but she had always, fortunately, her appetite for news. The pure flame of the disinterested burned there, in her cave of treasures, like a lamp in a Byzantine vault. It was just now, as happened, that for so fine a sense as hers a near view would have begun to pay. Within three days, precisely, the situation on which he was to report had shown signs of an equilibrium; his look in at the hotel confirmed his judgment of that appearance. If the equilibrium might only prevail! Sarah was out with Waymarsh, Mamie was out with Chad, and Jim was out alone. Later on, indeed, he himself was booked to Jim; was to take him that evening to the Varieties—which Strether was careful to pronounce as Jim pronounced them.

Miss Gostrey drank it in. "What then to-night do the others do?"

"Well, it has been arranged. Waymarsh takes Sarah to dine at Bignon's."

She wondered. "And what do they do after? They can't come straight home."

"No—they can't come straight home—at least Sarah can't. It's their secret, but I think I've guessed it." Then as she waited: "The circus."

It made her stare a moment longer, then laugh almost to extravagance. "There's no one like you!"

"Like *me*?"—he only wanted to understand.

"Like all of you together—like all of *us:* Woollett, Milrose and Co. We're abysmal—but long may we wave! Mr. Newsome," she continued, "meanwhile takes Miss Pocock—?"

"Precisely—to the Français: to see what *you* took Waymarsh and me to, a family-bill."

"Ah then, may Mr. Chad enjoy it as *I* did!" But she saw so much in things. "Do they spend their evenings, your young people, like that, alone together?"

"Well—they're young people, but they're old friends."

"I see, I see. And do *they* dine—for a difference—at Brebant's?"

"Oh, where they dine is their secret too. But I've my idea that it will be, very quietly, at Chad's own place."

"She'll come to him there alone?"

They looked at each other a moment. "He has known her from a child. Besides," said Strether with emphasis, "Mamie's remarkable. She's splendid."

She hesitated. "Do you mean she expects to bring it off?"

"Getting hold of him?—No—I think not."

"She doesn't want him enough?—or doesn't believe in her power?" On which, as he said nothing, she continued: "She finds she doesn't care for him?"

"No—I think she finds she does. But that's what I mean by so describing her. It's *if* she does that she's splendid. But we'll see," he wound up, "where she comes out."

"You seem to show me sufficiently," Miss Gostrey laughed,

"where she goes in! But is her childhood's friend," she asked, "permitting himself recklessly to flirt with her?"

"No—not that. Chad's also splendid. They're *all* splendid!" he declared with a sudden strange sound of wistfulness and envy. "They're at least happy."

"Happy?"—it appeared, with their various difficulties, to surprise her.

"Well—I seem to myself, among them, the only one who isn't."

She demurred. "With your constant tribute to the ideal?"

He had a laugh at his tribute to the ideal, but he explained, after a moment, his impression. "I mean they're living. They're rushing about. I've already had *my* rushing. I'm waiting."

"But aren't you," she asked by way of cheer, "waiting with *me?*"

He looked at her in all kindness. "Yes—if it weren't for that!"

"And you help *me* to wait," she said. "However," she went on, "I've really something for you that will help you to wait and which you shall have in a minute. Only there's something more I want from you first. I revel in Sarah."

"So do I. If it weren't," he again amusedly sighed, "for *that—!*"

"Well, you owe more to women than any man I ever saw. We do seem to keep you going. But Sarah, as I see her, must be great."

"She *is*"—Strether fully assented: "great! Whatever happens, she won't, with these unforgettable days, have lived in vain."

Miss Gostrey had a pause. "You mean she has fallen in love?"

"I mean she wonders if she hasn't—and it serves all her purpose."

"It has indeed," Maria laughed, "served women's purposes before!"

"Yes—for giving in. But I doubt if the idea—as an idea—has ever up to now answered so well for holding out. That's *her* tribute to the ideal—we each have our own. It's her romance—and it seems to me better, on the whole, than mine. To have it in Paris too," he explained—"on this classic ground, in this charged, infectious air, with so sudden an intensity: well, it's more than she expected. She has had in short to recognize the breaking out for her of a real affinity—and with everything to enhance the drama."

Miss Gostrey followed. "Jim, for instance?"

"Jim. Jim hugely enhances. Jim was made to enhance. And then Mrs. Waymarsh. It's the crowning touch—it supplies the color. He's positively separated."

"And she herself unfortunately isn't—that supplies the color too." Miss Gostrey was all there. But somehow—! "Is *he* in love?"

Strether looked at her a long time; then looked all about the room; then came a little nearer. "Will you never tell any one in the world as long as you live?"

"Never." It was charming.

"He thinks Sarah really is. But he has no fear," Strether hastened to add.

"Of her being affected by it?"

"Of *his* being. He likes it, but he knows she can hold out. He's helping her, he's floating her over, by kindness."

Maria rather funnily considered it. "Floating her over in champagne? The kindness of dining her, nose to nose, at the hour when all Paris is crowding to profane delights, and in the—well, in the great temple, as one hears of it, of pleasure?"

"That's just *it*, for both of them," Strether insisted—"and all of a supreme innocence. The Parisian place, the feverish hour, the putting before her of a hundred francs' worth of food and drink, which they'll scarcely touch—all that's the dear man's own romance; the expensive kind, expensive in francs and centimes, in which he abounds. And the circus afterwards—which is cheaper, but which he'll find some means of making as dear as possible—that's also *his* tribute to the ideal. It does for him. He'll see her through. They won't talk of anything worse than you and me."

"Well, we're bad enough, perhaps, thank heaven," she laughed, "to upset them! Mr. Waymarsh, at any rate, is a hideous old coquette." And the next moment she had dropped everything for a different flight. "What you don't appear to know is that Jeanne de Vionnet has become engaged. She's to marry—it has been definitely arranged—young M. de Montbron."

He fairly blushed. "Then—if you know it—it's 'out'?"

"Don't I often know things that are *not* out? However," she said, "this will be out to-morrow. But I see I've counted too much on your possible ignorance; you've been before me, and I don't make you jump as I hoped."

He gave a gasp at her insight. "You never fail! I've *had* my jump. I had it when I first heard."

"Then, if you knew, why didn't you tell me as soon as you came in?"

"Because I had it from her as a thing not yet to be spoken of."

Miss Gostrey wondered. "From Mme. de Vionnet herself?"

"As a probability—not quite a certainty: a good cause in which Chad has been working. So I've waited."

"You need wait no longer," she returned. "It reached me yesterday—roundabout and accidental, but by a person who had had it from one of the young man's own people—as a thing quite settled. I was only keeping it for you."

"You thought Chad wouldn't have told me?"

She hesitated. "Well, if he hasn't—"

"He hasn't. And yet the thing appears to have been practically his doing. So there we are."

"There we are!" Maria candidly echoed.

"That's why I jumped. I jumped," he continued to explain, "because it means, this disposition of the daughter, that there's now nothing else: nothing else but him and the mother."

"Still—it simplifies."

"It simplifies"—he fully concurred. "But that's precisely where

we are. It marks a stage in his relation. The act is his answer to Mrs. Newsome's demonstration."

"It tells," Maria asked, "the worst?"

"The worst."

"But is the worst what he wants Sarah to know?"

"He doesn't care for Sarah."

At which Miss Gostrey's eyebrows went up. "You mean she has already dished herself?"

Strether took a turn about; he had thought it out again and again before this, to the end; but the vista seemed each time longer. "He wants his good friend to know the best. I mean the measure of his attachment. She asked for a sign, and he thought of that one. There it is."

"A concession to her jealousy?"

Strether pulled up. "Yes—call it that. Make it lurid—for that makes my problem richer."

"Certainly, let us have it lurid—for I quite agree with you that we want none of our problems poor. But let us also have it clear. Can he, in the midst of such a preoccupation, or on the heels of it, have seriously cared for Jeanne?—cared, I mean, as a young man at liberty would have cared?"

Well, Strether had mastered it. "I think he can have thought it would be charming if he *could* care. It would be nicer."

"Nicer than being tied up to Marie?"

"Yes—than the discomfort of an attachment to a person he can never hope, short of a catastrophe, to marry. And he was quite right," said Strether. "It would certainly have been nicer. Even when a thing's already nice there mostly *is* some other thing that would have been nicer—or as to which we wonder if it wouldn't. But his question was all the same a dream. He *couldn't* care in that way. He *is* tied up to Marie. The relation is too special and has gone too far. It's the very basis, and his recent lively contribution toward establishing Jeanne in life has been his definite and final acknowledgment to Mme. de Vionnet that he has ceased squirming. I doubt meanwhile," he went on, "if Sarah has at all directly attacked him."

His companion brooded. "But won't he wish, for his own satisfaction, to make his ground good to her?"

"No—he'll leave it to me, he'll leave everything to me. I 'sort of' feel"—he worked it out—"that the whole thing will come upon me. Yes, I shall have every inch and every ounce of it. I shall be *used* for it—!" And Strether lost himself in the prospect. Then he fancifully expressed the issue. "To the last drop of my blood."

Maria, however, roundly protested. "Ah, you'll please keep a drop for *me*. *I* shall have a use for it!"—which she didn't, however, follow up. She had come back, the next moment, to another matter. "Mrs. Pocock, with her brother, is trusting only to her general charm?"

"So it would seem."

"And the charm's not working?"

Well, Strether put it otherwise, "She's sounding the note of home—which is the very best thing she can do."

"The best for Mme. de Vionnet?"

"The best for home itself. The natural one; the right one."

"Right," Maria asked, "when it fails?"

Strether had a pause. "The difficulty is Jim. Jim's the note of home."

She debated. "Ah, not, s ely, the note of Mrs. Newsome."

But he had it all. "The te of the home for which Mrs. Newsome wants him—the home of the business. Jim stands, with his little legs apart, at the door of *that* tent; and Jim *is*, frankly speaking, extremely awful."

Maria stared. "And you in, you poor thing, for your evening with him?"

"Oh, he's all right for *me!*" Strether laughed. "Any one's good enough for *me*. But Sarah shouldn't, all the same, have brought him. She doesn't appreciate him."

His friend was amused with this statement of it. "Doesn't know, you mean, how bad he is?"

Strether shook his head with decision. "Not really."

She hesitated. "Then doesn't Mrs. Newsome?"

It made him frankly do the same. "Well, no—since you ask me."

Maria rubbed it in. "Not really either?"

"Not at all. She rates him rather high." With which indeed, immediately, he took himself up. "Well, he *is* good too, in his way. It depends on what you want him for."

Miss Gostrey, however, wouldn't let it depend on anything—wouldn't have it, and wouldn't want him, at any price. "It suits my book," she said, "that he should be impossible; and it suits it still better," she more imaginatively added, "that Mrs. Newsome doesn't know he is."

Strether, in consequence, had to take it from her, but he fell back on something else. "I'll tell you who does really know."

"Mr. Waymarsh? Never!"

"Never indeed. I'm not *always* thinking of Mr. Waymarsh; in fact I find now I never am." Then he mentioned the person as if there were a good deal in it. "Mamie."

"His own sister?" Oddly enough, it but let her down. "What good will that do?"

"None perhaps. But there—as usual—we are!"

XXIV.

There they were yet again, accordingly, for two days more; when Strether, on being, at Mrs. Pocock's hotel, ushered into that lady's salon, found himself at first assuming a mistake on the part of the

servant who had introduced him and retired. The occupants had not come in, for the room looked empty as only a room can look in Paris of a fine afternoon, when the faint murmur of the huge collective life, carried on out-of-doors, strays among scattered objects even as a summer air idles in a lonely garden. Our friend looked about and hesitated; observed, on the evidence of a table charged with purchases and other matters, that Sarah had become possessed —by no aid from *him*—of the last number of the salmon-colored *Revue;* noted further that Mamie appeared to have received a present of Fromentin's "*Maîtres d'Autrefois*" from Chad, who had written her name on the cover; and pulled up at the sight of a heavy letter addressed in a hand he knew. This letter, forwarded by a banker and arriving in Mrs. Pocock's absence, had been placed in evidence, and it drew from the fact of its being unopened a sudden queer power to intensify the reach of its author. It brought home to him the scale on which Mrs. Newsome—for she had been copious indeed this time—was writing to her daughter while she kept *him* in durance; and it had altogether such an effect upon him as made him for a few minutes stand still and breathe low. In his own room, at his own hotel, he had dozens of well-filled envelopes superscribed in that character; and there was actually something in the renewal of his interrupted vision of the character that played straight into the so frequent question of whether he were not already disinherited beyond appeal. It was such an assurance as the sharp downstrokes of her pen had not yet had occasion to give him; but they somehow, at the present crisis, hinted at a probable absoluteness in any decree of the writer. He looked at Sarah's name and address, in short, as if he had been looking hard into her mother's face, and then turned from it as if the face had declined to relax. But as it was, in a manner, as if Mrs. Newsome were thereby all the more, instead of the less, in the room, and were conscious, sharply and sorely conscious, of himself, so he felt both held and hushed, summoned to stay at least and take his punishment. By staying, accordingly, he took it—creeping softly and vaguely about and waiting for Sarah to come in. She *would* come in if he stayed long enough, and he had now more than ever the sense of her success in leaving him a prey to anxiety. It was not to be denied that she had had a happy instinct, from the point of view of Woollett, in placing him thus at the mercy of her own initiative. It was very well to try to say he didn't care—that she might break ground when she would, might never break it at all if she wouldn't, and that he had no confession whatever to wait upon her with: he breathed from day to day an air that damnably required clearing, and there were moments when he quite ached to precipitate that process. He couldn't doubt that, should she only oblige him by surprising him just as he then was, a clarifying scene of some sort would result from the concussion.

He humbly circulated, in this spirit, till he suddenly had a fresh arrest. Both the windows of the room stood open to the balcony,

but it was only now that, in the glass of the leaf of one of them, folded back, he caught a reflection quickly recognized as the color of a lady's dress. Somebody had been then, all the while, on the balcony, and the person, whoever it might be, was so placed, between the windows, as to be hidden from him; while, on the other hand, the many sounds of the street had covered his own entrance and movements. If the person were Sarah he might on the spot therefore be served to his taste. He might lead her, by a move or two, up to the remedy for his vain tension; as to which, should he get nothing else from it, he would at least have the relief of pulling down the roof on their heads. There was fortunately no one at hand to observe—in respect to his valor—that even on this completed reasoning he still hung fire. He had been waiting for Mrs. Pocock and the sound of the oracle; but he had to gird himself afresh—which he did in the embrasure of the window, neither advancing nor retreating—before provoking the revelation. It was apparently for Sarah to come more into view; he was otherwise there at her service. She did, however, as meanwhile happened, come more into view; only she came, luckily, at the last minute, as a contradiction of Sarah. The occupant of the balcony was after all quite another person, a person presented, on a second look, by a charming back and a slight shift of her position, as beautiful, brilliant unconscious Mamie—Mamie alone at home, Mamie passing her time in her own innocent way, Mamie in short rather shabbily used, but Mamie absorbed, interested and interesting. With her arms on the balustrade and her attention dropped to the street, she allowed Strether to watch her, to consider several things, without her turning round.

But the oddity was that when he *had* so watched and considered he simply stepped back into the room without following up his advantage. He revolved there again for several minutes, quite as with something new to think of and as if the bearings of the possibility of Sarah had been superseded. For frankly, yes, it *had* bearings thus to find the girl in solitary possession. There was something in it that touched him to a point not to have been reckoned beforehand, something that softly, but quite pressingly, spoke to him, and that spoke the more each time he paused again at the edge of the balcony and saw her still unaware. Her companions were, plainly, scattered; Sarah would be off somewhere with Waymarsh and Chad off somewhere with Jim. Strether didn't at all mentally impute to Chad that he was with his 'good friend'; he gave him the benefit of supposing him involved in appearances that, had he had to describe them—for instance to Maria—he would have conveniently qualified as more subtle. It came to him indeed the next thing that there was perhaps almost an excess of refinement in having left Mamie, in such weather, up there alone; however she might in fact have extemporized, under the charm of the Rue de Rivoli, a little makeshift Paris of wonder and fancy. Our friend at any rate now

recognized—and it was as if, at the recognition, Mrs. Newsome's fixed intensity had suddenly, with a deep, audible gasp, grown thin and vague—that, day after day, he had been conscious, in respect to his young lady, of something odd and ambiguous, but something into which he could at last read a meaning. It had been, at the most, this mystery, an obsession—oh, an obsession agreeable; and it had just now fallen into its place as at the touch of a spring. It had represented the possibility between them of some communication baffled by accident and delay—the possibility even of some relation as yet unacknowledged.

There was always their old relation, the fruit of the Woollett years; but that—and it was what was strangest—had nothing whatever in common with what was now in the air. As a child, as a "bud," and then again as a flower of expansion, Mamie had bloomed for him, freely, in the almost incessantly open doorways of home; where he remembered her as first very forward, as then very backward—for he had carried on at one period, in Mrs. Newsome's parlors (oh, Mrs. Newsome's phases, and his own!) a course of English Literature reinforced by exams and teas—and once more, finally, as very much in advance. But he had kept no great sense of points of contact; it not being in the nature of things at Woollett that the freshest of the buds should find herself in the same basket with the most withered of the winter apples. The child had given sharpness, above all, to his sense of the flight of time; it was but the day before yesterday that he had tripped up on her hoop, yet his experience of remarkable women—destined, it would seem, remarkably to grow—felt itself ready, this afternoon, quite braced itself, to include her. She had, in fine, more to say to him than he had ever dreamed the pretty girl of the moment *could* have; and the proof of the circumstance was that, visibly, unmistakably, she had been able to say it to no one else. It was something she could mention neither to her brother, to her sister-in-law, nor to Chad; though he could just imagine that, had she still been at home, she might have brought it out, as a supreme tribute to age, authority and attitude, for Mrs. Newsome. It was moreover something in which they all took an interest; the strength of their interest was in truth just the reason of her prudence. All this then, for five minutes, was vivid to Strether, and it put before him that, poor child, she had now but her prudence to amuse her. That, for a pretty girl in Paris, struck him, with a rush, as a sorry state; so that, under the impression, he went out to her with a step as hypocritically alert, he was well aware, as if he had just come into the room. She turned, with a start, at his voice; preoccupied with him though she might be, she was just a scrap disappointed. "Oh, I thought you were Mr. Bilham!"

The remark had been at first surprising and our friend's private thought, under the influence of it, temporarily blighted; yet we are able to add that he presently recovered his inward tone, and that

many a fresh flower of fancy was to bloom in the same air. Little Bilham—since little Bilham was, somewhat incongruously, expected —appeared behindhand; a circumstance by which Strether was to profit. They came back into the room together, after a little, the couple on the balcony, and amid its crimson-and-gold elegance, with the others still absent, Strether passed forty minutes that he appraised even at the time as far, in the whole queer connection, from his idlest. Yes indeed, since he had the other day so agreed with Maria about the inspiration of the lurid, here was something for his problem that surely didn't make it shrink and that was floated in upon him as part of a sudden flood. He was doubtless not to know till afterwards, on turning them over in thought, of how many elements his impression was composed; but he none the less felt, as he sat with the charming girl, the signal growth of a confidence. For she *was* charming, when all was said—and none the less so for the visible habit and practice of freedom and fluency. She was charming, he was aware, in spite of the fact that if he hadn't found her so he would have found her something he should have been in peril of expressing as "funny." Yes, she was funny, wonderful Mamie, and without dreaming it; she was bland, she was bridal—with never, that he could make out as yet, a bridegroom to support it; she was handsome and portly and easy and chatty, soft and sweet and almost disconcertingly reassuring. She was dressed, if we might so far discriminate, less as a young lady than as an old one—had an old one been supposable to Strether as so committed to vanity; the complexities of her hair missed moreover also the looseness of youth; and she had a mature manner of bending a little, as to encourage and reward, while she held neatly together in front of her a pair of strikingly polished hands: the combination of all of which kept up, about her, the glamour of her "receiving," placed her again perpetually between the windows and within sound of the ice-cream plates, suggested the enumeration of all the names, all the Mr. Brookses and Mr. Snookses, gregarious specimens of a single type, she was happy to "meet."

But if all this was where she was funny, and if what was funnier than the rest was the contrast between her beautiful benevolent patronage—such a hint of the polysyllabic as might make her something of a bore toward middle age—and her rather flat little voice, the voice, naturally, unaffectedly yet, of a girl of fifteen; so Strether, none the less, at the end of ten minutes, felt in her a quiet dignity that pulled things bravely together. If quiet dignity, almost more than matronly, with voluminous, too voluminous clothes, was the effect she proposed to produce, that was an ideal one could like in her when once one had got into relation. The great thing now, for her visitor was that this was exactly what he had done; it made so extraordinary a mixture of the brief and crowded hour. It was the mark of a relation that he had begun so quickly to find himself sure she was, of all people, as might have been said, on the side and of

the party of Mrs. Newsome's original ambassador. She was in *his* interest, and not in Sarah's; and some sign of that was precisely what he had been feeling in her, these last days, as imminent. Finally placed, in Paris, in immediate presence of the situation and of the hero of it—by whom Strether was incapable of meaning any one but Chad—she had accomplished, and really in a manner all unexpected to herself, a change of base; deep, still things had come to pass within her, and by the time she had grown sure of them Strether had become aware of the little drama. When she knew where she was, in short, he had made it out; and he made it out at present still better; though with never a direct word passing between them all the while on the subject of his own predicament. There had been at first, as he sat there with her, a moment during which he wondered if she meant to break ground in respect to his prime undertaking. That door stood so strangely ajar that he was half prepared to be conscious, at any juncture, of her having, of any one's having, quite bounced in. But, friendly, familiar, light of touch and happy of tact, she exquisitely stayed out; so that it was, for all the world, as if to show she could deal with him without being reduced to—well, to scarcely anything.

It fully came up for them then by means of their talking of everything *but* Chad, that Mamie, unlike Sarah, unlike Jim, knew perfectly what had become of him. It fully came up that she had taken to the last fraction of an inch the measure of the change in him, and that she wanted Strether to know what a secret she proposed to make of it. They talked most conveniently—as if they had had no chance yet—about Woollett; and that had virtually the effect of their keeping the secret more close. The hour took on for Strether, little by little, a queer, sad sweetness of savor; he had such a revulsion in Mamie's favor and on behalf of her social value as might have come from remorse at some early injustice; she made him, as under the breath of some vague western whiff, homesick and freshly restless; he could really, for the time, have fancied himself stranded with her, on a far shore, during an ominous calm, in a quaint community of shipwreck. Their little interview was like a picnic on a coral strand; they passed each other, with melancholy smiles and looks sufficiently allusive, such cupfuls of water as they had saved. Especially sharp in Strether, meanwhile, was the conviction that his companion really knew, as we have hinted, where she had come out. It was at a very particular place—only *that* she would never tell him; it would be above all what he should have to puzzle for himself. This was what he hoped for, because his interest in the girl wouldn't be complete without it. No more would the appreciation to which she was entitled—so assured was he that the more he saw of her process the more he should see of her pride. She saw, herself, everything; but she knew what she didn't want, and that it was that had helped her. What didn't she want?—there was a pleasure lost for her old friend in not yet knowing, as there would

doubtless be a thrill in getting a glimpse. Gently and sociably she kept that dark to him, and it was as if she soothed and beguiled him in other ways to make up for it. She came out with her impression of Mme. de Vionnet—of whom she had "heard so much"; she came out with her impression of Jeanne, whom she had been "dying to see": she brought it out with a blandness by which her auditor was really stirred that she had been with Sarah early that very afternoon, and after dreadful delays caused by all sorts of things, to call in the Rue de Bellechasse.

At the sound of these names Strether almost blushed to feel that he couldn't have sounded them first—and yet couldn't, either, have justified his squeamishness; Mamie made them easy as he couldn't have begun to do, and yet it could only have cost her more than he should ever have had to spend. It was as friends of Chad's, friends special, distinguished, desirable, enviable, that she spoke of them, and she beautifully carried it off that much as she had heard of them —though she didn't say how or where, which was a touch of her own —she had found them beyond her supposition. She abounded in their praise, and after the manner of Woollett—which made the manner of Woollett a lovable thing again to Strether. He had never so felt the true inwardness of it as when his blooming companion pronounced the elder of the ladies of the Rue de Bellechasse too fascinating for words, and declared of the younger that she was perfectly ideal, a real little monster of charm. "Nothing," she said of Jeanne, "ought ever to happen to her—she's so awfully right as she is. Another touch will spoil her—so she oughtn't to *be* touched."

"Ah, but things, here in Paris," Strether observed, "do happen to little girls." And then, for the joke's and the occasion's sake: "Haven't you found that yourself?"

"That things happen—? Oh, I'm not a little girl. I'm a big battered, blowsy one: *I* don't care *what* happens."

Strether had a pause while he wondered if it mightn't happen that he should give her the pleasure of learning that he found her nicer than he had really dreamed—a pause that ended when he had said to himself that, so far as it at all mattered for her, she had in fact perhaps already made this out. He risked accordingly a different question—though conscious, as soon as he had spoken, that he seemed to place it in relation to her last speech. "But that Mlle. de Vionnet is to be married—I suppose you've heard of *that*."

For all, he then found, he need fear! "Dear, yes; the gentleman was there: M. de Montbron, whom Mme. de Vionnet presented to us."

"And was he nice?"

Mamie bloomed and bridled with her best reception manner. "Any man's nice when he's in love."

It made Strether laugh. "But is M. de Montbron in love—already—with *you*?"

"Oh, that's not necessary—it's so much better he should be so with *her:* which, thank goodness, I lost no time in discovering for myself. He's perfectly gone—and I couldn't have borne it, for her, if he hadn't been. She's just too sweet."

Strether hesitated. "And through being in love too?"

On which, with a smile that struck him as wonderful, Mamie had a wonderful answer. "She doesn't know if she is or not."

It made him again laugh out. "Oh, but *you* do!"

She was willing to take it that way. "Oh yes, I know everything."

"Know that poor little Jeanne doesn't know what's the matter with her?"

It was as near as they came to saying that she was probably in love with Chad; but it was quite near enough for what Strether wanted; which was to be confirmed in his certitude that, whether in love or not, she appealed to something large and easy in the girl before him. Mamie would be fat, too fat, at thirty; but she would always be the person who, at the present sharp hour, had been disinterestedly tender. "If I see a little more of her—as I hope I shall—I think she'll like me enough (for she seemed to like me today), to want me to tell her."

"And *shall* you?"

"Perfectly. I shall tell her the matter with her is that she wants only too much to do right. To do right for her, naturally," said Mamie, "is to please."

"Her mother, do you mean?"

"Her mother first."

Strether waited. "And then?"

"Well, 'then'—Mr. Newsome."

There was something really grand for him in the serenity of this reference. "And last only M. de Montbron?"

"Last only"—she good-humoredly kept it up.

Strether considered. "So that every one, after all, then, will be suited?"

She had one of her few hesitations, but it was a question only of a moment; and it was her nearest approach to being explicit with him about what was between them. "I think I can speak for myself. *I* shall be."

It said indeed so much, told such a story of her being ready to help him, so committed to him that truth, in short, for such use as he might make of it toward those ends of his own with which, patiently and trustfully, she had nothing to do—it so fully achieved all this that he appeared to himself simply to meet it in its own spirit by the last frankness of admiration. Admiration was of itself almost accusatory, but nothing less would serve to show her how nearly he understood. He put out his hand for good-by with a "Splendid, splendid, splendid!" And he left her, with her splendor, still waiting for little Bilham.

To be Continued.

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CONGRESS AND THE CURRENCY.

BY WILLIAM A. NASH, PRESIDENT OF THE CORN EXCHANGE BANK, NEW YORK.

THE salient fact that the *per capita* amount of currency in this country is, at the present moment, higher than it has ever been, and that it has steadily and regularly advanced during the past six years, shows that in a natural way, very little aided by legislation, the wants of the people for an increase of circulating medium—supposing these wants actually exist—have been met; and they have been met by means that seem to me to promise most for the future adjustment and settlement of this question.

In stating briefly my views upon the subject, I offer no apology for assuming Wall Street, the technical name of the monetary centre of the country, to be the place best equipped for a comprehensive view of the real situation as respects money and currency. Were several persons gathered in a room, some oppressed by heat, others uncomfortable from cold, and a third class pleased with the temperature, the arbiter of these conflicting opinions would be, by general consent, the thermometer. This view of Wall Street as the registering instrument of the financial temperature of the country, though trite and oft repeated, maintains its essential soundness amid all the passionate denunciation of those who

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dissent from its registrations, or whose interests are interfered with by its infallible verdict. Every part of the country, every line of business, every shade of political opinion has its representatives, its reporters, its offices, in that famous street, which is the clearing house of all these diverse interests. When it catches with its acute ear the first note of returning prosperity, after a period of depression and insolvency, it is voted as benign by the hosts who are waiting for its favoring indications. When, on the other hand,—and to-day is a pat illustration—it detects excess, and sees with cool and dispassionate eye the evidences of ill-judged expansion, then it is denounced as malignant, disturbing, and an enemy of the true prosperity of the land. It is sufficient to refer to the record of Wall Street pointings in the past, to sustain the position that this vantage ground for judging the business and monetary field is not and cannot be equalled or excelled.

The prejudices against Wall Street are, of course, most active when the conditions of business are most unsatisfactory. The financial bureau of the nation is commonly supposed to be more pure and wise in the proportion of its lack of intimacy with Wall Street men and magnates. For years it has been the policy of most administrations to select a Secretary of the Treasury from among those who have no Wall Street antecedents; and this sensitiveness has been extended to the point of even making a banking experience rather a disqualification for that high office than a recommendation. With that perverseness in the conduct of the public service which is characteristic of republics, and conspicuously so of the American Republic, the qualification of a man for a great public office, like the Secretaryship of the Treasury, seems to be a total lack of experience in the line of duties for which it calls. The Secretary of the Treasury has had, in many instances, to spend a novitiate in education before he has finally grasped the import of his office, and sometimes this process of schooling has occurred at times of stress when the ripest knowledge of finance was demanded. Then, added to the inexpertness of the Secretary, is the insane dread of the contamination of Wall Street, the spot of all others where may be found the men who can give him the most comprehensive views of a national situation. To select a New York man who has been all his life familiar with the cares of finance, and who does not need a pre-

liminary training to enable him to grasp the meaning of a million of dollars, would be a conspicuous departure from hide-bound precedent, amounting to political suicide.

I do not feel, then, in any mood to apologize for views upon the currency situation obtained from the focus of these views, the City of New York and its financial centre. It is not to be denied that other centres will arise in the country, whose importance must be admitted in any judgment on the monetary situation, though Chicago seems at the present time to be the only one that need be considered.

The course of the money market, and by this I mean the Wall Street market, does not indicate, and has not indicated during this year, the necessity for an immediate amendment of our currency laws. To repeat, the *per capita* of circulation has grown steadily since the disturbance of 1893--6. Following on the popular verdict on silver rendered in 1896 by the election of Mr. McKinley, the *per capita,* which had declined from $24.44 in 1892 to $21.10 in 1896, began to rise with a regular precision. This increase is so indicative and remarkable that I quote:

1896	$21.10	1900	$26.94
1897	22.49	1901	27.98
1898	24.66	1902	28.43
1899	25.00	1903	29.04

If these figures evinced a tendency to decline, that might well create a disposition to remedy and meet the loss; but with a conceded growth of the country, there is also a natural increase of the money necessary to handle and encourage that growth. A deficiency and decline in currency would assuredly stifle it. The history of the past four years of unparalleled development and activity, does not show any insufficiency of money to facilitate the operation of business. The rates of interest, it is true, have been on a higher scale than for several years preceding the present outburst of activity, but not higher than was to be expected. Activity in business always stimulates activity in money. The changes in loans are more frequent, the search for funds more persistent, and these inquiries naturally result in raising rates. The cause of high rates in money seems to lie in this persistency of borrowers in seeking for money which has already a myriad of applicants for its favor. When money is offered, as it is in a dull market in all businesses, the rates fall; but when it is sought, as

it has been during the past four or five years, the fact that the rates have not been abnormally high demonstrates, to my mind, the adequacy of the present supply for all legitimate and conservative enterprises and operations, and stamps the demand for asset currency as unnecessary.

In the perfectly proper liquidation which we have witnessed this year, and which has been conducted on lines of the highest ability and financial strength, the question of money has played but a small part in the drama. At no time has the supply been insufficient; at no time have the rates been exacting or high. The perfectly natural recession from a high and inflated situation has been accomplished with a dignity and an exhibition of inherent strength in marked contrast to any other panic which has preceded it. Assuming the use of the word "panic" for such a rectification of financial frontiers to be correct, then the panic of 1903 has been the best behaved of any of our business cyclones, evincing, as it has done, the growing soundness of American methods, and an approach to that ideal conservatism which works towards a correction of excesses and over-trading,—and this in a deliberate and businesslike way, unaccompanied by the rapid and destructive declines that have hitherto marked our readjustments. It would, perhaps, be a little premature to assume that Clearing House certificates have had their day, but certainly the success of recent methods of retrenchment would seem to prove the adequacy of our increased wealth and resources to correct all overgrowths and disproportionate developments. I do not recede from an always strong opinion as to the perfect adaptability of the Clearing House certificates to the needs of the hour; but it would seem as if we had now grown strong enough to meet emergencies in another way, by what might be called the substitution of the homeopathic for the allopathic treatment.

The events of 1903 are an object lesson in currency matters that, to my mind, stamps asset currency as something not to be desired by the conservative, because tending, if adopted, to create an era of inflation from which dignified retirement would be impossible, and to invite a financial collapse.

If the present basis of national bank currency could be maintained and the present volume assured, nothing better could be asked. A national debt is a national blessing when it becomes the basis of a currency so confidently relied upon by the people as that

issued by the national banks. A reduction of taxation sufficient to prevent a further reduction of the national debt is, in my judgment, less objectionable than the elimination of the debt as a money basis, with the forced substitution of other and less satisfactory securities. Once open the door for new standards, and you will not be able to close it until some unwelcome visitors have gained admittance.

It has not escaped attention that the people themselves are taking a hand in currency expansion, to an extent with which bankers more than any other class are familiar. The changes in banking methods are very numerous, and, as the American custom is, they are carried to extravagance and extremes. I refer to the immense increase in bank accounts, and the enormous use of checks as a substitute for currency. In other days, not very remote, the keeping of a bank account was counted an indication of importance not to be unrespected. It was largely confined to business men and firms. In the past few years the increase in the number of individual accounts, of those of women and even minors, has been very great, and still goes on with accelerated rapidity. The use of checks is very large, the amounts are often ridiculously small. Whereas a few years ago a man blushed at drawing a check below twenty-five dollars, the complacency with which these domestic bills of exchange are issued for sums less than five dollars, and even for one dollar, is staggering to the banker accustomed to the old-fashioned regard for propriety in the use of the bank check. Nevertheless, this new habit means a substantial and, I believe, an unsuspected addition to our volume of currency. A five dollar check does the work of a five dollar bill, and becomes an issue of circulating medium. The whole people are engaged in issuing this small style of currency all over the land, and the natural increase of a custom so useful, although from a banker's standpoint so onerous, is sure to meet the want for more currency, which those in a larger field are anxious to provide for by an act for asset currency.

While, then, I have no favorable disposition toward such an act, believing that natural additions to the circulating medium by the coinage of gold and the general co-operation of the check-drawing public will be sufficient to meet our needs, one very important defect in our financial system undoubtedly demands the attention and action of Congress at its approaching session. That

defect lies in the imperfect methods of the United States Treasury in the receiving and disbursement of public funds.

The only monetary disturbance of the past six years that created any anxiety was the crisis of November, 1902, when the accumulations of public money in the Treasury, arising from large payments of duties and the inadequacy of legal provision for their redistribution among the people through the banks, resulted in congestion that threatened for a time to paralyze business. The exertions of Secretary Shaw, then new in office, to release the necessary funds are familiar to all readers. Also familiar are the ingenious and, as some have asserted, questionable methods he was obliged to employ to accomplish this desirable adjustment of an abnormal situation. The weight of opinion is in favor of Secretary Shaw's prompt action, but that there should exist legal doubts as to its propriety, while its wisdom was so heartily commended, brings us to the one great need of legislation at the approaching session.

The removal of this defect is paramount, and is at this time the only action required. Whatever may be the final form of the Currency Bill to be presented, any action which will make the Treasury of the United States a co-operator with the business man, and which will make the hoarding of money by the Government impossible, should receive the support of the press and the people. If we ship money to the West and South to move the crops, it can and does return to the centre which needs it most; if we load ocean steamers with ingots, there is always a possible way to bring them back; but once the useful coin has entered the United States Treasury, it leaves not only hope behind, but a wondering and anxious business community of American bankers and merchants, the victims of their own governmental machinery. The most that can be hoped for from Congress is the correction of this clumsy system. If we must have elasticity, let us begin with the Treasury, and that, I candidly believe, will be enough for our present necessities.

WILLIAM A. NASH.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BANKS.

BY JAMES H. ECKELS, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK, CHICAGO, AND FORMERLY COMPTROLLER OF THE UNITED STATES CURRENCY.

THE advocates of a complete reformation of the country's currency system have in their favor the potent fact that almost every one is agreed that the existing system is unsatisfactory, unscientific and out of harmony with any well-ordered financial policy. Those who content themselves with saying that the present system is just as it ought to be, and that any attempt to enact new laws upon the subject would do irreparable damage to the country, are a small minority, who either take counsel of their fears, are wofully ignorant of the subject, or are mere traditionalists. They are only little less a source of weakness to the country than the men in public life who, while admitting that our whole financial laws are out of balance, yet refuse for political reasons to enact legislation which will at least start the Government in a right direction in its financial and currency policy. This latter class have in recent years undertaken to excuse their indifference to the subject by alleging that financiers are at such variance among themselves that it is impossible for a layman, though a statesman and a legislator, to say what ought to be done.

The allegation is not justified as to not a few important phases of the question. There is practically no disagreement as to the need of emasculating, if not wholly abolishing, the Sub-Treasury. Each year makes it more evident that the Sub-Treasury system works out a continuing embarrassment and loss to every class of business undertaking in the country. If it is to be maintained, its power for evil should be reduced to a minimum. This could be accomplished, and preferably so, by such a revision of our revenue laws as would prevent an unwieldy and unnecessary Treasury surplus, or by keeping such revenue, outside of a small work-

ing balance, on deposit with the commercial banks throughout the country. Upon principle, the Government should not take from the people any more in revenue than is necessary for its proper conduct and the maintenance of its credit. If, however, through enacted statute, it violates this principle, it ought not to add to the harm done thereby by keeping such revenues apart from the daily needs of business life. As carried on to-day, the Government's fiscal policy works a double loss. It deprives the citizen of a part of his legitimate working capital by taking from him an excessive amount through taxation; and, in addition, by hoarding that revenue in the Sub-Treasury, it lessens the ability of the banks to extend to him a credit which would tend to lessen the harmful effects of the evil wrought him in the first instance.

I recognize the fact that we cannot suddenly have enacted sweeping and radical financial legislation without more or less risk of disturbance to the country's business interests. No advocates of financial and currency reform urge that such laws find a place at this time upon the statute-books. They do ask, however, that without further delay a beginning be made, and that that beginning shall be upon right lines; it must be a part of a harmonious whole, which ultimately will give to the country a financial banking and currency system worthy the name.

To this end, I consider of first importance legislation relating to the Sub-Treasury and the making of bank deposits by the Secretary of the Treasury. This legislation we should have at once. There is no good reason why customs receipts should not be deposited with the National Banks, which are under governmental supervision, especially when the hoarding of such receipts takes so much of the life-blood of trade out of the country's commercial arteries. They should be deposited upon terms which comport with the ordinary rules that control in business life. There is nothing unduly sacred in either Federal governmental revenue or Federal governmental deposit. The income gathered by the representatives of the nation ought not to be treated differently from that gathered by the representatives of the State, county, city, or village. The revenues of these latter governments do not go into a strong-box maintained by them, but into the banks of the country, just as do those of the merchant, subject to check, and thus help in the daily business of the people.

It is a curious fact that the Federal Government, which con-

trols in the most minute degree the National Banks, demonstrates by its acts the least confidence in them. The Government maintains its own safety-deposit vault for the care of its revenues, and uses the banks only in a secondary way. When it does so use them, it insists that its deposit shall be placed on a footing entirely different from that which the bank accords its other depositing customers. In the first instance, it insists that if it use the bank at all a part of the deposits of the merchant, manufacturer and laborer shall be invested in securities which shall be held specifically for its benefit.

Then it imposes a further condition, that the security shall be of its own issue, namely, Government bonds. It must also, under a strict construction of the law, have a specific reserve held against such secured deposit. The application of such rules to each deposit account in a bank would make banking impossible. By the enforcement of these rules it works out a situation of which its own representatives complain, but that complaint is lodged against the bank. In demanding specifically a deposit of Government bonds to secure Government deposits, it creates a demand for these bonds, when it makes any considerable number of depositories, with the result that the price of the bonds is so enhanced, the amount of them being limited, as to make it more profitable for the banks to sell the bonds than to retain them and keep out circulation based on them. These depositories are, as a rule, more numerously created, or the deposits therein increased, at a time when the country's business interests are suffering from financial stringency. The very act designed to relieve the situation defeats its own purpose; for the banks, finding greater profit in the price added to the bonds by the demand suddenly created for them through the Government's action, sell their bonds and retire their circulation.

When this situation arises, the banks are subject to much criticism. There is, at such times, more or less talk of governmental blacklisting, want of patriotism upon the part of the bankers, and kindred characterization. I fail to understand why patriotism should be invoked against a banker who invests his property in selling money and credits for profit, any more than against the merchant or manufacturer who undertakes to dispose of his wares so as to increase rather than diminish his estate.

If bank-note issues are to be based on a deposit of Government

bonds with the Treasurer of the United States, then Government deposits, if they are to be specifically secured, should be secured by bonds other than Government ones. The Government could avoid the self-created embarrassment to its own efforts of aid by entirely depending upon other high-grade bonds as security for its deposit, thus leaving Government bonds to the banks for circulation purposes only. If this course were not pursued, a plan could be adopted by which no bond security at all should be taken, but the banks be required instead to pay interest on any sums held for the Government. The banks cannot afford both to give Government bond security and pay interest on Government deposits, and they will not. It cannot be expected that banks will be conducted as purely eleemosynary institutions. Their legitimate function is to render aid to the business undertakings of a community for hire. They are organized for the purpose of buying and selling money and credits for a proper compensation, which creates a fund out of which the shareholders are recompensed for the risk incurred in their venturing their capital. To take banks out of the class of profit-seeking undertakings and place them in that of charity-bestowing institutions, would be to make the business an impossible one. This statement applies to whatever they may do, whether it be the selling of bonds when the price warrants their so doing, even though it involves the retirement of circulating bank-notes, or the selling of money and credit to the business man for a fair rate of interest return. The banker does not deserve to be charged with lack of patriotism and threatened with blacklisting because he follows the course pursued in all business. The banker ranks in patriotism with the average man in business, and certainly with the man who holds a political position. He has always had full faith in the integrity of his Government's credit when others doubted, and he has never hesitated about placing his means at its disposal when others were draining its resources.

The remedy for the embarrassed position in which, each recurring year, the business of the country finds itself is not in whining, threatening or talking mere sentiment about a false idea of what constitutes patriotism. It lies in courageously recognizing the defects which are patent and correcting them. A long step in this direction will have been taken when the Government realizes that it is primarily at fault in not carrying on

its business in accordance with the rules employed, and successfully so, by every large and profitable corporation, to say nothing of the ventures of the individual citizen. It must treat the banks as aids to business, organized for profit, and not as institutions under its control to be hampered by hard and fast rules which repress their usefulness and make them non-responsive to the varying needs of the business world. The Executive officials of the Government and the lawmakers must be brave enough and wise enough to put aside all political considerations, and let it be known by their acts that they realize how essential the bank is in the proper advancing of all business interests. They cannot do this more emphatically than by reversing the position of distrust which their limited use of the banks now indicates, and taking one which places the Government in its banking relations upon exactly the same basis as that of any other corporation's relations to the banks of the country. If the banks as conducted are safe enough to be made the channel through which pass the infinite number of transactions and the enormous wealth of ninety millions of individual citizens in their individual capacity, they are certainly safe enough to transact wisely and well the vastly smaller business of the citizens' government.

A recognition of the pre-eminent position of the bank as a factor in business by making the Government its customer, and the practical elimination of the Sub-Treasury as a disturbing factor, should be followed by legislation which would give proper vitality to the note-issuing function of which it ought to be possessed. It has already been stated that the function of the bank is to sell money and credits to those who need them. The commercial bank which, under proper regulations and control, cannot sell its credit in the form of bank-notes, where that form best answers the purpose of the business to be transacted, fails to discharge properly one of the important objects for which it was created. It is as essential for the economic transfer of property that, in a great many instances, we have the bank-note, as it is that we have the draft and the bill of exchange, or any other instrument of credit designed for this purpose. Our banking laws do not recognize this fact, except in a very limited way. By a statute which is fixed and immovable, the banks can issue these smaller instruments of credit in the form of bank-notes, if they can obtain Government bonds to secure them when issued and

they feel assured that the price of the same will return a fair profit. They cannot issue a single note with special reference to business needs and conditions, and they do not. The enacted statute fixes in advance what volume of note issue the business needs of the country can have, instead of the business needs of the country fixing the amount from day to day which will meet them. And this statute was placed upon the books forty years ago. To-day's bank-note issue is dependent upon the maintenance of a public bonded debt, a favoritism the banks do not need and do not ask. Its volume depends upon the price of Government bonds, an absurd regulator of what amount of small credit instruments, in the form of notes, a bank shall furnish to the country's changing business requirements. It is hedged about with a controlling statute which permits but three millions of these notes to be retired in any one month, whether or no they are needed in circulation; and there is the added embarrassment which prohibits, until six months have elapsed, the issue of new notes to the banks retiring their circulation, no matter what sudden emergency may have arisen requiring a large volume of notes to be used. The Government not only regulates all these things, but adds to the frequent embarrassment of the situation by issuing its own notes in the form of demand obligations to compete with the National bank-notes.

There is but one way to correct this impotency of beneficial power upon the part of the banks in the exercise of their note-issuing function, and that is to put the banks gradually in possession of the right of issuing notes against their commercial assets. No radical steps should be taken in this direction; but, well safeguarded as to speedy redemption at convenient points, and with a general safety-fund to guarantee redemption immediately upon the failure of any bank, these issues would be as safe as need be in the careful conduct of business. I do not believe in an emergency currency, though it be an asset currency regulated by a very high tax. It is far wiser to give banks the power that will prevent an emergency, than to give them something that is a proclamation that they are in dire straits.

If an unsecured note is safe in an emergency regulated by a five or six per cent. tax, it is safe when no emergency exists without such a tax. I cannot conceive of any bank's taking out circulation and paying a six-per-cent. tax thereon. Such a statute

would be in effect a statute to prevent, rather than to aid, the issuing of bank-notes. As the bank-note issuing function now stands, it is confessedly inadequate in every phase of its operation. The solution of the difficulties which confront it is in an asset issue. The safety of the notes can be provided for, as can their speedy and sure redemption. Heretofore, banks have not been kept from failing because they have had a bond-secured circulation, but because of wise and conservative management, re-enforced by the confidence reposed in them by the people and the increasing wealth of the country.

The danger of inflation is an exaggerated one. Bank-notes will be issued only when needed, and loaned as safely and conservatively as they are to-day. They will be redeemed much more speedily, for better facilities will be afforded therefor. They will not be put out indiscriminately nor given away free to every passer-by. They will be issued when existing values and business require them, and they will come in when the need that called them into being has passed away. It must not be assumed that, because the managers of a bank are clothed with the right to issue a small instrument of credit in the form of a promise to pay, they will deliberately set about to see how rapidly they can ruin their bank, bring disaster upon the community in which they reside, and dissipate their own accumulations.

In conclusion, I wish to add that the question of financial banking and currency reform is not sectional in its character. Its need is manifest in the West quite as much as in the East, in places where manufacturing is done or agricultural industry pursued, as in Wall Street where stocks based upon the country's greatest undertakings are bought and sold. What the financial centres need, the country at large needs, and *vice versa;* nd the banking and currency system which is inadequate in its operations to meet the requirements of all the varied kinds of business which make up the daily activities of our people, is not the kind we should be content to have for this nation. It is not to the credit of the American people that, through indifference, political fear, or clinging to mere traditionalism, we are willing to undergo the danger of financial disaster which each year at this season threatens, because of our maintaining unchanged a thoroughly wrong note-issuing principle.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

THE GORDIAN KNOT IN MACEDONIA.

BY STEPHEN BONSAL.

THE ghastly state of affairs in Macedonia, which has at last fastened the attention of the civilized world, is difficult to understand in the light of the conflicting reports, and yet more difficult to explain. However, it is certain that the area of savage warfare is rapidly increasing and that it is the scene of a warfare only possible to men enslaved by racial hatred and religious fanaticism. To-day, all Southeastern Europe is concerned; to-morrow, so far-reaching are the interests involved, the war may become world-wide. But who at this late day would cast the horoscope of the Eastern Question?

"Why do not the people of Macedonia leave off killing one another and burning each other's houses, and do what's right?" was the complaint made in my hearing a few days ago by a statesman who has made history in the Western World. This inquiry at least is not difficult to answer. The Christian Slavs and the Moslem Turks and the other ethnical flotsam and jetsam to be found in Macedonia are doing, one and all, what they firmly believe to be right. The Christians point to Joshua, the Turks to Mohammed. If they could only be inoculated with the virus of the modern disease of scepticism, and leave off so fervently doing right according to their own consciences, there might be peace in the Balkans, and certainly the population would increase. The present war of extermination which does not permit of description is inspired by the spiritual advisers of the unfortunate contestants, and full warrant for it is to be found in scriptures which are regarded by both sides as Holy Writ.

The present troubles are not new and their causes are far to seek. They all go back to that dark day for Southeastern Europe, some 500 years ago, when, as the epic of the Slav race tells

us with Homeric beauty, the Sultan Murad and the Ottoman Turks triumphed over King Lazar and his mighty men on the dark field of Kossova—one of the few decisive battle-grounds, and one which can be easily visited to-day by means of Baron Hirsch's circuitous, but civilizing, railway, in the heart of the disturbed vilayets. However, it is only proposed here to take up the Macedonian question from the treaty of San Stefano in 1878, when it entered upon its present phase. In negotiating this treaty, so memorable, although many of its provisions were afterwards nullified, General Ignatieff, who had perhaps done more than any other one man to bring about the Russo-Turkish war, to liberate the little brothers, the Southern Slavs, who had suffered so long and so much at the hands of Turkish tyranny and Moslem fanaticism, secured not only the practical independence of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, which till then had been Turkish provinces, but also the independence and the union of that Greater Bulgaria, (the realization of his political dream), which included not only the provinces mentioned, but those districts of European Turkey known to-day as the Vilayets of Old Servia and of Kossova and something more—territory which to-day is known generally but incorrectly as Macedonia.

There was much to be said in favor of Ignatieff's plan, although, or possibly because, it entailed the practical dismemberment of Turkey in Europe. In the light of subsequent events, it is clear it would have been well for the peace of the world had his plan not been vetoed by Austria and by Great Britain.

As is well known, the negotiations that had taken place at San Stefano between the victorious Russian and the conquered Turk, were reopened at the Congress of the Powers in Berlin, a few months later, with very different results. At San Stefano the Turks were beaten to a standstill, and the invading army was within fifteen miles of that Holy of Holies (throughout the Slav world), the Mosque of St. Sophia. There was no force in sight, upon land at least, to keep the Russians out of Stamboul—nothing to prevent them, if they but persisted, from driving the dervishes out of the shrine, and making it a Christian church again; and this had been one of the most resounding and persistent battle-cries of the War of Liberation. The Turks beaten made every possible concession to save their capital. Those concessions, which had reference to the Macedonian question, were,

as I have stated, the practical freedom of Bulgaria, under a Christian prince, and the carving out of a Greater Bulgaria from those districts of Turkey which are called, somewhat loosely, Macedonia.

Of course, these changes entailed a complete readjustment of political power and of position in the Balkans, and indeed throughout Southeastern Europe; and it was rather in the light of the political advantages that by them, it was thought, would accrue to Russia, than with a desire for the welfare of the Christians, that these clauses of the San Stefano Treaty were reviewed by the Congress of Berlin. In the months that intervened between the signing of the treaty within sight of Constantinople and the meeting of the Congress of the Powers in Berlin, a great many things had happened; and, what was more important, a great many things which had happened became known, and were appreciated. The most important of these disclosures, in its bearings upon the councils of Europe and the protocols before the Congress, was the knowledge that Russia had been "bled white," to use a Bismarckian expression, in the Turkish war, and that the Great White Tzar, when he presented himself through his representatives at the German capital was, *vis-à-vis* to the coalition of the Western Powers, well-nigh as helpless as the Turks had been at San Stefano. This condition of affairs could have but one result, and Russia was robbed of the fruits of her victory by the influence of Austria and Great Britain. Ignatieff's dream of a Greater Bulgaria came to naught, and the Christian inhabitants of what we call Macedonia were handed over again to the tender mercies of the Turks. Of course, the Padishah promised reforms, and it was stated that the government of the Christians would in the future be so just and equitable as to give no cause for complaint. How impossible it was to carry out this promise should appear even from the short account of the religious and racial conditions prevailing in Macedonia which follows.

The fact is that Macedonia presents a political and administrative problem of the highest order. And, further, so far as I know, no man properly equipped and conversant with the languages, the history and the idiosyncrasies of the peoples of Southeastern Europe has entered upon a study of the many confusing phases of the problem with anything like a dispassionate mind. I feel justified in saying that every description of Macedonia that

has been written in the last twenty years is either a campaign document, or merely the diary of a journey by some traveller from Western Europe—sometimes, it is true, written without prejudice, but always superficially.

I have spent some months in this perplexing country, have crossed again and again the length and the breadth of it on horseback, the only way one can do so, from Prisrend to Prishtina, and from Scopia to Okrida and Monastir; and I have talked directly or through more or less reliable interpreters with the people of all nationalities and classes, but I would not venture to say where the Slavs or the Greeks or the Roumeliotes or the Albanians are in the majority, or to answer the moot question whether the Slavs who are met with belong to the Bulgarian or to the Servian family of that race, or whether it is for the protection and the blessing of the Patriarch of the Greek Church or of the Exarch of the Bulgarian Church that the Christians are yearning. However, without presuming to speak with authority, some idea may be given of the ethnical odds and ends and of the Church waifs and fragments encountered by the traveller in this distressful country.

There is at least one thing that can be said, without fear of contradiction, of travel in Macedonia. Nowhere else in the world does the polyglot have such an opportunity for drawing upon his resources of language. Within a radius of ten miles you will find as many languages spoken. The traveller you may meet by the way will speak to you in the language he has received from his forefathers, but in no other. Nothing is more remarkable than the tenacity with which all the groups refuse to pollute their lips with the crooked words of their immediate neighbors, with whom it would appear that they have been living on a Kilkenny-cat basis from the beginning of the ages. One of the strangest of your surprises is to learn that all the horse-dealers and jobbers with whom the traveller, and especially the correspondent, must come in daily, and not always pleasant, contact are Spanish Jews, who have been living in this secluded corner of the globe ever since their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula. They know a great deal about horses, and are said to be sharper in a horse deal than the Gypsies. If you can make your arrangements with them in the language of Cervantes, a quaint version of which is their household speech, it will delight them greatly, and

you are apt to get the best horse in the stable. There are also a number of Levantine Italians peddling in the interior, and fishing along the Albanian coast, engaged very much as you find them in the Caribbean and South-American waters. So far as I know, their presence is the only justification for the close attention with which the Italian Government is following the developments in Macedonia, unless it be that the King, Victor Emanuel, by his marriage with the beautiful Montenegrin princess, considers himself thereby involved in the family quarrel of the Slavs.

There are Greeks, of course, both in Macedonia and in Thessaly, though I met by no means so great a number of them as have other travellers, with whose relative impartiality I have been impressed. They are more numerous in the towns than in the country. They have many showy and many charming qualities, but they lack the sturdiness as well as the stolidity of the Bulgarian Slavs, whom they call "oxen" in contempt. It was, in part, to rescue these submerged brethren, that the unhappy people of Greece were driven into the war of 1897. A very large number of the troops that had no difficulty in sending the disorganized Greeks sprinting back to Larissa, especially those in the army of Edhem Pasha, so long the military governor of Macedonia, were recruited in that country, which fact would go to prove to any one but an incorrigible member of the Slav Revolutionary Committees, that there are quite a few Turks, or at least Mohammedans, left in Macedonia, and that their fighting qualities are unimpaired. It cannot be denied, though it is a fact which the Slav agitators do not dwell upon, that the Mohammedan population of the Macedonian vilayets has largely increased during the last twenty years. Some attempt has been made by the Sultan to bring colonists from his Asiatic dominions, but the greater part of the increase is due to the advent of peasants and small farmers from Bulgaria, Roumelia, Bosnia, and the other provinces which have been taken from the Turk. These refugees are generally animated by the most fierce hatred of the Christians with whom they have been living for years in unpleasant proximity, and by whom, it is certain, they have often been treated with great unfairness. The estimate usually given, that four-fifths of the people of Macedonia are Christians, is, perhaps only in view of this recent immigration, considerably exaggerated. Another fraction of the

Macedonian population is formed by the Roumeliotes, locally Zinzares, of undoubted Latin stock. They speak much the same language as the Roumanians, and they, too, claim descent from the colonies and legions of the Roman Empire that were engulfed by the invading barbarians. They hate both the Slavs and the Turks, impartially betraying each in turn, as serves their purpose best. They look forward to the day when they will come into their own again, and, in the mean time, they turn to Bucharest for light and leading. There they are encouraged in all their trouble-making proclivities; not that it is at all likely that King Charles hopes to claim them as his own on the day of final settlement in the Balkans. Doubtless their agitation is fostered for "trading purposes," and in the end they will be relinquished for people of Roumanian stock nearer to the present confines of the kingdom on the Danube.

When it comes to the larger factors in the war of races, I shall have to speak with greater reserve, the elements of the Macedonian mosaic not admitting of that concise, clean-cut description which is so pleasing to the reader. In the districts of Kossova and of Old Servia, the population is, as to numbers, of Slav origin, to an overwhelming degree. They speak Slav dialects which, in some districts and communities, show the closest relation with Bulgarian as it is spoken in the Principality to-day; while, in other districts, the resemblance to modern Servian is striking. Taking my own personal experiences for the little they are worth, I must say that the great majority of the Christians I met in Macedonia looked like Bulgars, and said they were of Bulgarian stock. In Albania, especially around Jakova, the Arnaut and Moslem Albanian element is very strong. Here they have the upper hand, which, as recent action shows, is a whip-hand over their Christian neighbors, and without foreign intervention they are apt to keep it. With the exception of the Albanians, all of the pieces in the mosaic—the Bulgaro-Slavs, the Serbo-Slavs, the Greeks, and the Roumeliotes—have during the last decade been engaged with all their energies in coddling a national revival or a tribal renaissance. In putting their patriotic designs into execution, they and their backers from abroad seem to have been impressed with the formula of one of our great politicians, which was to "claim everything." Hence the conflicting colored maps and schedules of population, language spoken, and wealth of the

country, which are unfolded before the intelligent stranger who has come to write up Macedonia. These tables of statistics and picture-writings resemble nothing half so much as the estimated majorities heralded by our campaign prophets, from the opposing camps, before election day. And, unhappily, they, too, suffer from the same structural defect—some of them at least must prove to be incorrect.

These researches into the nationality of the submerged Christian in Macedonia, together with the rivalries of the churches, of the Greek Patriarch and the Bulgarian Exarch, certainly exasperate, if they are not entirely responsible for, the reign of terror which exists. I was standing in the market place of Scopia, with a fervent disciple of Goptchevitch, who had been sent down from Belgrade by the Servian Government that is daily growing more envious of the success of the Bulgarians in reclaiming lost brethren. My enthusiastic friend asked a poor devil who came along, leading a donkey loaded with fagots of wood, what was his nationality. "*Ja sam Bougarin,*" ("I am a Bulgarian,") came the reply, to the anger of the Servian propagandist, who was not to be discouraged, however; and I left him explaining to the simple country lout, how he, the teacher, knew from the way in which the peasant pronounced and inflected his words that he was not a Bulgarian, a belief into which he was born, but in reality a Servian. "Howl with the wolves, or you will be eaten up" is a canny Slav proverb, in which great stock is taken in Macedonia. Tenacious in some ways, these people are weak and pliable in others. Half an hour after he met the propagandist, the wood-peddler was convinced that he and his forebears had been Servians from the beginning of time. Incidents such as these have proved to the Slav Revolutionary Committees, those drawing their resources from Belgrade, as well as those which find their inspiration and their sinews of war in Sophia, what political advantages may accrue from having energetic and persuasive emissaries in the disputed districts. You can apparently make anything you please out of the Macedonian, only he must be caught young.

Achmet Ayoub, the last Marshal of the Turkish Empire, who commanded in Macedonia for many years, took a malicious pleasure in telling a story of the people of a district who were perfectly contented and happy until the propagandists came along, and told them that they were Christians and downtrodden; and I

am inclined to believe that the old soldier's anecdote was not without some foundation in fact. It is quite probable that, up to the Russian war for the liberation of the Southern Slavs, the people of Macedonia lost no sleep in wondering to what division or subdivision of the great Slav family they belonged. Now, however, they think and talk of but little else. Certainly, in the songs and sagas that are handed down in Macedonia from father to son and from mother to daughter, there survives perhaps an exaggerated idea of the glory and power of the ancient Slav empire, but these memories were formerly cultivated as sentiments, rather than as a platform or a political force. Until the awakening suggestion came from the northern Slavs, who were in the enjoyment of comparative freedom and more or less liberal institutions, it is probable that the Slavs of Macedonia had but little appreciation of how unfortunate their lot was, politically. Of course, they were, and had been for ages, simply the slaves, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, for the Turks. You can tell what their position in the land was, even to-day, by the furtive aspect of their villages, hidden away in the valleys and on the hillsides, inconveniently distant from the highroads, where the Turkish lord and the tax-collector travelled with their robber following. These villages are all alike, the houses made of loose, unmortared stones, piled up one upon another, with many apertures through which the cold wind howls. But the most suggestive thing about these hovels are the doors, which are not much larger than the average entrance to the kennel of a good-sized dog. "Why so small a door?" I inquired. "To keep out the Turkish lord," was the invariable answer.

Quite as many Macedonians as Bulgarians took part in the Emancipation war of 1877, which, they thought, could only end in their liberation from the tyranny of the Turk. Indeed, some irregular troops recruited under Boris Panitza in Macedonia greatly distinguished themselves. The decision of the Berlin Congress, adverse to their claim of independence, or at least autonomy, while a great disappointment, did not crush them, and they immediately began the Revolutionary Propaganda, the results of which are so apparent to-day. Naturally,—in view of its great success in achieving the freedom of Bulgaria in fifteen years, these Revolutionists followed closely the method of Katkoff and the Pan Slavs of Moscow. Young Macedonian boys of

promise were educated in the Bulgarian schools, or in Russia, and then returned to their homes bound by the most solemn pledges to agitate and to teach their neighbors the Gospel of the Pan-Slav.

The proper relations of the Bulgarian Government with this revolutionary movement have always been most difficult to preserve. On the one hand, to maintain popularity at home, and the affection of the Macedonians, it was necessary to support the Revolution; on the other hand, this support had to be so secret as to escape the vigilance of the Turkish authorities, and of the other Powers interested in the maintenance of peace in the Balkans. This difficult course Stambouloff pursued with marked ability during his premiership,—only Boris Panitza fell a victim to his correct attitude. Panitza never could understand the necessity of caution or diplomatic reserve on the part of the Government, and he was forever making incursions into Macedonia at the most inconvenient moments, until finally Stambouloff had him arrested on the charge of high treason, and, after the most summary trial, he was shot.

We now come to the Albanians, who have been taking such a high hand in the recent disturbances, and who are probably the most irreconcilable and certainly the most formidable element in the situation. They live in large numbers in Albania proper along the sea, and are scattered throughout the western districts of Macedonia. "Where the sword is, there is the faith," said the Albanians centuries ago, when, together with the Pomaks of Rhodope, they were suddenly converted by the hard-fighting Turks to the faith of Mohammed. Like most converts, they are very fanatical. Of the origin of their race we know little, and up to the present no chief has appeared to fan the flame of a national revival, nor a meddlesome Power to recognize in them long lost brothers. They are still awaiting the coming of a second Scander Beg. However, they have proved themselves, particularly in guerilla warfare, the best fighting men the Sultan has in his European dominions. Whenever, as now, the question of making further concessions to the Christian populations is raised, the Albanians have ever, as now, shown themselves to be the most uncompromising of the faithful. To-day, their attitude, which approaches open revolt, is a cause of more grave concern to the Porte than the rising of the Christian communities.

Only those who are ignorant of the present condition of his empire and of the history of the Turk since the treaty of 1856, when his dominions and power were recognized and guaranteed anew, can question the correctness of the diagnosis made by the doctors in diplomacy who to-day, with averted gaze, are retiring from the bedside, and leaving the Sick Man of Europe in the hands of the military surgeons. In fifty years or rather less, every half-way measure and compromise that the ingenious brain of the West could devise has been applied to help the Turkish Empire, with all its incongruous elements and irreconcilable antagonisms, to masquerade about, if but for a few months longer, as a "going concern." But to-day all agree that the only possible salvation is to be sought in the knife, and many of the invalid's former friends would bear with Christian resignation a fatal termination of the ordeal. Unhappily, there is not anything like the same unanimity in the councils of Christendom as to who should perform the operation and who present the benevolent anæsthetic. Certainly, it can truthfully be said, that not only every honest ameliorative measure has been essayed and proved without benefit by reason of the idiosyncrasies of the exalted patient, but also that the wardrobe of sham and political humbug, out of which so many cunningly contrived makeshifts have been drawn, is at last empty.

And in one more important detail the situation is simplified—there is not a single Government of those concerned that wishes to give the Turk another chance, as they did with such disastrous results in former days of acute crisis. Even Lord Salisbury recanted with the cynical phrase: "We placed our money on the wrong horse." Although the Bulgaro-Slav revolutionists are endeavoring, by fair means and foul, to force the hand of Europe and compel intervention, the Austro-Russian understanding would still seem to be in control of the course of events. This entente, however, it must be admitted, is a very slender safeguard of peace. As the traditional policy of the Muscovite and the *Drang nach Osten* of the Hapsburg are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable, the understanding can survive only as long as its sphere of action is confined to paper reforms and mere palliatives. Perhaps it will produce some more Christian Vice-Governors, the ludicrous *Moavins* whose acquiescence in every suggestion that came from Stamboul earned for them all the de-

risive epithet of "yes-men." It may be taken as axiomatic, without crediting all the news or one-half of it whether from Christian or Turkish sources, that to-day, wherever the Turkish power predominates, the Christians are being massacred, men, women, and children, and that, where the Christians are strongest, the medallion of slaughter is merely reversed. But, with three hundred and fifty thousand Turkish troops in the province, the places where the Christians can maintain the upper hand must be few and far between.

It is still urged by some who draw back from the surgical treatment of the Gordian knot, that a cessation of anarchy and a relief, however temporary, might be brought about by a joint occupation of the disturbed provinces by Austro-Russian forces. Such an occupation might be possible, though it would strain possibility well-nigh to the breaking point, were it not for the Albanians. It is as sure as anything can be which has not already taken place, that they would not acquiesce in this arrangement. They would themselves resist invasion, and by their influence in the Sultan's palace, where for many years the free Albanians have been his most trusted guards, they might induce the Commander of the Faithful to throw down the gage of battle. And the logic of events would be on their side. The joint occupation of the Macedonian vilayets would mean, sooner or later, but inevitably, the disruption of the Turkish Empire in Europe, and possibly in Asia as well. The chances of the Turks in battle are very considerable, as all military critics are aware; and they are considerably heightened by the fact, which no one will dispute, that the Austro-Russian understanding would be dissolved at the first hostile shot. Another vital concession to the Christians might cost Abdul Hamid his throne, and be the signal for the disintegration of his empire, while a Holy War might consolidate it. It is generally recognized that the Turkish army, as a fighting machine, has become a very important factor in any settlement of the Eastern Question. It should not be forgotten for a moment that something like three-quarters of the annual expenditure of the Turkish Government has of recent years been for the purchase of arms and munitions of war. The world stood amazed at the untutored valor of the soldiers and the genius of the leaders who defended the Shipka passes and the trenches about Plevna. For twenty years, Von der Goltz Pasha and other

distinguished German officers have been at work in developing the Turks' remarkable natural aptitude for things military—with what success Bulgaria, who is being pushed into the ring by her agitators and politicians, aided by what is apparently the inevitable course of events, may shortly furnish an object-lesson.

To-day the question is, and the answer is still hidden in the future, Who will prove the Alexander to this Gordian knot? With one accord the Slavs of Southeastern Europe turn to the Emperor Nicholas, the grandson of Alexander, the Emancipator of serfs and the Liberator of the Bulgarians. "Salvator!" they cry, in the quaint phraseology of their liturgies, as they acclaim him alone worthy to bear the Cross in the war with the Turks. And though the peace-loving Czar hesitates and his advisers point to the splendid ingratitude that was the sole guerdon of their last crusade, and also to the embarrassing situation in the Far East of Asia, there is a force in Russia before which if fully exerted the Great White Czar needs must bend, and that is the sentiment of Pan-Slavism and the feeling of solidarity with those from whom in the darker ages the Russians received their Scriptures and their saints. The Holy War may not only come at the call of the chief priest of Islam and the fanatical *softas* of Stamboul; John of Cronstadt, or some other fervid priest of the north, may proclaim a crusade, to save what is left of the Christian congregation at Philippi to whom St. Paul preached, and to safeguard the Christian churches in Macedonia which sent St. Cyril and Methodius to carry the hope of salvation to Russia.

STEPHEN BONSAL.

SOME CO-OPERATING CAUSES OF NEGRO LYNCHING.

BY HENDERSON M. SOMERVILLE, FORMERLY ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF ALABAMA.

COLUMNS have been written on the subject of lynching, by all sorts of people, expressing a variety of conflicting views.

The recent letter of President Roosevelt to Governor Durbin, of Indiana, alludes to the peculiarly hideous form so often taken by mob violence when colored men are its victims, "on which occasion," the writer observes, "the mob seem to lay most weight not on the crime, but on the color of the criminal."

No one can successfully justify the practice of lynching either white or black men. Yet the practice is one which varies, in the viciousness and barbarity of its features, according to the character of the crime to be expiated and the mode of its expiation. Hanging and shooting are bad enough; but burning, torture and mutilation are inexcusable, barbarous and without the shadow of apology. The sentiment of the best men in the South, including that of ex-slaveholders, is outspoken in denunciation of the practice, as shown constantly in executive messages, addresses before bar associations, journalistic essays, and sermons in the pulpits. The letter of the President will accomplish much in supporting this growing public sentiment upholding "the majesty of the law."

Why, then, it may be inquired, is this species of mob law so frequently resorted to, whether in Texas or Vermont, Alabama or Indiana, Mississippi or Illinois, Georgia or Delaware, South Carolina or New Jersey, or, as recently, in the distant State of Washington.

The celebrated Vigilance Committees of California, which in 1849 took the law into their own hands, trying, convicting and

executing many alleged criminals, were mere lynching mobs. So were the citizens of New Orleans, who rose in their wrath a few years ago and, for self-protection, stamped out the nefarious clan known as the Italian Mafia, by hanging its prominent promoters, after a jury had failed, from sheer cowardice, to convict and consign them to the gallows. Still less justifiable, perhaps, was the action of the white mob which, in Colonial days, burned and hanged a score or more of black men in the streets of New York city, under the alleged suspicion of a smouldering insurrection, which the calmer judgment of historians now condemns as having been entirely unfounded. Apologies have been offered for these violations of law, which, even if insufficient, deserve serious attention.

These were instances of volcanic and passionate outbursts of large communities, approximately whole peoples, who, as observed by Edmund Burke in reference to the American revolutionists, could not be made the subjects of criminal indictment. In this respect they differ from the smaller mobs which are now accustomed to rescue criminals from the custody of sheriffs and summarily lynch them. It is interesting to inquire impartially as to the co-operating factors which have led to this alarming evil. The writer has given close study to this subject during a professional and judicial career in the State of Alabama of some thirty years, and has noted some facts to which little attention seems to have been paid in the controversial discussions of the press.

It is true that most of the lynchings in the South have been of negroes, and a partisan press has sought to pervert this fact to the political and moral disadvantage of that section, without making allowance for the vast black population of the Southern States, reported by the last census to be about 8,000,000. The recent lynchings and persecution of negroes in several of the Northern and Western States, however, show human nature to be quite similar in all sections, when under the same provocation or excitement.

A plausible apology often urged for these anarchistic procedures is the tardiness of the law in bringing criminals to justice. This is caused by too infrequent terms of the trial courts, and the legal duty imposed on the higher courts of reversing convictions for technical errors of law, either in the admission of illegal evidence or in giving improper charges to the juries at the

nisi prius trials. A popular distrust is thus created of the established machinery of criminal procedure. These defects are capable of being remedied, as was recently proved in Alabama. The new constitution adopted in that State two years ago, and the legislation carrying it into effect, have produced a decided improvement in this particular. The Governor is authorized to call special terms for the speedy trial of criminals, including lynchers, and to summarily remove sheriffs from office for negligent failure to afford protection to defendants in their custody. The result is, that there have recently been few, if any, cases of mob violence in that State, and public opinion is rapidly crystallizing in favor of a more vigorous maintenance of law and order. Governor Jelks, in a message to the Alabama Legislature, a few days ago, calls attention to the gratifying fact that only one instance of mob violence had occurred in that State during the past year.

There are other co-operating causes, however, productive of these popular outbreaks, of greater potency than mere procrastination in the administration of justice by the courts. Among these we cannot ignore the existence of racial differences and prejudices which are as indelible as the mark of Cain or the ancient curse of Ham. This force has asserted itself the world over, in bloody massacres, as of the Chinese in California, and of the Jews in Russia and Bulgaria. It is known that the Ethiopians were accustomed to paint the devil white. Stanley, the African explorer, narrates that his negro guide in a certain journey removed himself to the windward side of his white employer, giving as an excuse that the negroes of Africa objected to the odor of the white man's person. So-called "coon songs" are no less popular in New York and Chicago than in New Orleans and Charleston. The white men in our navy are protesting against being made to mess with the blacks. The name of no colored person has ever appeared in the roster of the so-called "Four Hundred"; nor do we hear of the color line being ignored at the "grand balls" of society. This prejudice, deemed by many to be unreasonable, is a force that must be reckoned with, nevertheless, in the solution of all race problems. It cannot be annihilated or destroyed by the device of legislative enactments. It may be measurably modified in due course of time, by the invocation of reason, the advance of education, the cultivation of

a sense of justice, and an appeal to the light of Heaven afforded by the Beatitudes.

It has been long observed that the crime for which most of these lynchings occur in the South is the forcible violation of white women by negroes, or attempts to perpetrate this most diabolical of all crimes. There are only some six or eight States in which this offence is made legally punishable by death; and Alabama is one of these. It is a curious fact that few or no crimes of this character occur in those portions of the South which are known as the Black Belt, where the negro population numerically predominates in a large ratio. In these sections, the negro vote has been eliminated as a controlling political factor, such as it was in the dark era of reconstruction and carpet-bag rule. This is admitted to have been an illegal and corrupt procedure; nevertheless, it is often justified as the only alternative to the self-expatriation and coerced abandonment of their homes by the impoverished Southerners who had lost all but their honor in the lottery of a civil war. They felt that the wholesale enfranchisement of the ignorant and servile negro, by the enactment of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, had been accomplished by partisan politicians as a vindictive act of punishment for attempted secession. It had been urged by Charles Sumner as a device to elevate the emancipated slaves in all respects to a level in the State with their former masters. The empty forms of law, imposed by conquering bayonets, could not thus be permitted to drive the landowners from their homes as refugees, in rags and financial ruin, as had so often happened in Europe to the unfortunate Jews. Hence the drastic relief sought by the South in the recent introduction of educational and property qualifications for the right of suffrage in various State constitutions; which the impartial historians of the future will fully vindicate as an attempt to rescue Southern civilization from the peril of a ruinous fate and from the barbarism of a mistaken political policy.

It has often been stated that no such crimes were perpetrated during the era of slavery, not even during the Civil War, when the white women of the cotton States were left comparatively unprotected. The localities where these heinous crimes occur are, almost invariably, those in which the negro holds the balance of political power, or where his unsuppressed vote is honestly counted and

ardently solicited as of value in doubtful contests between political parties or warring factions of the same party. In such instances, as a voter he is coddled, petted and magnified, and his exercise of the right of suffrage becomes a vendible article, leading to the corruption not only of the ballot, but equally of the public morals. The close and impartial observer will find a verification of this view in the political exaltation of the negro contingent in the States of Indiana and Illinois, and other States where they hold the balance of power in all elections between the two leading political parties of this country. Political equality breeds ambition for social equality, with its train of evils which no one can understand or fully appreciate who has not lived in the midst of these unfortunate derelicts of Fate and of Nature. The negro thus asserts himself, and his sense of his own importance, which was quiescent and pacific so long as he was kept in political and social subordination, becomes often offensively and insolently inflated.

The disturbing effect of President Roosevelt's attitude toward the negro can never be adequately estimated, in its retardation of the solution of the race problem which is staggering American statesmanship. The appointment of the negro Crum as Collector of Customs at the port of Charleston, in opposition to the known sentiment even of the Republican Senate, and other like Presidential policies, produced great excitement in the South, and reopened the wounds of race prejudices which were gradually being allayed. These issues were made paramount in the recent Democratic primaries in the State of Mississippi, where a most exciting election was held. The result was the nomination of a candidate for Governor who avowedly tolerated negro lynching and strenuously opposed the policy of negro education. As the New York *Sun* well said: "This means a deeper barbarism for the Mississippi negroes, a greater danger for the Mississippi whites." The over-zealous friends of the negro thus become practically his worst enemies.

No such lamentable reaction has yet shown itself in Alabama or any of the other Southern States, except through the criticisms of the press.

Yet, in defiance of these facts, some crude and fanatical views emanate from the pulpit, the press, and the hustings of the Northern and Western States. For example, a Chicago critic of Booker

T. Washington, whom every white man in Alabama esteems, asserts that many lynchings are to be laid at the door of this great benefactor of his race, because he "teaches the colored people that they are only fit for menial positions"—in other words, because he thinks his race can be more useful grubbing at the roots of corn and cotton than at the roots of irregular Greek verbs, or are better fitted to follow the respectable trade known to have been the vocation of Joseph, the genealogical father of Christ, than to learn to scan the Odes of Horace and the Georgics of Virgil. Centuries ago it was an essential part of the education of every Jewish lad to learn some useful trade. Those theorists who persistently combat the idea that the average negro is best fitted for industrial education and manual labor, are not only warring against the decrees of Nature, but are retarding the black man's advancement on the only path along which his talents, dwarfed by centuries of slavery, afford him any light of hope. Such views are founded no less in ignorance than in fanaticism, and may be discarded as absurd. Of like character, but more culpable, was the riotous interference with the recent address of Booker T. Washington at Boston, which was deliberately and maliciously engineered by certain negro fanatics, who have since, fortunately, been brought to the bar of justice, and properly punished by the courts of that State which was the first of American commonwealths to announce in its Constitution that her people founded "a government of laws and not of men."

There is no offence in the dark calendar of crimes more deserving of death than rape. An American missionary asserts that, even among the inhabitants of Africa, it is punished by inconceivable methods of torture. Its diabolism is aggravated by the relative inequality, in refinement and social status, of a brutal perpetrator and a cultivated victim. In comparison with it the act of murder would be righteousness.

While there is strictly no legal or moral excuse for not letting the law take its course in cases of this kind, there is one phase of the matter commonly overlooked, which mitigates, if it fails to excuse, this practice of summary punishment. This is the terror of the ordeal through which a modest and virtuous woman must pass in being subjected to examination as a witness on the stand, in detailing the humiliating incidents attending the perpetration of the atrocious crime. In the Southern courts, by uninterrupted

custom, justice is administered publicly in the presence of large crowds of persons who are in attendance at the trial. The better practice, in such cases, would no doubt be to clear the court-room of all persons except the presiding judge, the litigants, the jurors, witnesses, and members of the Bar; but custom has never sanctioned this course in the Southern States. I once witnessed in an Alabama court the trial of a negro boy nineteen years old for assault on a modest little girl of eight years. Her examination excited the painful sympathy of every one present, and while legally necessary it was pitiful and cruel. The defendant was brought to speedy and condign punishment, without the assistance of a mob.

There are scores of cases where the mob's course of action is induced by this consideration as the chief and inspiring motive. It is here suggested by a Southern-born man, as an apology often urged by his people for a practice which he does not seek to justify. It must be admitted by every intelligent citizen that mob violence, in every form, which treads under its ruthless and bloody feet the law of the land, for the maintenance of which all just governments are instituted, is a species of anarchy, which assassinates its victims and "stabs the law." It is equally condemned by the stern voice of the Decalogue and the gentler teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. In its ultimate solution, however, the "diamond pen of history" must treat this exciting subject in a non-partisan and unsectional spirit. "*Audi alteram partem*" is the true voice of reason in all discussion.

HENDERSON M. SOMERVILLE.

THE VICE OF READING.

BY EDITH WHARTON.

THAT "diffusion of knowledge" commonly classed with steam-heat and universal suffrage in the category of modern improvements, has incidentally brought about the production of a new vice—the vice of reading.

No vices are so hard to eradicate as those which are popularly regarded as virtues. Among these the vice of reading is foremost. That reading trash is a vice is generally conceded; but reading *per se*—the habit of reading—new as it is, already ranks with such seasoned virtues as thrift, sobriety, early rising and regular exercise. There is, indeed, something peculiarly aggressive in the virtuousness of the sense-of-duty reader. By those who have kept to the humble paths of precept he is revered as following a counsel of perfection. "I wish I had kept up my reading as you have," the unlettered novice declares to this adept in the supererogatory; and the reader, accustomed to the incense of uncritical applause, not unnaturally looks on his occupation as a noteworthy intellectual achievement.

Reading deliberately undertaken—what may be called volitional reading—is no more reading than erudition is culture. Real reading is reflex action; the born reader reads as unconsciously as he breathes; and, to carry the analogy a degree farther, reading is no more a virtue than breathing. Just in proportion as it is considered meritorious does it become unprofitable. What is reading, in the last analysis, but an interchange of thought between writer and reader? If the book enters the reader's mind just as it left the writer's—without any of the additions and modifications inevitably produced by contact with a new body of thought—it has been read to no purpose. In such cases, of course, the reader is not always to blame. There are books that

are always the same—incapable of modifying or of being modified—but these do not count as factors in literature. The value of books is proportionate to what may be called their plasticity—their quality of being all things to all men, of being diversely moulded by the impact of fresh forms of thought. Where, from one cause or the other, this reciprocal adaptability is lacking, there can be no real intercourse between book and reader. In this sense it may be said that there is no abstract standard of values in literature: the greatest books ever written are worth to each reader only what he can get out of them. The best books are those from which the best readers have been able to extract the greatest amount of thought of the highest quality; but it is generally from these books that the poor reader gets least.

To be a poor reader may therefore be considered a misfortune; but it is certainly not a fault. Why should we all be readers? We are not all expected to be musicians; but read we must; and so those that cannot read creatively read mechanically—as though a man who had no aptitude for the violin were to regard the grinding of a barrel-organ as an equivalent accomplishment! It must be understood at the outset that, in the matter of reading, the real offenders are not those who restrict themselves to recognized trash. There is little harm in the self-confessed devourer of foolish fiction. He who feasts upon "the novel of the day" does not seriously impede the development of literature. The cast of mind which discerns in the natural divisions of the melon an indication that it is meant to be eaten *en famille,* might even look upon certain works—the penny-in-the-slot or touch-the-button books, which require no effort beyond turning the pages and using one's eyes—as especially designed for the consumption of the mechanical reader. Providence turns out an unfailing supply of authors whose obvious mission it is thus to protect literature from the ravages of the unintelligent; and it is only when he strays from his predestined pastures that the mechanical reader becomes a danger to the body of letters. The idea that reading is a moral quality has unhappily led many conscientious persons to renounce their innocuous dalliance with light literature for more strenuous intercourse. These are the persons who "make it a rule to read." The "platform" of the more ambitious actually includes the large resolve to keep up with all that is being written! The desire to keep up is apparently the

strongest incentive to this class of readers: they seem to regard literature as a cable-car that can be "boarded" only by running; while many a born reader may be found unblushingly loitering in the tea-cup times of stage-coach and posting-chaise, without so much as being aware of the new means of locomotion.

It is when the mechanical reader, armed with this high conception of his duty, invades the domain of letters—discusses, criticises, condemns, or, worse still, praises—that the vice of reading becomes a menace to literature. Even so, it might seem in questionable taste to resent an intrusion prompted by motives so respectable, were it not that the incorrigible self-sufficiency of the mechanical reader makes him a fair object of attack. The man who grinds the barrel-organ does not challenge comparison with Paderewski, but the mechanical reader never doubts his intellectual competency. As grace gives faith, so zeal for self-improvement is supposed to confer brains.

To read is not a virtue; but to read well is an art, and an art that only the born reader can acquire. The gift of reading is no exception to the rule that all natural gifts need to be cultivated by practice and discipline; but unless the innate aptitude exist the training will be wasted. It is the delusion of the mechanical reader to think that intentions may take the place of aptitude.

So far is this from being the case that there are certain generic signs by which the born reader detects his manufactured copy under whatever guise the latter may assume. One of these idiosyncrasies is the habit of regarding reading objectively. The mechanical reader, as he always reads consciously, knows exactly how much he reads, and will tell you so with the pride of the careful housekeeper who has calculated to within half an ounce the daily consumption of food in her household. As the housekeeper is apt to go to market every day at a certain hour, so the mechanical reader has often a fixed time for laying in his intellectual stores; and not infrequently he reads for just so many hours a day. The statement in one of Hamerton's youthful diaries—"I shall now commence a course of poetical reading, beginning with 50 hours of Chaucer, and as I gave him 1½ last night it leaves me exactly 48½"—is a good example of this kind of reading. It follows that he who reads by time often "has no time to read"; a plight unknown to the born reader, whose reading forms a continuous undercurrent to all his other occupations.

The mechanical reader is the slave of his book-mark: if he lose his place he is under the irksome necessity of beginning again at the beginning; and a story is told of one such reader whom a flippant relative kept for a year at "Fire and Sword in the Soudan" by the unfeeling stratagem of shifting the marker every night. The born reader is his own book-mark. He instinctively remembers at what stage in the argument he laid his book down, and the pages open of themselves at the point for which he is looking. It is due to the mechanical reader to say that he is uniformly scrupulous in the performance of his task: it is one of his rules *never to skip a word,* and he can always meet with a triumphant affirmative Dr. Johnson's immortal "Do *you* read books *through?*" This inexorable principle is doubtless based on the fact that the mechanical reader is incapable of discerning intuitively whether a book is worth reading or not. In fact, until he has read the last line of a book he is unable to form any opinion of it; nor can he give any adequate reasons for his opinion when formed. Viewing all books from the outside, and having no point of contact with the author's mind, he makes no allowances for temperament or environment; for that process of transposition and selection that makes the most impersonal book the product of unique conditions.

It is obvious that the mechanical reader, taking each book separately as an entity suspended in the inane, must miss all the by-paths and cross-cuts of his subject. He is like a tourist who drives from one "sight" to another without looking at anything that is not set down in Baedeker. Of the delights of intellectual vagrancy, of the improvised chase after a fleeting allusion, suggested sometimes by the turn of a phrase or by the mere complexion of a word, he is serenely unaware. With him the book's the thing: the idea of using it as the keynote of unpremeditated harmonies, as the gateway into some *paysage choisi* of the spirit, is beyond his ken.

The mechanical reader considers it his duty to read every book that is talked about; a duty rendered less onerous by the fact that he can judge beforehand, from the material dimensions of each book, how much space it will take up in his head: there is no need to allow for expansion. To the mechanical reader, books once read are not like growing things that strike root and intertwine branches, but like fossils ticketed and put away in the

drawers of a geologist's cabinet; or rather, like prisoners condemned to lifelong solitary confinement. In such a mind the books never talk to each other.

The course of the mechanical reader is guided by the *vox populi*. He makes straight for the book that is being talked about, and his sense of its importance is in proportion to the number of editions exhausted before publication, since he has no means of distinguishing between the different classes of books talked about, nor between the voices that do the talking.

It is a part of the whole duty of the mechanical reader to pronounce an opinion on every book he reads, and he is sometimes driven to strange shifts in the conscientious performance of this task. It is his nature to mistrust and dislike every book he does not understand. "I cannot read and therefore wish all books burned." In his heart of hearts the mechanical reader may sometimes echo this wish of Envy in Doctor Faustus; but, it being also a part of his duty to be "fond of reading," he is obliged to repress his bibliocidal impulse, and go through the form of trying the case, when lynching would have been so much simpler.

It is only natural that the reader who looks on reading as a moral obligation should confound moral and intellectual judgments. Here is a book that every one is talking about; the number of its editions is an almost unanswerable proof of its merit; but to the mechanical reader it is cryptic, and he takes refuge in disapproval. He admits the cleverness, of course; but one of the characters is "not nice"; *ergo,* the book is not nice; he is surprised that you should have cared to read it. The mechanical reader, after a few such experiments, learns the potency of disapproval as a critical weapon, and it soon becomes his chief defence against the irritating demand to admire what he cannot understand. Sometimes his disapprobation is tempered by philosophic concessions to human laxity: as in the case of the lady who could not approve of Balzac's novels, but was of course willing to admit that "they were written in the most beautiful French." A fine instance of this temperate disapproval is furnished by Mrs. Barbauld's verdict upon The Ancient Mariner: she "pronounced it improbable."

The obligation of expressing an opinion on every book which is being talked about has led to the reprehensible but natural habit of borrowing opinions. Any one who frequents a group of

mechanical readers soon becomes accustomed to their socialistic use of certain formulas, and to the rapid process of erosion and distortion undergone by much-borrowed opinions. There have been known persons heartless enough to find pleasure in taking the mechanical reader unawares with the demand for an opinion; and it must be owned that the result sometimes justifies the theory that no sports are so diverting as those which are seasoned with cruelty. In such extremities, the expedients resorted to by mechanical readers often do justice to their inventiveness; as when a lady, on being suddenly asked what she thought of "*Quo Vadis,*" replied that she had no fault to find with the book except that "nothing happened in it."

Thus far the subject has dealt only with what may be called the average mechanical reader: a designation embracing the immense majority of book-consumers. There is, however, another and more striking type of mechanical reader—he who, wearying of the Philistine diversion of "understanding the obvious," boldly threads his way "amid the bitterness of things occult." Transcendentalism owes much of its perennial popularity to a reverence for the unintelligible, and its disciples are largely recruited from the class of readers who consider it as great an intellectual feat to read a book as to understand it. But these votaries of the esoteric are too few in number to be harmful. It is the average mechanical reader who really endangers the integrity of letters; this may seem a curious charge to bring against that voracious majority. How can those who create the demand for the hundredth thousand be accused of malice toward letters?

In that acute character-study, "Manœuvring," Miss Edgeworth says of one of her characters: "Her mind had never been overwhelmed by a torrent of wasteful learning. That the stream of literature had passed over it was apparent only from its fertility." There could hardly be a happier description of those who read intuitively; and its antithesis as fitly portrays the mechanical reader. His mind is devastated by that torrent of wasteful learning which his demands have helped to swell. It is probable that if no one read but those who know how to read, none would produce books but those who know how to write; but it is the least offence of the mechanical reader to have encouraged the mechanical author. The two were made for each other and may prey on one another with impunity.

The harmfulness of the mechanical reader is fourfold. In the first place, by bringing about the demand for mediocre writing, he facilitates the career of the mediocre author. The crime of luring creative talent into the ranks of mechanical production is in fact the gravest offence of the mechanical reader.

Secondly, by his passion for "popular" renderings of abstruse and difficult subjects, by confounding the hastiest *réchauffé* of scientific truisms with the slowly-matured conceptions of the original thinker, he retards true culture and lessens the possible amount of really abiding work.

The habit of confusing moral and intellectual judgments is the third cause of his harmfulness to literature. The inadequacy of "art for art's sake" as a literary creed has long been conceded. It is not by requiring that the imaginative writer shall be touched "to fine issues" that the mechanical reader interferes with the production of masterpieces, but by his own inability to discern the "fine issues" of any book, however great, which presents some incidental stumbling-block to his vision. To those who regard literature as a criticism of life, nothing is more puzzling than this incapacity to distinguish between the general tendency of a book—its technical and imaginative value as a whole—and its merely episodical features. That the mechanical reader should confound the unmoral with the immoral is perhaps natural; he may be pardoned for an erroneous classification of such books as "*La Chartreuse de Parme*" or the "Life of Benvenuto Cellini"; his harmfulness to literature lies in his persistent ignorance of the fact that any serious portrayal of life must be judged not by the incidents it presents but by the author's sense of their significance. The harmful book is the trivial book: it depends on the writer, and not on the subject, whether the contemplation of life results in Faust or Faublas. To gauge the absence of this perception in the average reader, one must turn to the ordinary "improper" book of current English and American fiction. In these works, enjoyed under protest, with the plea that they are "unpleasant, but so powerful," one sees the reflection of the image which the great portrayals of life leave on the minds of the mechanical reader and his novelist. There is the collocation of "painful" incidents; but the rest, being unperceived, is left out.

Finally, the mechanical reader, by his demand for peptonized

literature, and his inability to distinguish between the means and the end, has misdirected the tendencies of criticism, or rather, has produced a creature in his own image—the mechanical critic. The London correspondent of a New York paper recently quoted "a well-known English reviewer" as saying that people no longer had time to read critical analyses of books—that what they wanted was a *résumé* of the contents. It is of course an open question (and one hardly within the scope of this argument) how much literature is benefited by criticism; but to speak as though the analysis of a book were one kind of criticism and the cataloguing of its contents another, is a manifest absurdity. The born reader may or may not wish to hear what the critics have to say of a book; but if he cares for any criticism he wants the only kind worthy of the name—an analysis of subject and manner. He who has no time for such criticism will certainly spare none to the summing-up of the contents of a book: an inventory of its incidents, ending up with the conventional "But we will not spoil the reader's enjoyment by revealing, etc." It is the mechanical reader who demands such inventories and calls them criticisms; and it is because the mechanical reader is in the majority that the mechanical plot-extractor is fast superseding the critic. Whether real criticism be of service to literature or not, it is clear that this pseudo-reviewing is harmful, since it places books of very different qualities on the same dead level of mediocrity, by ignoring their true purport and significance. It is impossible to give an idea of the value of any book, except perhaps a detective-story, by the recapitulation of its contents; and even those qualities which differentiate the good from the bad detective-story lie not so much in the collocation of incidents as in the handling of the subject and the choice of means used for producing a given effect. All forms of art are based on the principle of selection, and where that principle is held of no account in the sum-total of any intellectual production, there can be no genuine criticism.

It is thus that the mechanical reader systematically works against the best in literature. Obviously, it is to the writer that he is most harmful. The broad way that leads to his approval is so easy to tread and so thronged with prosperous fellow-travellers that many a young pilgrim has been drawn into it by the mere craving for companionship; and perhaps it is not until the

journey's end, when he reaches the Palace of Platitudes and sits down to a feast of indiscriminate praise, with the scribblers he has most despised helping themselves unreproved out of the very dish prepared in his honor, that his thoughts turn longingly to that other way—the strait path leading "To The Happy Few."

EDITH WHARTON.

FLOOD PREVENTION AND IRRIGATION: TWIN IDEAS.

BY UNITED STATES SENATOR J. R. BURTON, OF KANSAS.

FLOODS cause annually in this country an enormous loss of life and property. With the denudation of our forest area, the draining of our lands and the aggregation of wealth and population in the territory subject to overflow, the destruction increases.

The floods of the spring of 1903, by far the most disastrous in the history of the West, covered a territory of over 2,000,000 acres; they wiped out property approximating $40,000,000, and took nearly a hundred lives.

In 1901, in the Southern Appalachian region, flood losses reached $10,000,000; in a part of the same territory last spring the destruction amounted to perhaps $10,000,000 more, together with many lives. Frequent floods along the Ohio, the Arkansas, the Red River, and other rivers tributary to the Mississippi, not to mention local overflows in every part of the country, have spread disaster and death, while the June inundation of the lower Missouri and Mississippi, with its burden of devastation, is expected with the precision of the changing seasons.

Could the total loss of life and property resulting from these overflows each year be tabulated and published, startling facts would be presented to the American people—especially so when it is remembered that nothing has been done by the states or by the nation with the definite object of flood prevention.

We have done something toward keeping the flood waters of the lower Mississippi within bounds, but we have done nothing anywhere to prevent the gathering of those waters in one mighty, devastating, uncontrollable mass. Have we not begun our work at the wrong place? Instead of trying to control the flood waters of the lower Mississippi, why not prevent the floods? Let us, at

least, see if we cannot impound these waters for the benefit and use of man, and at the same time take from them their destructive power.

Water in motion is unmanageable. Even in small quantities, while moving, it cuts its way through solid granite; in vast volume, it sweeps to destruction any barrier man has been able to place against it. Still water, on the contrary, is as obedient as a harnessed steed. High up along the tributaries of the streams that drain the continent, where the extended catchment areas collect the rainfall, is the place where the most effective measures may be taken to prevent flood-destruction (for there the excess of water can be conserved, and the flood itself averted); and not where the mighty torrents have swept their terrifying way far toward the sea. This does not mean that we should abandon our artificial embankments along the lower Mississippi; nor that we should cease constructing levees. It may be necessary to go on with that work, for a time, until we have adopted the better plan of getting control of the tributaries and headwaters, by means of dams, reservoirs and cut-offs, in the great catchment areas higher up.

James D. Schuyler, an eminent hydraulic engineer in the Government service, in an exhaustive report on the problem of water storage in Southern California, says:

"There is a peculiar interest attached to the storage reservoir and distributing system which derives its supply from a torrential stream, as it is a creation of something of permanent value out of that which would not only be otherwise wasted and lost, but frequently would cause havoc and destruction of property in the act of going to waste. As its name implies, the torrential stream is one of violent force and action during certain intermittent periods of its career, and its power and capacity for destruction everywhere need to be curbed. Not the least useful of the functions of the impounding reservoir, therefore, is that of lessening the destructive force of the torrent upon which it is situated. Every possible encouragement needs to be afforded for such enterprises."

In a recent statement, Dr. J. F. Thompson, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia, an irrigation engineer of international renown, who in making a tour of the world visited this country especially to study its irrigation systems, said he was astonished to find that no effort is being made in this country to control the floods of the Mississippi and

Missouri rivers, and make their surplus waters a blessing, instead of a means of spreading destruction and ruin. And he continued:

"I see no reason why American engineers should not devise some means for conserving the surplus waters of the great rivers of their country. That the flood waters of rivers may be controlled by means of such reservoirs there can be no manner of doubt whatever; the only question of importance to be considered being one of ways and means."

The method advocated by Dr. Thompson has been employed with success by Australian and East-Indian engineers; and, quite recently, a report from Cairo indicates that all the benefits expected from the great dam at Assouan have been realized. This marvellous feat of engineering, under the direction of Mr. Webb, the director-general, has made a reservoir that gathers the waters during the winter for summer consumption, and has served the double purpose of preventing floods and vastly increasing the acreage of farm lands in lower Egypt.

Already, far-sighted men, who have had experience in irrigation in this country, begin to realize that water-rights and privileges depending upon reservoirs are far more secure than those depending upon the open ditch; and, hence, many of the older ditch companies are establishing systems of reservoirs, for the double purpose of securing the flood waters, and of making it more certain that the water can be had for use during the drought season.

Fiercely destructive are waters in flood volume; conserved for the benefits of power and irrigation they are tractable and life-giving. The physical conditions involved, though simple, merit careful study. Floods are due to the inadequacy of channels or rivers to carry the water. Channels are the results of the erosion caused by the ordinary flow of a stream, and floods are not frequent enough to enlarge the passage sufficiently for times of emergency. Before the destruction of the forests in the Mississippi Valley, and before the draining of the lands, floods came less often, and the stream was adequate to carry off the water that reached it in more equable proportion throughout the year.

In the Appalachian region, forests, designed by nature to serve as a great reservoir, have been felled in riotous prodigality, and floods sweep their way where of old they were less frequent and

less violent. Prevention is feasible only through the preservation of the woodlands which remain and the restitution of those which have been made bare along the slopes and on the apex of that range of mountains.

The difference between what a river will hold and the excess is comparatively small. It is for the storing of this surplus that the reservoirs should be constructed; they would provide for the final few feet which are like the "last straw on the back of the riparian camel."

A practical illustration of the effect of canals and reservoirs in the prevention of floods, was furnished in the upper Arkansas during the very unusual and heavy rains last spring. The precipitation was practically as great in the catchment area of the upper Arkansas as it was in the catchment area of the Kaw; but the extensive canals and reservoirs in the Arkansas, from Pueblo down into Kansas, were sufficient to prevent any destructive flood along the valley of that river. It is also interesting to note that the reservoir system along that valley is in its incipiency, although the canals are sufficient to exhaust the normal flow. Had the upper Kaw Valley had the same number of canals and reservoirs as the upper Arkansas, it is safe to say there would have been little, if any, destruction in the Kaw Valley last spring.

But, suppose it were necessary to build five or ten times as many canals along the Kaw as are now constructed along the Arkansas, and with the canals a complete system of reservoirs, thousands in number, the total cost would be less than the loss of property by last spring's flood, to say nothing of the loss of life.

If it be contended that the levee system is the only way of controlling flood waters, then by all means push the levee system to completion, not alone in the lower Mississippi, but along the Ohio, the Red River, the Arkansas, the Kaw, the Platte, the Missouri, and all other rivers, and in turn their tributaries, and it will be found that the expense in the end will be as great or greater than the cost of impounding the waters in the arid and semi-arid, and even a portion of the rain-belt, districts. This leaves entirely out of the count the ability of the Government to recoup itself by the sale of the waters impounded; though we have already gone far enough, with our experience of irrigation, to realize that every particle of water that can be impounded will meet with a ready sale to the landowners below—and this state-

ment can apply not alone to the arid and semi-arid districts, but to the rain-belt as well.

More than that: the building of levees on the lower reaches of great rivers does not in any way benefit the country above; whereas the construction of a reservoir system above would not only prosper the headwater area, but would prevent devastation by floods below.

Prevention of floods and irrigation are twin ideas. They should be developed together. The lower country should be protected from overflows, and the upper country should be given the water for irrigation and power. Our energies should be directed along this line.

The work should be done only after the most complete preparation. The entire catchment areas of the rivers should be explored fully, surveys made carefully, the topography of the country understood, the geological conditions examined. The channels should be studied and their carrying capacities gauged, the rainfall accurately measured, the amount of water at its flood fully determined, and the approximate expense of impounding the waters ascertained. Every local physical condition that science and industry can discover should be ascertained before entering upon this work; for if it be practicable to prevent floods and use flood waters for irrigation and power, there is hardly any expense, however great, that the undertaking would not justify.

There has been no complaint on the part of the West concerning the heavy expenditure made to control flood waters in the lower Mississippi. But the time has come when the country higher up should receive its protection as well as the country below. Especially does this claim have merit if, by the impounding of the waters, not only can the destruction below be lessened, but at the same time vast material benefits can be extended to the arid and semi-arid portions of the West.

It must be expected that many mistakes will be made in an effort to impound flood waters, and to stay the ravages caused by them. It is only a few years since the people of this country entered upon an intelligent use of water for irrigation, even in the arid district. And in accomplishing what we have along that line, many errors have been made, and great waste has occurred; but year by year a knowledge of irrigation and the beneficial and economical use of waters is being gained.

As new truths respecting irrigation were discovered, public sentiment was crystallized at last into law, in the irrigation bill passed by the last Congress. Already, work under that bill is being carried forward, for the purpose of impounding waters in artificial and natural reservoirs.

But all that has been done so far has sprung from a belief and confidence in irrigation, and not for the purpose of the concurrent prevention of floods. If by enlarging this work, beginning it at the foot-hills of the mountains and extending it on down through the plains, through the arid and semi-arid belts, and even farther down to the rain-belt, a vast system of reservoirs along the thousand and one smaller tributaries can be built, based upon these two ideas—prevention of floods and the beneficial use of the waters—the greatest and most practical material benefits may be realized.

The advantages of such an undertaking would not be confined to crop-raising and its attendant industries. Fuel is very scarce and expensive in almost all of the arid and semi-arid districts. There is but little coal, timber, oil or natural gas throughout that entire area. Since the development of electrical science, it has been found that water stored in reservoirs may be converted into power to an extent before unknown. From these reservoirs would come the cheap power so necessary to the development of any section.

Two methods are involved in the modern plan for the control of flood waters: first, the building of dams above the heads of navigation; and, second, the running of water into more or less natural and artificial reservoirs at either bank.

There is a popular delusion that the construction of a reservoir system for the prevention of floods means only the building of dams and the impounding of surplus waters behind artificial embankments. Nothing could be farther from the fact, though the utility of the dam is not a small part of the scheme, when the dam is built on rock foundation, extends from bluff to bluff, is provided with sufficient sluice-ways, and its maintenance is carefully looked after.

Despite the utmost precaution, waters held by artificial embankments ever involve an element of danger. Some of the greatest floods in the history of the nation have come from the breaking of these barriers when the "corroding tooth of time"

has eaten away the support, as it is certain to do with all man's undertakings. Out on the open plains, far from quarries and with the loose soil for a base and little more than mud for building material, the life of a dam is short. Even in the great pastures of the cattle ranches, where draws are filled behind carefully constructed dams, the spring rains break away from the control and empty the basin upon which dependence has been placed for the summer's water supply. Hence becomes essential the depressed basin, which may be found naturally formed in many places, and may be constructed with little expense in others. With this it is different; the water remains and awaits the call for its use. It can neither be lost nor wasted. It is the stored-up moisture of the clouds kept ready for the need of man. Where nature has not provided the reservoir, it should generally be dug into the earth.

This storage of the surplus and its diversion from the streams to the lands, would tend not alone to prevent floods, but to extend the farm areas in the arid and semi-arid country, and vastly increase the power of the land to retain water. The sponge-area for the preservation of the rain-fall would be increased, lessening the sudden torrents that occur when the precipitation is great upon the unploughed prairies.

During the past ten years, the area of farm land increased by 217,982,000 acres, or thirty-five per cent., far more than in any other decade in the nation's history. Most of this increase occurred in the Western States. All the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, according to the figures given by the Director of the Census, increased their farm land area more than a million acres, excepting only Arizona and Nevada, which will come into the million-acre list by 1910, for there is a steady extension of agricultural operations in these sections. All through the semi-arid belt and on its edge, where the limit of moisture is closely pressed by the plough, the increase is most notable. The Dakotas, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Wyoming, Oklahoma, and Texas are the greatest gainers. In each of these sections is irrigation in practical operation; in each is there need of stored water; in each could farms be made more productive if the untimely rains were stored up for the time of need. The next decade will add to the demands on the Western rivers. The irrigation law itself proposes to add to the irrigated land over 15,000,000 acres in that time; and eventually 35,000,000 more acres will

be artificially watered. There is no indication that the rain-fall is to increase. Will there be water enough to go around if we allow the surplus of the storm times to race away to the ocean, not only without use, but with positive danger to homes and improvements?

It may be objected that the East, which might not see that it would be benefited by the expenditure, would refuse to assist in the enormous undertaking of reservoir-building. The fact is that the East would be helped, not wronged. Its prosperity depends not on its own resources, but on the development of the vast grain-field that lies between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast. When, in the summer of 1901, there was a drought over the corn belt, and the farmers found themselves deprived of a large part of their usual crop of maize, it was not alone the West that suffered. Throughout the nation, in business and financial circles, spread the injury of that crop failure. Banks in Boston, as well as in Butte, were affected. The currency movements were deflected, and it took many months for the financial world to resume its normal course.

The anxiety over a wheat crop is nearly as keen in Wall Street as in Topeka. What a change if there could be kept in reserve so large a supply of stored water as to make the crops sure, and to bring to the market with unfailing regularity the rich fruits of the farmer's toil. There is water enough for use in this manner, if it can be held for use when needed, and not allowed to rush away to the sea.

It is true that the construction, by the Government, of such a comprehensive system of canals and reservoirs, and their maintenance, would add to the already large army of Government employees; and if they should be as active in our politics as are the postmasters, marshals, district attorneys and other Federal office-holders, they might represent a danger worthy of consideration. But it is safe to predict that the kind of employees required for this work would not become offensive in promoting machine politics. Almost anybody will do for a postmaster; but the construction and maintenance of canals and reservoirs, with proper regard for their great service, calls for men especially trained for the work. It would be with them, as it is with the present Government employees who are prosecuting scientific investigation; they would take no active part in partisan politics.

Again, it may be said that work of this kind is paternalistic in its nature, and that the Government should be overcareful of going into any enterprise that can by any possible means be performed by private capital. The answer to that objection is, that work of this scope can be done only by the national Government. In the first place, it covers too much territory, and will cost too much money, for its successful prosecution by private capital. The field is continental in its extent, and can be covered only by the general Government. In the next place, the interests are so varied, and the ramifications of their influence reach so far into the community life, as to make it necessarily a governmental task.

It seems that nature has invited us to this task. To those unfamiliar with the topography of the plains country, it is not known that, in the arid belt, and even as far east as the 96th meridian, all the way from the British possessions to the Rio Grande, nature has made indentations in the surface of the earth; and a careful survey will probably disclose that the reservoirs have been already largely provided and are merely waiting to receive the rain-fall from in-taking canals.

A scientific study of the country doubtless will confirm this statement, and beckon us on to this great work, just as the buffalo roving over the prairies, when first discovered, told in plain and emphatic language that on the prairies was the natural field for the development of the live-stock industry.

When such eminent engineers as Dr. Thompson, James D. Schuyler, and others of scarcely less note, pronounce so emphatically in favor of the impounding of waters to prevent floods, the attention of the country should be attracted to the subject; for if floods can be prevented they must be prevented. No such destruction and waste can longer be tolerated in this enlightened age, without some comprehensive effort to overcome it.

We spend millions of money each year to protect ourselves against fires. We do practically nothing to protect ourselves against floods.

If the plan suggested be not the best one, if the expense of conserving the waters be too great, then let another remedy be suggested. I claim no originality in suggesting this plan. As stated above, it has been advocated by irrigationists and hydraulic engineers in the past. It has been developed more or less suc-

cessfully in other parts of the world. In nearly every case that I have been able to discover, it has been the outgrowth of irrigation; yet it is interesting to note that, about forty years ago, Dr. Christopher Graham, of Kentucky, published a plan he had thought out for disposing of the surplus water below St. Louis and Cairo. He did not believe levees furnished the solution for the overflow problem, and he took the ground that depressions could be found in the configuration of the earth into which the flood could be diverted from the rivers by canals. His purpose was the saving of life and property. He had no thought of irrigation. The enlightenment of later years has shown that he taught but a half-truth. The demand for arable lands has not only absorbed the lower river valleys, but has spread to the far tributaries that linger near the mountains; and millions of happy homes are to-day dependent on the bounty of artificially watered fields. The stored waters have now a double value—one of flood prevention, and one of wealth production.

On the western border of Kansas and in eastern Colorado the annual rain-fall is eighteen to nineteen inches. Thirty inches is enough to make a crop. The reservoir systems, carried from the headwaters to the lower levels of the streams, would supply the deficiency.

In the working out of the plan to a finality, it is probable that three great systems would have to be arranged: first, the reservoirs in the mountains and on the lower levels would hold back a portion of the floods; second, the vast net-work of main-line distributing canals, necessary to irrigate the ultimate acreage cultivated, scattered over the wide area, would have a great storage capacity; and third, the earth itself would act as a sponge, which would aid in holding back flood waters.

We are spending millions of money every year on rivers and harbors, millions more on the building of a navy to protect our commerce. We have spent in the last four or five years $500,000,000 in freeing Cuba and establishing our prestige in the Orient; and the better thought of the country sustains Congress in voting the stupendous appropriations for carrying out these enterprises.

We are a martial people, or—to put the proposition more bluntly and perhaps in less captivating form—we are a fighting people.

If our combative energies be directed along peaceful lines, in

making possible new homes and in adding to the wealth and comfort of the dwellers therein, they are as nobly employed as when exerted on the march or the battle-field. Here is an opportunity to engage the best fighting qualities of our people. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than War."

We have subjugated the Mississippi Valley, developed enormously our agricultural, manufacturing and mining resources; but we have reached a point where there is no frontier. The millions of acres of land now uncultivated, if they are to be utilized, must be irrigated. Other millions of acres in the lowlands, if they are to be safe from destruction must be protected from floods. Man can do nothing either to increase or to decrease the rain-fall; but the earth is his dominion, and, after the water strikes the earth, it is his to direct, harness and control.

If this solution be practicable, it promises greater good than any single form of development undertaken by us as a nation. That it is practicable is believed by the leading scientific engineers who have given the matter careful consideration.

To harness the rain-fall, thereby at once protecting the lowlands from desolating floods, utilizing the waters for the benefit of man and extending the farming area to meet the needs of an ever-growing population, forms a task worthy of the most earnest endeavor of our Government.

J. R. BURTON.

THE NEW CUNARD STEAMSHIP CONTRACT.

BY EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF NAVIGATION.

On July 30th, 1903, the British Government, through the Admiralty, the Board of Trade and the Postmaster-General, entered into a contract with the Cunard Steamship Company, as important, in its bearings on the peaceful rivalry of nations for supremacy at sea, as was the Transatlantic Merger negotiated last year by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and his colleagues. Indeed, this contract may be regarded as the sequence of the merger and the response to it. The latter was an effort to secure American control of the carrying-trade of the North Atlantic. The purchase of a majority interest in British steamship lines and the management of such lines under the British flag by energetic American financiers and experienced American steamship men are, for the present at least, the only means by which American control of ocean transportation is possible. Indeed, it is the only way, under existing conditions, in which Americans can acquire even a respectable share in the carrying of our own exports and imports by sea. The relations of the two great German steamship lines with the Imperial Government are so intimate, and their development is so necessary a part of the German Emperor's policy, "Our future is on the sea," that the Imperial veto certainly awaited, if it did not actually prevent, any purchase of a controlling interest in those lines by American citizens. The managements of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American lines willingly entered into a "working agreement," or "community of interests," with Americans, but were not willing to sell to them. The relations of the two great French steamship lines for a much longer period have been even closer with the French Government. In fact, the fleets of the Compagnie Gen-

erale Transatlantique and the Messageries Maritimes, to all practical intents and purposes, have been for years a part of the naval strength of France. Purchase of merchant steamers under the flags of less powerful maritime nations was feasible only to a limited extent, for various reasons which it is unnecessary to enumerate, in view of the fact that so much of the North Atlantic trade is conducted under the three flags named. The building of steamers at home was impracticable, because they cost more here for several reasons than when built abroad, and, once built, it costs more to maintain and operate them.

American acquisition of the control of four of the largest, most modern, most profitable and best equipped British lines of Transatlantic steamers, the White Star, Atlantic Transport, Leyland, and Dominion lines, owning over 100 steamers, aggregating 900,000 tons gross register, was politically more important both to the United States and to the United Kingdom than it was economically. It was regarded with concern by sober-minded Britons, not so much for itself, when all the facts became known, as for what it seemed to foretell. It indicated that accumulated American wealth was beginning to seek outlet for investment on the sea, that it was following the line in which it would encounter the least resistance from governmental regulation or national sentiment, and that this line led into the bulwarks of Great Britain's political and commercial strength, her mercantile marine. That concern prompted the Sheffield speech of Mr. Gerald W. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, a year ago:

"Englishmen are naturally jealous of everything that affects the British mercantile position and the interests of the British mercantile marine. It is to our mercantile marine that we owe the erection of that great Empire of which the ocean is the highway, and without which the Empire could hardly continue to exist. . . . It is impossible that we should expect that the Americans should be permanently content to remain without a considerable share in the Atlantic trade, nor is it, in my opinion, desirable that they should remain without a considerable share in that trade. But it is desirable that this inevitable development should take place with the least possible friction between the two peoples."

While British sentiment was unanimous in regarding the formation of the International Mercantile Marine Company as an important American advance which must be met in some fashion, in the United States the announcement elicited those irrecon-

ciled, if not irreconcilable, expressions which it seems to be the fate of American shipping periodically to provoke. Some professed to see in it nothing but a "Wall Street gamble"; to others it appeared an "unpatriotic" refusal to patronize American shipyards; and still others, by occult processes of reasoning, saw in it a scheme "to raid the American Treasury." The promptest and most conservative interpretation of the merger was made on the floor of the Senate. Practically nothing can be added now to these words of the Hon. J. B. Foraker of Ohio:

"The Congress of the United States, year after year, for twenty years now, having this matter almost constantly under consideration, has failed to come to the rescue of this great industry. As a result of it all, men who can no longer do without ships—men who would want to invest their capital in ships of American build and have the American flag float over them—are driven, in order that they may conserve the great business interests with which they are identified, to go abroad and spend their millions in making purchases of steamship lines from the British, instead of spending their millions in the shipyards of the United States. That is the whole of it."

What Mr. Balfour has characterized as "this inevitable development" may, of course, be retarded by the fluctuations of Wall Street, or by an interruption in the accumulation of wealth in the United States; but, unless Congress shall intervene, that development will doubtless continue for some years through the purchase of British steamers, along the lines followed by Mr. Morgan and his American and British colleagues.

The agreements of the British Government with the Cunard Steamship Company and with the International Mercantile Marine Company, dated July 30 and August 1, 1903, and approved in the House of Commons two weeks later by a vote of 92 to 18, are the attempt of the British authorities to check the "inevitable development" Mr. Balfour foresaw, or at least to give it the form which will least impair British maritime prestige. They are the response of the Government to the overwhelming pressure of British public sentiment for action which would reduce the American project, as declared in the House of Commons, to "utter helplessness." Whether such shall prove the result of the two contracts, whether "the inevitable" has been avoided, of course remains to be determined. The contracts, in any event, are instructive to Americans, as the carefully matured response to the

most vigorous and formidable effort of Americans in years to engage in the ocean-carrying trade.

Both contracts are to continue in force for twenty years. Thus permanency, an element indispensable when millions of dollars must be invested in types of ships which can be employed only within narrow lanes of ocean trade, is guaranteed by the British Government to the Cunard Company. The duration of the contract, which is practically the lifetime of a steamer, has in itself a money value, which American shipping legislation thus far has almost ignored. German ocean mail contracts are for fifteen years. The length of this new British contract is a sharp deviation from the recent British practice. So long as British superiority on the Atlantic was unquestioned, the authorities were quite satisfied to make contracts with the Cunard and White Star lines for the New York mails and for Admiralty subventions terminable at the end of a year. Now that the "blue ribbon" of the Atlantic flies from German halliards and that the crack White Star liners are operated together with the 20-knot American liners, the same authorities promptly contract with the Cunard line for twenty years, the longest steamship contract now in force, or, so far as recalled, ever ratified by any government. Undoubtedly, this long duration is a "business proposition," and "services to be rendered" are a consideration. Equally true is it, that the governing motive in the contract has been the maintenance of British maritime supremacy by the best available means.

An even wider departure from British practice—indeed, a departure so wide as to constitute nothing less than a partnership for twenty years between the British Government and the Cunard Steamship Company—is found in clause 10 of the contract:

"10. His Majesty's Government shall advance to the Company a sum equal to the cost to the Company of the two steamships referred to in clause 3 hereof, but not exceeding in any event two million six hundred thousand pounds ($12,636,000) upon the terms and conditions following."

The terms and conditions mentioned are, briefly:

(1) The loan shall be secured on the whole of the Company's assets, including the present fleet, valued at 1,990,559 pounds ($9,674,117);

(2) The charge shall be secured by a trust deed and mortgage on the steamships;

(3) The loan shall be advanced by installments, as the building of the two steamers progresses;

(4) The loan shall draw interest, not from the dates when the several installments will be paid, but from the dates when the two steamers begin their first trips, and thus begin to earn money. As the building of these two steamers will take fully 26 months, the British Government waives the payment of about $350,000 interest for this period;

(5) The interest, when payable, shall be at the rate of 2¾ per cent. The lowest interest on British steamship debentures is 3½ per cent., secured by the long established Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. As the Cunard Company, by the closing condition (6), is required apparently to repay the loan in twenty annual installments, beginning one year after the second steamer has begun her first voyage, it thus saves about $950,000 in interest on its loan from the British Government, compared with the terms on which the most firmly established British steamship corporation obtains its loans from the banks.

The two new steamships referred to in clause 3 are therein thus described:

"Two steamships of large size capable of maintaining a minimum average ocean speed of from 24 to 25 knots an hour in moderate weather suitable in all respects to maintain and develope the Company's line between Liverpool and New York or other ports in Great Britain and the United States of America."

Is the £2,600,000 advanced by the British Government ever actually to be repaid by the Cunard Company? In fact, the British Government agrees to contribute to the Cunard line the two finest and fastest steamships which money and engineering skill can build at the present time. The Company agrees to pay the running expenses of these two ships (interest and amortization of first cost having been eliminated), and to make what money it can out of the passenger trade, freed from the two fixed charges mentioned. The Cunard Company does not pay a sixpence to the shipbuilders. Those payments are made by advances from the British Treasury. As soon as the two steamers are in operation, the Government agrees to pay the Cunard Company an annual Admiralty subvention of £150,000, an increase of £130,000 over the present subvention. Simultaneously, the Company agrees to

repay the British Government, yearly, one-twentieth of £2,600,000 or £130,000. There is no need for the actual exchange of a shilling. The corporation accepts from the Government the ships, while subsidy and "repayment" of loan are merely balanced by the bookkeepers of the two parties. But the interest, amounting on the average to £35,750, must be met every year? The two new steamers, with the "Campania" and "Lucania" or "Umbria," will maintain the weekly mail service from Queenstown to New York, for which the Company is to receive annually £68,000, at least half of which £34,000, may be credited to the two new steamers, thus virtually meeting the average annual interest charges.

To the extent of the two fastest and best steamships which British shipyards can produce in the mean time, the British Government will thus in about two years reinforce its support of the Cunard line. This support, of course, is not without reason. It is in recognition of the recent attitude of the Company, and in expectation of an improved British position on the sea. If any doubt lingers in the mind of any American of the profound impression made on the British public by the American acquisition of British lines, this preamble from a twenty-year contract just made with a Company which almost from the beginning of commercial steam navigation has been under the protection of the British Government, may serve to dispel it:

"And whereas His Majesty's Government is desirous that the Company's lines should be maintained under the British flag and British management, and to the best advantage, and that they should be further improved by the addition of the two contemplated steamships."

Then follow requirements that all the watch officers and engineers and three-fourths of the crew shall be British subjects, requirements not difficult to fill and familiar to Americans, but interesting as the first departure from the British law of 1854 which opened British ships to the seamen of all nations. In May, 1902, the two great German lines modified their charters, so as to restrict membership in their respective directorates and boards of managers to German subjects, residing in German territory. By its new contract, the Cunard line is committed to the ultimate limit of American exclusion, for none but British subjects are entitled to hold directly or in trust a share of its stock.

The new contract calls for an annual Admiralty subvention of £150,000, of which, as has been shown, £130,000 is for the two new steamers. The balance is merely the continuation, with slight changes, of an agreement respecting other Cunarders, which has been renewed annually for the past sixteen years. The mail pay provided, £68,000, is for the present weekly service from Queenstown to New York, with an increase of four knots speed in two of the four steamers required. The two slower steamers, presumably "Umbria" and "Etruria" to be in time withdrawn, have not been entirely forgotten; for the significant provision is made in the contract for a "new, fast, weekly mid-week service between Great Britain and the United States of America (that is to say, a service performed by vessels of a speed of eighteen knots and upwards per hour.") By this "new" and "fast" service, the Postmaster-General is authorized in time to send mail equal to ten per cent. of the mail despatched by the regular mail line. For this additional service, he and the Company are authorized to agree on "additional payment for the advantage thus obtained." To one 3,000 miles removed from the place where this contract was made, the "advantage obtained" seems to be simply the use of eighteen to twenty-knot Cunarders, instead of twenty to twenty-two-knot American and German liners, to carry the British mails.

Of the contract in its entirety, Mr. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade (corresponding to our new Secretary of Commerce and Labor) has said: "To the principle of paying a subsidy in excess of the remuneration fairly due for the services rendered by any shipping company, the Government is perfectly opposed." Usually, men are opposed to paying more for anything than it is worth. The British Government has agreed to pay to the Cunard Company during twenty years a total of $21,190,000, of which $12,636,000 will be paid outright in less than three years for the two steamers built by the Government and presented to the Company. What are the services for which this "remuneration" is paid?

1. The Admiralty has always at command six merchant cruisers of twenty knots or over. The two built by the Government will each cost as much as a finished battle-ship. In determining whether to build two battle-ships or two twenty-five-knot merchant cruisers, the British Government seems to have

decided in favor of the latter. It is expensive to maintain the battle-ship, which, except, of course, for gunnery practice, is only potentially a constant contributor to British prestige. The cost of maintaining the merchant cruiser is borne by the Company, while, as a mail-carrier and employer of Naval Reserves, it is steadily in government service. The twenty-five-knot merchant cruiser is a daily contributor to British trade. In war the battle-ship can give and take a hammering; the twenty-five-knot steamer can do the work requiring high speed. The usefulness of the merchant cruiser in war times has been debated by naval authorities everywhere. By this contract, the British authorities have expressed themselves more strongly in its favor than ever before, agreeing with the German and French attitudes.

Although the Government will pay for the two great coming Cunarders, it can obtain them outright for war purposes from the Company only by paying it, as a bonus, ten per cent. above their value at the time of taking them. This ten per cent. is thus an insurance against the disturbance of the Company's regular traffic by the abrupt withdrawal of its best vessels. If the cruisers are temporarily chartered by the Government, it will pay the Company twenty-five shillings a month per gross register ton, which is equivalent to $73 per ton a year. As the Cunard fleet's average annual earnings in prosperous times are $60 a ton, the agreement for Government charter, as well as for acquisition, thus insures the Company against loss through interrupted traffic.

2. The British Post-Office will secure a complete British system for the Transatlantic mails, when the mid-week service is established at additional cost. As the American Post-Office has always been a liberal patron of the Cunard line, judging from the past the line can rely on about $200,000 a year for American east-bound mails, in addition to the $1,060,000 it is to receive from the British Government.

3. The Cunard line is effectually committed against American acquisition. Of the "services rendered," this factor is mentioned first in the contract, and was doubtless the primary motive in the negotiation of this extraordinary document.

The agreement of the British Government with the International Mercantile Marine Association, was made on August 1, 1903, immediately after the signing of the Cunard contract,

and the two constitute the declaration of British maritime policy toward the only plans at present feasible for the extension of American influence in the ocean-carrying trade. This agreement provides in substance:

(1) The fast White Star mail steamers shall continue to receive their former mail pay and Admiralty subvention;

(2) The British companies in the Association shall continue British, with a British majority in their boards of directors;

(3) No British ship in the Association shall give up its British flag and register, without the consent of the British Government;

(4) All British ships in the Association must carry British officers, and the same proportion of British crews as the Government may require of other similar vessels;

(5) All British ships in the Association are to be at the command of the Admiralty when needed;

(6) Any other British companies acquired hereafter by the Association must agree to the conditions just mentioned.

The agreement may be cancelled if the policy of the Association is injurious to the British mercantile marine or British trade, and all disputes under it are to be determined according to English law by the Lord High Chancellor as the final arbitrator.

The agreement recognizes certain conditions precisely as they exist. Its real meaning lies in the fact that it undertakes to forbid for twenty years any change in those conditions. In this respect, it is a wider deviation from British tradition and practice than those noted in the Cunard contract. Hitherto, any British shipowner has been at liberty to transfer his steamer to the flag and register of any nation willing to grant them. The laws of the United States forbid American registry under such conditions, and, from time to time, the fear, real or feigned, has been expressed here that British influence might secure the repeal of these laws. There need be no longer dread on that score. If at any time Congress, in its wisdom, should desire to admit to American registry any of the British steamers of the International Mercantile Marine Company, and should create conditions permitting commercially the navigation of such steamers under the American flag, the owner would still have to obtain the consent of the President of the British Board of Trade. At the outbreak of our war with Spain, the Government bought from the

American owners of the British steamship lines now in the Morgan merger, vessels it needed for military purposes. For the next twenty years, the consent of the British Government to the sale must be obtained, should a similar emergency arise. Whether that Government would consent formally to the sale of vessels to the United States to carry on war against a nation with which the British were at peace, can hardly be a question, when the findings of the Alabama Tribunal are recalled. On the other hand, these same steamers, owned by Americans, are by the agreement placed at the command of the British Admiralty in the event of war. In time of peace, they are to carry British officers, and, if required, British crews. All of these conditions apply not only to the British fleets of about 900,000 tons, which Mr. Morgan and his colleagues have already acquired, but they are to apply to any extension of American influence along the same lines. The requirements of the British Government are solely political. They do not interfere with the full earning power of the fleets; indeed, under the conditions imposed, the financial success of the ships is doubtless desired, for it will preserve British maritime prestige.

Necessarily, these two agreements will considerably affect the future shipping legislation of the United States. Their provisions are so numerous and intricate, and the subject is of such limited interest in this country, that some time will elapse before American public opinion expresses itself. Three British departments, Post-Office, Navy, and Commerce and Labor (to adopt the American equivalent of the sometimes misunderstood English term Board of Trade), have recommended and Parliament has approved a proposition, advancing outright $12,600,000 from the British Treasury to build two steamers for the Cunard Company and an annual subsidy of $800,000 to those two steamers to enable that Company to repay the advance with interest. How the Congress of the United States would regard a corresponding proposition is a fruitful theme for conjecture, pending the time when it may actually have to be answered. That time may not be remote. The new Cunarders will doubtless be finished late in 1905. The present contract of the United States Government with the American line will expire in October, 1905. The interesting question will have to be settled about that time, whether or not the United States will definitely withdraw from the North

Atlantic, except as a War Power. Nearly fifty years ago, we decided to withdraw our mail line. The "improved services," with increased subsidy, of the Cunard line was not the sole cause of the withdrawal of the Collins line or the stoppage of its subsidy in 1857-8. Two great marine disasters to the American company seriously embarrassed it. The new Cunard contract will undoubtedly convince many Americans that again we ought to give up the ocean steamship business, and devote ourselves to farming, and the manufacture of sewing-machines, tin-plates and other industries, for which we have a natural or acquired aptitude. That may be one of the "services rendered" by the new Cunarders. But the contract is equally sure to convince another considerable portion of the American public, that more than ever the United States should make a respectable showing on salt water. Probably swift merchant cruisers are no more useful to Great Britain than to the United States, with its great coast line. No opinion is here expressed as to their usefulness to either nation. That is purely a military question. Undoubtedly, there are just as good national reasons for the United States' maintaining a first-class Transatlantic mail service as for Great Britain's doing so. The mail business might be done for less money, perhaps, if both nations were to turn it over to Germany's naval auxiliary fleets. On the other hand, if the United States is to meet, and not to retire from, the situation, its expenditure must be larger than Great Britain's. The ocean steamship business, in every detail, from planning the ship to sailing it, is done more cheaply by the British than by the Americans. It means almost nothing, for example, to require three-fourths of the crew of a great Cunarder to be British subjects. To require three-fourths of the crew of such an American steamer to be Americans means an additional expense of over $30,000 a year, and our Naval Reserves are in embryo.

Friction is defined as the resistance produced by the rubbing of two bodies against each other. It is, of course, reduced to the minimum when one body has been effectually rubbed out. Under the two master-pieces of British business-statesmanship just considered, the "inevitable development" of American Transatlantic shipping, referred to at Sheffield, may or may not end in "the least possible friction."

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

WOMAN'S ACTUAL POSITION IN A REPUBLIC—A REJOINDER.

BY MRS. FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY, HONORARY PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

AN article which appeared in these pages in August, entitled "Woman's Inferior Position in a Republic," gave such a gloomy picture of the condition of women in republics that I venture to bring forward a few facts which may serve to keep the sex in America from despair.

In perusing this article I was reminded of the terse statement in Mariette's "Uneven Civilization" respecting Egyptian dynasties: "The greatest obstacle to the establishment of a regular Egyptian chronology is the circumstance that the Egyptians themselves never had any chronology at all." Similarly, it is difficult to compare the political status of women in monarchies and republics, since, so far as general history shows, woman never had any real political position in either.

Mrs. Woolsey, it appears, may be classed among those zealous but timid pilots for women, who, instead of keeping the vessel well in the channel of progress, must needs (because of a trivial list, which could easily be adjusted by balancing facts) run the vessel ashore on shallow ground and call out to all passing vessels that the course is wrong.

History shows that, in the organization of modern civilized governments, no sweeping political concessions have ever been granted to women in any country, monarchical or republican, and it is, therefore, misleading to single out republics and assert that "the Constitution of the United States excludes women from its scope of justice." What monarchy, governmental union, or colony granted women full political rights in 1777? New Zealand does now, but did not at its origin.

The United States is not behind the Old World in granting political rights to women. On the contrary, it is conceded that the spirit and initiative in the struggle for equal rights came from the United States. Moreover, at the present moment the only places on the round globe where women have the same full, unrestricted political rights as men are four States of this republic—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. Within these States 200,000 women are entitled to vote exactly on the same basis as men, and are eligible to any and all State offices, some of which, indeed, are occupied by women.

Evidently, woman's political equality means to Mrs. Woolsey the inclusion of *some women,* as figureheads, in pageants and government. She prefers the spectacular to the practical. The theatricalism of the monarchy touches her, when the prosaic legislation of the republic escapes even her notice.

The struggle of the century for the recognition of the rights of humanity as against class rule is put aside by Mrs. Woolsey, in her argument, as a feeble and fruitless skirmish. Yet, as a result of this struggle, the twentieth century finds remaining but nine absolute monarchies—the names of most of them being anything but synonymous with progress, the highest civilization, or respect for women. These are Abyssinia, Afghanistan, China, Korea, Morocco, Persia, Russia, Siam, Turkey. The other eighteen or nineteen monarchies are but limited monarchies, which have adopted constitutions securing rights for individuals. The remaining twenty-three or twenty-four governments are republics; the United States leading as the shining example and hope for them all. So, even in monarchies men seem to cherish the belief that in constitutional government rests the hope of better, truer government.

It is further true that the liberation of British women from their historic thraldom, from their domestic serfdom and social and legal inferiorities, is coincidental with the extension and broadening of the suffrage, with the growth of democracy, and with the waning and attenuation of monarchism—in fact, with the Americanization of England.

The first two cases of sex humiliation cited by Mrs. Woolsey in her paper are so purely her personal experiences that they may be passed over without comment.

The third was so exceptional a case as to require supporting

testimony. "I heard native-born American ladies address a foreign-born committee of a legislature," says Mrs. Woolsey, "to plead for their enfranchisement." Within my knowledge, no foreign-born committee has ever been appointed in State or Federal affairs. That some foreign-born members may have served on the committee mentioned is probable. That a majority even were foreign-born is highly improbable, and it would be desirable to have the date and names of the committee for record.

I deeply sympathize with Mrs. Woolsey in her fourth affront, when she "witnessed a man who had emigrated from Ireland throw a petition, which was presented by American ladies, into a waste-paper basket with the remark, 'Legislators have more important matters to attend to than the affairs of women.'" This frankness was, indeed, rude. The more so as it came from a man born under a monarchical government, which "accords titles to women, names streets in their honor, and erects statues to their memory." Evidently, this Irishman was an exceptional boor, who failed to absorb from his birth-land the general political respect for women which, according to Mrs. Woolsey, a monarchy inspires.

It would appear, from all these cases of grievance put forth in Mrs. Woolsey's article as proofs that women are more important politically in monarchies than in republics, as if the State Legislatures and the Congress of the United States were largely composed of negroes and foreign-born citizens. As a matter of fact, in the present Congress there is not one colored man, and the proportion of foreign-born citizens is about four per cent. In State Legislatures the proportion of foreign-born members is somewhat larger, with the native-born element greatly in the majority. Further, the largest percentage of foreign-born legislators in America will be found in Western States—*in the States where the largest measure of political equality has been granted to women.*

It is a regrettable fact that, in the States where the foreign-born element is practically an unknown quantity (the States south of Mason and Dixon's line), the greatest number of barbaric legislative cruelties survive—child labor, inhuman treatment of criminals, and a stubborn resistance to the passage of all enlightened measures which are calculated to make woman the

political, legal and economic equal of man. This is the section of country from which Mrs. Woolsey comes, and from which she has evidently gathered her facts.

Mrs. Woolsey's instances may be extreme illustrations of the attitude of men towards women in the early years of the suffrage movement, but that time is past; and it is but just to the men of this republic that an article published in 1903 should represent their attitude now, instead of harking back to forty years ago.

From this republic, which to her mind is largely governed by foreign-born men who crush down women's rights, and which accords women few privileges (even refusing to let them take part in the Presidential inaugural procession), Mrs. Woolsey sailed for England. The first notable sight she witnessed there was "Queen Victoria passing through the streets of London upon a state occasion." Mrs. Woolsey was then most observant. She noted that, "in an aristocracy, a woman was at the head of the government"; "that a state occasion in a monarchy was not an affair of males, males, males"; and that the Queen "received more homage and honor in a few hours than the combined womanhood of the combined republics of the world had received in a hundred years." "There were women in the coach with the Queen,and women in attendance when she opened Parliament." Thus it was made obvious to Mrs. Woolsey that in England, unlike the régime in the United States, "the government was not of men, by men, and for men." She then, "for the first time in all her life, lifted her head with pride of sex."

Evidently, Mrs. Woolsey has not the republican spirit. The vicarious honors showered on a few women easily satisfied her pride of sex, and she hastily "realized that a woman can be the political head in a monarchy, but that in no republic can a woman ever reach this zenith and pinnacle of power." If the Queen or her attendants had held place by election, comparison might be made between them and the women of republics. It was accident of birth alone which gave them place; and, by a similar accident of birth, the great mass of English women are, by the same system, debarred from such exaltation to place and honor.

Mrs. Woolsey lost sight of another general fact when she remarked that the government of Great Britain, unlike that of the United States, is not one of males. Parliament is composed of men, the political offices are absorbed by men. The late Queen's

advisers were men, and the Governors of her colonies were men. The same is true of all other monarchies, with such signal exceptions as but prove the rule of male supremacy in a monarchy.

To place in contrast a republican woman with a Queen and say, "I saw that the former was the political inferior, while the latter was the political superior," is absurd.

The "sharp contrast" which is thus made apparent between the "first lady" in the United States, and the "first lady" in the largest aristocracy of Christendom was then "burned into Mrs. Woolsey's memory." If it had burned in deep enough to reach reason, the fact would have been evolved that, in the monarchical system, woman, as hereditary Queen, or as the mother of the heir to the throne, has precedence in pageant and state functions which places her outside comparison with any woman in a republic.

As to the assertion that not a single right, liberty or privilege enjoyed by woman in the United States is not also enjoyed by the women of Great Britain, I am profoundly more than willing to believe this, but that proves nothing to the point. The "Woman's Cause" has ever been one of "hands across the sea" between the women of Great Britain and the United States. I would, however, inform Mrs. Woolsey that the rights, privileges, and liberties enjoyed by British women were not the voluntary offering of the monarchy. These rights, like those of their sisters in America, were won by the hard-fought battles of women —women who were willing to bear opprobrium and humiliation, in the effort to persuade their brothers that their sex had rights apart from those conferred by male protection. Moreover, the rights are asked for in true republican spirit for *all* women, not for *some* women.

It is unfortunate for her qualifications to treat her subject with adequate knowledge of existing conditions that Mrs. Woolsey "kept her own counsel" so long, and failed to keep herself in touch with the "Woman's Cause," even if she were not willing to be identified with it. At the Councils of the "Woman's Cause" she would have learned that "if the first organized demand for the rights of women—made at the memorable convention of Seneca Falls, in 1848—had omitted the one for the franchise, those who made it would have lived to see all grant-

ed."* The rights there named were "personal freedom, to acquire an education, to earn a living, to claim her wages, to own property, to make contracts, to bring suit, to testify in court, to obtain a divorce for just cause, to possess her children, to claim a fair share of the accumulations during marriage." In many of the States all these privileges are now accorded, and in not one are all refused; but in 1848 most were denied in every State.

Moreover, if the original legal status of women in the United States was based on the assumption that woman was inferior to man, it was because of the common law of England, which was our inheritance from the British monarchy. Said Lord Brougham: "The common law in its attitude to women is the opprobrium of an age of Christianity." In 1881, Wendell Phillips, in an address before Harvard College, said: "For forty years, earnest men and women, working noiselessly, have washed away this opprobrium." The statute-books of thirty States have been remodelled away from the English common law, and woman stands to-day face to face with almost her last claim, the ballot.

Mrs. Woolsey tells us that ten years ago, according to certain data gathered by her and compared with Russian statistics, she found that "in America millions of wives had no individual control over their property," while Russian wives had. In the early fifties New York State passed the Married Woman's Property Bill, and Ohio, Maine, Indiana and Missouri followed the example. Many, if not all, States had passed such laws long before ten years ago—so the statement that millions of wives in America had no individual control over property at that time is not borne out by facts. If Mrs. Woolsey is desirous of making the political and legal condition of the women of America identical with that of Russian women, I can only say that, while her aspirations may amaze us, they will hardly lead us back there; and I doubt very much whether any Russian woman of education and knowledge regards her lot as happier and more equitable than ours. This, after all, is apparently merely a question of choice and taste.

The nature of the rights of Russian women may be judged by the following:

"The married Russian woman is in the full power of her husband, though she is mistress of her own fortune."

* Extract from Introduction to "The History of Woman's Suffrage," Volume IV., p. xiii.

"Russian women vote on an equality with men for members of the municipal councils and county assemblies, but the Russian woman does not appear at the polls, but is represented by some male relative or friend, who casts the vote."

"The Russian woman, except that she is ineligible for office, possesses all the political rights of the Russian man."*

The same authority sums up the political rights of women by saying: "The Russian woman is downtrodden by society and state, and seeks consolation in religion."

As to the addresses of Mrs. Woolsey before women anarchists, the sentiments she expressed seem to have been as insidiously anarchistic as any they themselves could hope to propagate. The statement that "the Constitution of the United States excluded women from its scope of justice" will not bear examination. Women were excluded from political rights, but political rights must not be confounded with natural rights even by one addressing anarchists—particularly when the monarchies lauded never afforded the precedent of including women in the first grant of political rights.†

By grouping together Republicanism, Socialism and Anarchism as three forces which make against woman's political emancipation, Mrs. Woolsey suggests that her idea of republicanism is that it means the rule of the mob.

Nor is she more happy in her allusions to the republics which lie to the south of us. The conditions inherited from Spanish law and custom are, quite likely, different from the fruits of the wholly ideal English common law, but the Spanish woman seems to have no complaint to make. Certainly, those who know our Spanish-American neighbors best do not hesitate to speak in admiration of the beauty, tenderness and gracious felicity of domestic life in those republics which are alleged to be anarchistic.

If what Mrs. Woolsey contends as to women's position in republics be true, then may we decide that as humanity approaches

* "History of Woman's Suffrage," Volume III., page 915.

† "Natural or human rights exist for the individual, while political rights, though granted to individuals, do not exist for him, but for the massed interests of the public. Political rights are conferred by the law interpreting the general interests, suitably to the ideas, needs, and prejudices of the place, time, and age in which they are conferred."

governmental perfection it is really retrograding to a point inferior to the brute creation. But the masses of women do not believe this. On the contrary, the women of this republic, even those of the "Woman's Cause," are hopeful, and assured that the position of woman under republics is as sure, honorable and open to advancement in all directions, as that of *the* women (not *some* women) of any monarchy now existing. "To say, in this age of the world, that women under any form of government on the face of the globe are better off than the women in the United States, is false. Our schools are absolutely free. With two or three exceptions all colleges are open to women. Half our States have granted school suffrage. Tax suffrage exists in five or six, and municipal in Kansas. Besides, we have four with full suffrage—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. The women of the United States, the nearest a true republic, are vastly freer in every department of life than under any form of monarchical government under the sun."*

FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY.

* Extract from letter of Susan B. Anthony to the writer anent the article, "Woman's Inferior Position in a Republic."

MR. WYNDHAM'S LAND ACT AND THE FUTURE OF IRELAND.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

"We were reckless, ignorant, improvident, drunken and idle; we were idle, for we had nothing to do; we were reckless, for we had no hope; we were ignorant, for learning was denied us; we were improvident, for we had no future; we were drunken, for we sought to forget our misery."—SIR R. KANE'S *"Industrial Resources of Ireland": 1844.*

VISITING England this summer, after seven years' absence in the New World, I was met on all hands by evidence of a great moral revolution. President Loubet had come and gone, leaving a wake of gorgeous color behind him; Albemarle Street and Pall Mall looked strangely unfamiliar, wreathed in tricolor, and decked with Venetian masts gay with the red, white and blue of the French Revolution; everywhere were mottoes of France's friendship for England, and England's amity for France. From Dover came back the parting words of good-will; and within a few weeks the city of the white cliffs again held festival to welcome another French invasion, this time a host of Députés, crusading in the cause of peace. All the south of England was evidently delighted at making friends once more with the land across the Channel, that for so many generations has stood for the ideal of urbanity, grace and charm.

Nor was the change in the temper of England less marked in other ways. From the East came echoes of a great protest by Lord Curzon, with the whole Anglo-Indian community supporting him, declaring it unjust to lay on the natives of India the burden of an African army. And, while this new sensitiveness to the rights of India was finding voice, the best elements in the Cabinet, strongly moved thereto by the personal influence of the King, were strengthening the hands of Russia and Austria in the

Balkans, thus trying, as far as may be done at this late hour, to make expiation for the Crimean War, and to undo the mischief wrought in Macedonia by the Treaty of Berlin. In the near East, as in the renewed amity with France, the personal power of the sovereign was evidently the potent factor; it was not the Prime Minister, with his wonderfully open mind; it was not the Foreign Secretary, with his unfortunate gift for confusion; it was not the Cabinet nor the Parliamentary party in power which led these changes. One could see everywhere the hand and, far more important, the heart of the King himself.

More striking than all else was the altered tone towards Ireland. It is not so long since a Premier of one great English party contemptuously compared the whole Irish nation to Hottentots, one of the most abject of savage races; it is not so long since a Premier of the other great English party declared, of the representatives of nearly four million Irishmen, that they were steeped to the lips in treason. It is not yet sixty years since the pathetic complaint put into the lips of Ireland by Sir Robert Kane, which I have quoted as a point of departure, was true to the letter. How all this has changed! In the great aristocratic party, not less than among advanced Liberals and Radicals, there is the sincerest wish to deal fairly with Ireland, to extend genuine and effective help, to do all that can be thought of and suggested to make the Irish nation strong, stable, self-reliant, mistress of its resources.

It is true that this better relation with Ireland is a splendid political investment; it is true that the hands of England are thereby greatly strengthened in the New World, not less than the Old; it is true that the good-will of Ireland becomes daily more necessary to the successful conduct of England's business at Westminster; it is true that the land of Ireland is an admirable security for the credits advanced by England; but all these things were equally true during all of the last two centuries, while the spirit of good-will and helpfulness is altogether new.

Yet another note of change. My good friend, Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., writing of Ireland and the British Empire, has indignantly declared that every English measure for the redress of Irish grievances had to be extorted by lawlessness and crime—the threatened rebellion under O'Connell, the Young Ireland risings, the Fenian outbreaks, the Land League, the assassination

of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the dynamite outrages, the Plan of Campaign; this, says Mr. Russell, is the lesson that England teaches Ireland by the history of a hundred years. But here again we have the dawn of a new day: the great act of conciliation passed at the last session of Parliament, which at length goes to the root of many evils, is the result, not of agitation and outrage, but of sincere good-will and mutual understanding. Here again King Edward has had his personal triumph—here, as everywhere, a triumph of feeling rather than calculation, of the heart rather than the head. It is literally true that King Edward, in his Irish progress this summer, is the first English sovereign whose visit to Ireland was welcome, since the days of Earl Strongbow and the twelfth-century invasion.

This great moral revolution, therefore, has come to England. The old spirit of intolerance, in which England, as one of her historians has said, determined to make every government on the Continent of Europe feel that they could undertake nothing without Great Britain's permission; the old willingness to wring from India the uttermost farthing; the old arrogant dislike of Ireland: all are giving way to a national aspiration to do right for the sake of right, to strengthen the bonds of good-will and friendship, to seek peace and ensue it, that "peace conceived in the spirit of peace" which Edmund Burke saw as a vision afar. One may have had misgivings, five years ago, that our new friendship for England might bring to the United States some of the less worthy qualities of imperial ambition. To-day, the relation is reversed: England will rather give to the Anglo-Saxon world an example of moderation, of gentleness, of sympathy and good-will towards other nations. England is thus growing ready once more to play a great part among the nations, a part that promises much for the welfare of mankind.

In Ireland, one finds everywhere signs of a revolution not less sweeping and complete. A new spirit is in the air, a spirit of courage, of self-help, of self-reliance; a power to conceive new enterprises, to face the future with confidence and hope; in a word, a spirit the reverse of everything attributed by tradition to the Niobe of the nations. Mr. Wyndham's great Land Act has set the corner-stone on thirty-three years' work of reparation, a work that, but for certain questions of education and finance, is now measurably complete. Let us consider the measure and its

results, economic, social, moral, trying thus to gain some insight into the future of Ireland.

That a nation, having lost its land by invasion, conquest, and confiscation, should buy that land back again by instalments, is a thing unprecedented in history.

France of the Revolution forms the closest parallel. There, however, the great feudal lords were driven out, and as many injustices almost were created as were sought to be removed. Yet the restoration of the land to the cultivator in France has succeeded even beyond expectation. Arthur Young's famous saying, that "ownership turns sands into gold," is there amply vindicated, and the thrift, tireless industry, and far-seeing economy of the French peasant proprietor have passed into a proverb.

One would be perfectly justified in prophesying a like result for Ireland, as a consequence of the laws of which Mr. Wyndham's Land Act is the crowning chapter. But, happily, we are not reduced to prophecy; we have an immense amount of already accomplished fact in Ireland to judge from. The principle and practice of Land Purchase, the buying back of their land by the cultivators in instalments, has been in force, in steadily increasing measure, for over a generation. Thus, more than six thousand tenants purchased their farms under the Irish Church Act of 1869; the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 each turned nearly a thousand tenants into proprietors; the Land Purchase Act of 1885 extended the same privilege to two thousand more; while the Land Purchase Acts of 1891 and 1896 turned into owners of the soil no less than thirty-seven thousand former tenants. We have, therefore, the experience of nearly fifty thousand peasant proprietors, created by earlier Irish Land Laws, to help us to judge of the effect, on the rest, of Mr. Wyndham's great measure. By a happy coincidence, the question of the experience, success or failure of these fifty-thousand peasant landlords occurred a few months ago to Mr. Wyndham himself, and he ordered a very exhaustive series of investigations to be made, under the direction of my friend, Mr. W. F. Bailey, of the Irish Land Commission, who has, most opportunely, sent me a copy of his report, from which I cannot do better than choose certain typical facts.

The investigators visited and reported on some fifteen thousand tenant-holdings,—about a third of the total; of these, ten thousand were in Ulster, and the rest equally divided between Leinster,

Munster, and Connaught. In Ulster, certain of the great feudal estates were thus resolved back into their primal elements: properties like those of the Duke of Abercorn in Donegal, Lord Londonderry in Down, Lord Enniskillen in Fermanagh, Lord Annesley in Cavan, Lord Lurgan in Armagh; also lands held by the great English companies, like the Skinners and the Drapers, whose presence changed the name Derry to Londonderry. One may say, indeed, that in Ulster the great confiscation of the land of the O'Neills and O'Donnells which followed on "the Flight of the Earls," and the Plantation of 1611—the year in which Shakespeare sang his swan-song—are thus being visibly undone. In this way, old Irish history breaks through prosaic modern fact. No estates of equal magnitude have been sold to the tenants in Leinster, the great stronghold of the Anglo-Norman lords. Amongst the Leinster landlords who have parted with their lands, we find the Duke of Leinster once again, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earls of Normanton and Granard, Earl Stanhope, Lord Monck, and Lord Castletown. In Munster, the Marquis of Waterford was the largest selling landlord; the Denny estate came next, then Lord Normanton again, followed by the Earl of Shannon and the Earl of Egmont, a name suggesting quite other associations. In Connaught, the Costello estate was the largest among those visited; next, the lands of Lord Kilmaine, the Berridge and Reddington estates, and half a score more. Here again, there is much history for the discerning ear, in the character of the names.

These great estates, therefore, and many others like them, distributed through the four provinces, have been broken up and sold piecemeal to the former tenants, who by half-yearly payments are gradually becoming full owners of the soil. What use are they making of their ownership? What effect is it working in the material and moral fabric of their lives?

It must be understood that, until quite recently, the traditional tenure in Ireland was a year to year tenancy, and that it was the constant practice of the landlords and their agents to exact a higher rent in every case where a tenant, by building, draining, clearing or fencing, had added to the value of his holding. The tenant was thus taxed, and heavily taxed, for his own improvements, with the alternative of quitting, and leaving the whole of his work bodily to the landlord. This taxation of in-

dustry and thrift went on endlessly, with the result that it became the tenants' interest to leave their farms as nearly in a condition of wilderness as was compatible with a bare livelihood. When the farms became the property of the tenants, therefore, in many of the farms we have spoken of almost everything had to be done to bring them up to a modern standard of excellence and efficiency.

Mr. Bailey and his associates tell us that the holdings of the new peasant proprietors, or tenant purchasers, as he prefers to call them, have largely improved in all parts of Ireland, as regards cultivation, treatment and general betterment. The exceptions to this rule are such as to emphasize the good effect of land purchase, rather than to detract from it. In the great majority of cases, the tenant purchasers, stimulated by the new sense of ownership, have risen early and toiled late to improve their holdings. In the words of the report, they consider that when they have satisfactorily established their financial position by the development of the soil, they can turn their attention to less essential though more attractive labors, improve their residences and secure the amenities of life. In the mean time, they have not merely maintained the condition of their holdings in the state in which they were at the time of purchase, but they have usually greatly increased their fertility, by manuring, top-dressing, the feeding of stock, draining and reclaiming. In many districts it was found that the actual carrying power of the land was largely increased, since purchase, by improved management. Greater zeal was shown in early ploughing, in cleaning the fields after the crop was taken out, in trimming hedges, and making farm roads. Most of these things, the purchasers admit, they would not have done under the old conditions; on an estate in Tyrone, for instance, a tenant purchaser said that much of his farm was formerly rough and "furzy," but that "he never attacked it until the place became his own."

Thus, in the words of Arthur Young, is ownership turning sands to gold, all over Ireland; and it is precisely the presence of these happy isles of ownership amongst those who still pay rent, that has compelled the extension of land purchase to the whole country; the contrast is too striking, too vividly realized by the tenants themselves, for them to remain contented with their less favored state. Having gone so far, it was necessary to go much

farther; it was necessary, in fact, to allow the whole nation to buy back its land. And this is precisely what Mr. Wyndham has been able to do.

In other directions, conclusions as satisfactory were reached. It is found, for instance, that, though the land has always been their first care, the houses, both dwellings and offices, of tenant purchasers have very materially improved since they became owners. In all the four provinces, this is the general testimony. New buildings have sprung up; old ones have been repaired. On some estates, where the condition of purchased and non-purchased holdings can be contrasted, it is found that, while the houses on the former have been much improved, on the latter they are in a very neglected state. As to the tendency of these new landowners to sell, sublet or subdivide their holdings, we have very positive and most reassuring evidence. Subletting and subdivision are practically extinct, while the tendency to sell is swiftly disappearing. "I could well perceive," says one of the land inspectors, "the love these people have for their little homes, and how desperate must be their position before parting with them, and purchase seems to make them cling to them even more than before." Not less favorable is the verdict as to the credit and solvency of the new tenant purchasers. It has increased all round, as is testified to by the local bankers and shopkeepers, who are best in a position to know. A very good symptom is the fact that these new landowners are very chary of getting into debt; they think twice before borrowing money, even where their credit is first-rate.

We can well see that a great moral change must accompany this steady material regeneration. A feeling of safety is everywhere springing up, in place of the "paralyzing insecurity and doubt that prevailed for generations." A group of tenant purchasers in Roscommon declare that, "since they have got a hold of the land," they have not spared themselves in making improvements, which will be their own for all time. A parish priest in Cavan says that "purchase has brought peace. The people are more industrious, more sober, and more hopeful as to their future prospects." The police say that before purchase they found the people troublesome and unruly, but now all is changed, and quietness and order reign instead. The tenant purchasers are full of a supreme contentment at their altered situation. A

priest in Fermanagh says the people in his parish are more industrious now, while the consumption of whiskey has diminished by a third. The evidence of these two ecclesiastics vividly recalls the plaintive declaration quoted at the outset: "We were drunken, for we sought to forget our misery!"

On a certain Wexford estate, the testimony is universal that "a spirit of content and interest in the improvement of the holdings has taken the place of unrest and discontent." The tenant owners of an estate in Tipperary declare that "purchase has been their salvation, although their landlord was one of the best in Ireland."

One more instance must suffice. Of an estate in Longford, which had been almost a wilderness under the old order, we are told that the change is simply miraculous. The land is now amply stocked, and well tilled and fertilized, and the people themselves absolutely enthusiastic about their new position. At present, nothing could be better than the way the land is treated, and the cleanliness of both land and houses might serve as an object lesson to those in more favored counties. Before purchase, the reputation of the people was bad enough, and "the sheriff almost slept on the property." Now, the inspector declares, a more honest, sober, industrious, hard-working, and self-respecting body of men does not exist in Ireland.

If such a revolution has already been brought about by the purchase of less than fifty thousand holdings, we can easily foresee that the extension of the same system to the whole country means nothing less than a complete regeneration, a change which, for magnitude and beneficence, is unequalled in modern history.

To turn now to the social side of the question. What will be the fruit of this new order of things on the nation's social life? Taking the word "society" in a somewhat conventional sense, we can see that the change will be most sweeping. It means the annihilation of the entire territorial aristocracy, the submergence of the "landed gentry," and their disappearance as a class. No one can read the list of great estates already given, like those of the Duke of Leinster, the Duke of Abercorn, the Marquis of Londonderry, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Enniskillen, the Earl of Shannon, and their lesser brethren in diminishing degrees of the hierarchy, without seeing that, from the standpoint of picturesque effect, of international social standing, of

pageantry and heraldry, the country will lose much. For no one can deny picturesqueness to the feudal element in Ireland, from the days of Earl Strongbow, the de Courcys, the de Lacys, the de Berminghames and their peers, who studded throughout the country those great donjon-keeps which still stand everywhere as frowning memorials of conquest. Down through the ages, from those early times to the days of Charles Lever and Samuel Lover, of "Castle-Rackrent" and "Ballyblunder," the fine old Irish gentlemen have been a mine of wealth for history and fiction. Yet, in their case, the veil of romance is somewhat threadbare and thin. The hard truth has already leaked out through the land reports just quoted, that they may have made for national picturesqueness, but they never made for national well-being. Like Bacon's rats, they have been a good thing for themselves, but a shrewd thing for the land of their adoption. Yet, in this era of conciliation, we may forget old scores; leaving out of the picture their many shortcomings, let us consider the fate of the remnant that will be left behind.

For, though within a few years there will be no more landlords in Ireland, yet the landlord class will not disappear, nor take themselves off bag and baggage. They will remain, in some cases, because they cannot afford to go; in many cases, because they have come to love the land of their adoption, almost as much as it is loved by the original race. These former landlords will retain their houses, their parks, their demesne lands, their gardens, and, in many cases, their home farms. It will often happen that one son of the family, from such long association with the land, will have gained a taste for the things of the land, a vivid feeling for seed-time and harvest, for the care of cattle, for the thousand natural touches that make up country life. We shall have, therefore, a nucleus of the old gentry in a new guise: come down to the level of common earth, standing on an equality with their former tenants, and competing with them in the practical arts of farming. One might well write pathetic odes on this little remnant of the once omnipotent garrison, fallen on evil days, and shorn of all their glory; but the plain truth is, that their position may be very comfortable for themselves, and very useful for their neighbors and former tenants. As to their own comfort, it may be said that nowhere on earth will be found a people so willing to forget old wrongs, so gentle, so conciliatory,

as the Irish peasants, the tenants of the past and landowners of the present and future. They have a sort of feudal affection for the landlord class, even for the black sheep of the class, and much more, therefore, for the young and tender lambs, and they will do all in their power to make it up to them for the glory that is fled, as probably the masses of no other land would be willing to do. Mr. Bailey gives an interesting instance of this feeling: the former tenants of one estate, now the owners, have volunteered to preserve the game on their lands, for the benefit of the son of their late landlord; what kinder act of conciliation and sympathy could be conceived? Thus the remnant of the old garrison, the belated gentry still left in the big houses all over Ireland, will find themselves in an atmosphere of kindliness, of appreciation, of considerate tact. They, on their part, can do much for the country. They will have two things of the utmost value, and which the masses of tenant purchasers everywhere greatly need. These two things are education and capital. For it must be understood that the Land Purchase scheme, while annihilating the old landlord class as landlords, will recreate them as a class of local capitalists, and they will have many inducements to invest their ransoms on the spot, where they can watch over and nurse their investments. It may be "rubbing it in" to say that, under present conditions, they will not be inclined to put their money in American Industrials; but, at any rate, it is much better that their charity should begin at home.

To enumerate the endless fields for investment in Ireland, the endless directions in which small amounts of capital are needed, and would be well repaid, all over Ireland, would be to write a separate treatise; a treatise in which the work of the Congested Districts Board, the new Agricultural Department, the Co-operative Banks, and so many similar activities would have their proper place,—one much larger than I can give them here. Fortunately, one is under no obligation to solve historic problems beforehand; the matter will work itself out, and the men on the spot, the new capitalists who represent the old landed gentry, will find out for themselves, perhaps with the help of Sir Horace Plunkett, Lord Iveagh and their like, the thousand and one directions in which their energies may be profitably bestowed. One may say, in parenthesis, that the proper disposition and utilization of the remnant of the old landed gentry of Ireland

is one of the most important and interesting questions which the nation, including the remnant themselves, will be called on to solve.

The education of this same class, their accessibility to ideas,—a quality not universally attributed to them, but which they nevertheless possess,—will form a valuable national asset. In agriculture, they will adopt and introduce, or even invent, new methods, more economic and more modern. Sir Horace Plunkett and his coadjutors are proofs of these very qualities, working out in just this way. They will go beyond the land, and devise new outlets and energies in a score of ways, which I will not undertake to divine beforehand. They have inherited the instinct of leadership; they will now be in a position to use it. Therefore, let us waste no pity on the disinherited gentry; let them make themselves indispensable, as they very well may.

Now comes another consideration, here suggested, I believe, for the first time. Through a piece of good fortune, I recently met a good many sons of the older Irish race who, for two generations or more, have been at home in the New World. They have gained all the capacity, energy, command of the arts of life, which one thinks of as American; yet they have retained, deep in the heart's core, that tradition of Ireland as a land to be reverenced and loved, which only a few chosen countries in the world's history have been able deeply to inspire. These men are returning to Ireland, but in a new rôle. They are buying and restoring some of the castles and great country houses that the aristocracy of the English garrison are letting slip through their fingers. They are restoring, without premeditated or conscious intention, the older Gaelic nobility, in eclipse since Anglo-Norman days. It is the beginning of a movement which will undo the Flight of the Earls.

These returned colonists will be, in a sense, the flower of the American genius and temperament; yet they will be profoundly and genuinely Irish; and few things promise better things for the future of Ireland than the movement of repatriation which has thus set in, almost unobserved and unrecorded. I have in mind two country-seats, one in Galway and the other in Kildare, which are, as it were, the first-fruits of this great movement of restoration.

To touch, in brief conclusion, on the moral and spiritual

effects of this regeneration of Ireland. It may be said, with confidence, that the Irish, as a race, are singularly gifted, not only in intellect, but also in temperament. This singularly gifted race has suffered, in its own land, a long eclipse; an eclipse partial from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, and thereafter total until seventy-five years ago. One by one, the clouds of conquest are being rolled back, much more swiftly than they came. In spiritual things, as in material, after centuries of utter repression, Ireland is once more coming to its own.

We have, then, a race singularly gifted, a race of pure life and high spiritual ideals, a race living, in part because of its very repression and spoliation, pre-eminently in that invisible world which is eternal, a race greatly endowed with the sense of humanity, a race which, all through the Middle Ages and modern days, has been denied all free expression and outlet; yet a race which has nevertheless retained its virility; nay, which has found the fountain of perpetual youth. This race, then, so gifted and so endowed, has been held back until this dawning twentieth century, in which it is destined to play a high and dominant part, not less in the Old World than in the New. We have seen the waves of materialism and disbelief, gradually gathering throughout the Middle Ages, breaking forth at the end of the eighteenth century in the beliefs or unbeliefs which were the evangel of the French Revolution. This same tide of materialism, flowing onward through the nineteenth century, has covered all things, history, science, philosophy, statecraft. But the flowing tide has ceased, has already begun to ebb; and, for all who can read the signs of the times, it is clear that the winter is passing, that the spring of a new birth is at hand. One can see here a mission for a race such as we have described, a race of clean life, firmly founded in the invisible world; and this race, we may confidently hope, will play a great part in the century before us; a great part in many fields, but most of all in restoring to our life a truer sense of our humanity, based, as it only can be based, on a sense of the divine.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

EDUCATIONAL EFFICIENCY OF OUR MUSEUMS.

BY ALFRED GOLDSBOROUGH MAYER, CURATOR OF NATURAL SCIENCES, MUSEUM OF THE BROOKLYN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

THE development of museums within the United States during the past thirty years has been insignificant in comparison with the enormous growth of libraries and universities; and while our country now compares favorably with European lands in its colleges and libraries it is far behind them in its museums. A comparison between the museums of England and Wales and those of the United States reveals the weakness of our country in this respect, and it is apparent that our museums are only beginning to make themselves felt as factors in our system of education, whereas in Europe they have long been regarded as indispensable for the maintenance of culture and ideals of civilization.

One hundred and fifty-seven public museums are recorded in Baedeker's handbook of 1902, as existing in England and Wales, and in addition, fully two hundred and fifty private residences contain valuable and instructive collections which are open to public inspection and are practically museums. Also numbers of schools and colleges maintain museums; so that the number of collections available for public instruction is at least one and one-half times as great as in the United States.

Another feature of the situation in England is the presence of good museums in small towns and even villages. One-sixth of the English museums are in towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants, while one-third are in cities having less than 30,000. London alone has twenty-eight public museums which expend annually about $500,000 in the purchase of specimens, certainly three times the amount spent for this purpose by all of the museums of the United States. Museums of the fine arts are both more numerous and more important in England than in America.

Seventy-six of the one hundred and fifty-seven public museums of England, or nearly one-half of the total number, contain collections in the fine arts, while only one-fourth of the public museums of the United States devote any attention to art. However, the chief differences which exist between European museums and those of America cannot be stated numerically. They are distinctions of quality rather than quantity, and so much remains to be done in the development of our museums in this respect that a brief statement of what appears to be some of the chief defects of our museums may not be unwelcome, if it serve merely to stimulate interest in and discussion of a subject which, in a few years, will become a much more important element in the educational problem of our country than is the case at present.

We have overlooked the fact that the vast foreign immigration of the past few years has brought among us a population accustomed to museums, and who seek the amusement and instruction which these institutions afford with much keener appreciation, respect and interest than is manifested by native-born Americans. Museums, Zoological and Botanical Gardens, Aquaria and Public Parks, are all appreciated more thoroughly and visited more frequently by foreigners than by our native-born, and we should take full care that the influence which they exert shall refine the thought and elevate the ideals of that foreign element which is soon to exert a great and all too little known influence upon our national destiny. About eighty per cent. of the emigrants to our country are between fifteen and forty years of age. Their ideals are already formed, our universities affect them only indirectly, and our libraries exert an influence upon them through the feeble medium of a language foreign to their thought. The Museum, the Zoological Garden, and the Public Park may still appeal directly to them; through sight they may come to know our land and to appreciate and respect its beauty, its history, and its principles.

But the ideal public museum is that in which the visitor who enters seeking mere amusement finds delight in learning. The museum is a school whose whole instruction is elective, and, in order that its teaching may be welcomed, it must be presented in a manner attractive to the eye as well as to the mind. The museum must be a beautiful place, displaying the utmost refinement of simplicity and elegance in architecture, with well pro-

portioned rooms, each devoted exclusively to one subject; and the quality of the specimens and the care displayed in their labelling and arrangement must comport in every way with the tastefulness and dignity of the building itself. The general subject of museum architecture and display is better understood in Europe than with us, and it has been reduced almost to a science in the valuable writings of A. B. Meyer.*

We should bear in mind that, in exhibitions designed for public instruction, the quality of the specimens is of far more importance than their quantity; and there can be no doubt that most of our museums would become more instructive to the public were they to withdraw a large proportion of their collections from view. Sir William Flower voices this sentiment when he states that the attempt to display every specimen is as absurd as if in a library every book were to be dissected, and each page mounted within a glazed frame for public inspection. Collections of local natural history might well be as complete as possible; but in all but the largest museums the displays of exotic specimens should be confined to an exhibition of important and interesting forms, which illustrate general laws of relationship, etc.

At the same time, the collections for study, which are to be maintained in storage, should be as complete and as accessible as possible. A reserve collection composed of excellent specimens should be made, and from time to time such specimens should be displayed, others at the same time being withdrawn from exhibition. In other words, the collection upon exhibition should be small, but it should be changed frequently.

Each case should be confined to the illustration of some one fact, or one law, or one group of related laws, and the purpose of each exhibit should be at once apparent to the average visitor. The entire exhibit in each case might be compared to a narrative, and the specimens to the sentences composing the story. An obvious reason should exist for the presence of each specimen within the case, and unnecessary, irrelevant or poorly labelled specimens should be as inexcusable as are poorly constructed and meaningless sentences in a literary production. It is sad to re-

* "*Über Museen des Ostens der Vereinigten Staaten*," I., 1900; II., 1901. Also "*Über einige Europäische Museen*," 1902; R. Friedländer & Sohn.

flect upon the lack of common sense in this respect which is evinced in the displays of most of our public museums. We all recall the thousands of irrelevant specimens which crowd the cases only to bewilder and fatigue the visitor, and to defeat the opportunity which the museum enjoys to teach objectively the laws of nature.

Although lack of judgment in the selection and poor taste in the arrangement of specimens are probably the chief faults of the displays in our museums, the inefficiency of the labelling in most of our museums is even more culpable because more readily corrected.

There is but little of educational value in labels which give merely the scientific names and the catalogue numbers of specimens.

Well illustrated descriptive labels must abound. Labels should be clear and direct, and should convey as much information as possible in an accurate, concise, and readable form. No label, of course, can be wholly satisfactory, for some of the chief desiderata in the composition of a label are mutually antagonistic. For example, a label must be clear, but, in order that the public may grasp its meaning, it must avoid terms whose meaning is precise to the man of science, but unknown to the general public. It must also be full of valuable information, yet as brief as possible. When possible, labels should be accompanied by colored illustrations and by maps showing geographical distributions of specimens. A good balance is obtained when both specimens and labels equally attract the eye, the one compelling attention to the other. Most of the descriptive labels of our museums are either too long to be readable, or are couched in terms too technical for public comprehension.

The superficiality of the instruction and its lack of direction are serious faults in our museums. Without for a moment overlooking the good which museums may do in merely affording a legitimate source of pleasure to the public, we conceive it to be more important that they should teach the laws of nature, and inspire respect for the underlying principles of truth. The museum should become a place into which the student may enter with full assurance that the utmost facility will be afforded him in his researches.

Specimens are dead, but thought will grow and live; and a

museum without books is almost as worthless as a museum without labels. Labels must needs be superficial, but books may at least give to the student all that has been made known.

It is shameful to record that twelve of the leading museums of the United States are expending on the average but one per cent. of their annual incomes upon books.

General libraries abound in our country but learned libraries are few, and many of them have been accumulated by Societies, which no longer flourish in the United States as they did a generation ago, and whose libraries can no longer be adequately maintained. One of the chief reasons for the position of usefulness and respect to which the museums of Europe have attained is, that they are intimately associated with great libraries. Not only should the museum possess a valuable and readily accessible reference library, but general study should be encouraged, by placing books upon tables near cases containing exhibits of a nature treated of in the volumes. Such books should be reliable general treatises, written in a style suited to popular comprehension. They should not be chained, and comfortable chairs should be provided near the tables, in order that the study of the books may become a pleasure to the visitor. In addition, a conspicuous label should be placed on each case, giving a list of the books within the museum library which relate to the subjects illustrated by the contents of the case.*

The museum should also contain study rooms, wherein specimens may be brought to the student and every facility afforded to him in his work; and teachers should especially be encouraged to use such rooms, wherein the resources of the museum upon any subject may be quickly gathered to aid in their discourses. The museum should also be prepared to lend study collections and duplicates to school-teachers and others engaged in educational work outside of the museum building.

But public instruction given by the museum must continue to be superficial and undirected, until well-trained public demonstrators are appointed who will, at stated intervals, accompany visitors, explain the purport of the exhibits and point out the laws which the specimens serve to illustrate. This duty is now intrusted to poorly paid and hence uneducated persons; but

* The Librarian of the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences has carried these plans into effect with remarkable success.

its proper performance demands wide learning, culture, excellent judgment and lucidity of expression, altogether comparable with the requirements demanded of our college professors. Such demonstrators should plan their lectures so as not only to meet the demands of the general public, but also to keep in close accord with the educational work of the schools in the vicinity of the museum.

When one considers the wide influence which accurate, interesting explanations of museum collections would have in increasing public knowledge and refining public taste, one wonders why it is that, in most of our museums, such duties are consigned to the spasmodic efforts of ignorant floor attendants.

The office of the museum demonstrator might well be called the "Information Room" of the museum, and he should be in readiness to assist all inquirers in their search for knowledge.

England has been fortunate in that such leaders as Huxley, Flower, Pitt-Rivers, and others have aroused intelligent and wide-spread interest in her museums. America is unfortunate in that her own great student of the museum problem, Goode, left no active disciple to continue the work after his untimely death, and the subject has received almost no benefit from public discussion since his day.

The libraries of our country have received a wonderful stimulus to progress through the association of representative librarians, the founding of training-schools for library officials, and the publication of journals devoted to discussions of the problems which every active library must meet.

A similar association of museum curators and directors would be of incalculable benefit in improving our museums and rendering them useful in manifold ways to the people of our country.

ALFRED GOLDSBOROUGH MAYER.

THE GROWING NAVAL POWER OF JAPAN.

BY ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

THE navy of Japan is the child of Great Britain; the ships were built mainly in England, and most of the officers and men have been trained either in British men-of-war, or in colleges and schools founded and for many years controlled by British naval officers. As late as ten years ago, a British officer was retained as naval adviser to the Japanese Government. It is, therefore, appropriate that the two forces should be bound in a close alliance during these years when the outlook in the Far East becomes intermittently threatening. The fleet which flies the ensign of the Rising Sun—"Dai Nippon," as the people call their kingdom, means "the great land on which the sun first rises"—is linked to the fleet of an empire on which the sun never sets.

The progress of Japan is one of the marvels of the last half century. A story is still told of the first steam-vessel possessed by the Japanese. It was presented to the Emperor in 1858 by Queen Victoria, and was a small steam-yacht, the "Empress."*

It is said that the new owners were rather impatient of instruction in the methods of working their first steamship, and dispensed too soon with their teachers, a few British bluejackets. They set out bravely, having successfully learned how to start and steer the little ship; but, when they wanted to stop, they discovered that they had forgotten how this desirable operation was performed. Consequently, they had to steam round and round the Gulf of Yeddo until the fires died down and there was

* Admiral Kamimura, during a recent visit to Sydney recalled the interesting fact that one of the young officers of the "Empress," when the vessel was handed over to the Japanese, was the present Governor of New South Wales, Admiral Sir Harry Rawson. This ship, he added, was the beginning of the Japanese navy, and, however great and powerful that navy might become in the future, the Japanese people would always remember its British origin with pride and gratitude.

no steam to drive the engines. Then the yacht was tugged home.

Since these early years, Japan has swiftly emerged out of the almost barbaric darkness in which she hid herself until as late as 1868, the year of the revolution against the despotic Shoguns; but it was not until 1899 that the whole country was thrown open freely to foreigners. In the past quarter of a century the Japanese have been bending themselves, with wonderful determination, to the task of occidentalizing their institutions, their methods of defence and government and education, and now the Empire flourishes under a constitutional monarchy, supported by two Diets, (the lower one democratic), and has a system of compulsory education, with well-equipped universities, and no fewer than forty-eight libraries, while the army and navy have shown their mettle in the struggle with China, and, later, in association with the troops and sailors of the great Western nations during the Chinese troubles of 1900.

In no department of the state has British influence been stronger than in the navy. Englishmen in the early days organized and trained the officers and men, and the ships have been built almost entirely by English labor. Japan had no navy a quarter of a century ago; to-day her fleet is one of the dominating factors in the Far East. The rise of Japan in naval power has no parallel in history, and this year the Emperor must have been a proud ruler as he passed down the review lines of his assembled men-of-war, which include some of the finest and most powerful ships in the fleets of the world.

The fighting fleet nominally dates from about 1877 (though a small ship had been purchased a short time before from the United States), when Samuda's old yard on the Thames built the earliest ironclad, "Fuso," from the design of Sir Edward Reed. For several years the movement towards the construction of a large fleet made little progress, though in that time the foundation was being laid for the great expansion of the past ten years. The Japanese understood that an adequate organization and a system of training for officers and men were the first essentials. Thirty years ago, with the consent of the British Admiralty, Japanese officers were undergoing instruction at the gunnery and torpedo-schools at Portsmouth, and gaining sea experience with the British squadrons; and down to quite recent years the aspiring

officers of the Japanese navy were to be met with on British ships. Meantime, in Japan itself training establishments were being founded, and for this work the Japanese authorities, having a firm belief in English methods, borrowed officers from the British Admiralty to carry out the work of organization. The present Vice-Admiral Sir Archibald Douglas, now in command of the British North-American Squadron, was the commander of the naval mission sent to Japan in the seventies to instruct the fleet of that country, and afterwards he became Director of the Imperial Naval College at Tokio. Another officer who assisted in the work, Vice-Admiral Sir Arthur Wilson, V.C., is now in command of the British home-fleet; while, as late as 1893, Japan retained the services of Admiral J. Ingles as naval adviser. Under these auspices, the foundation was laid of the naval power of this regenerated kingdom.

For many years the Japanese people had little faith in their fleet; they regarded it as an aristocratic institution and grudged the money spent on ships. This was the state of affairs as late as the outbreak of war with China. In this struggle the Japanese navy won with ease, against the more powerful fleet of China. Japan had few vessels of much fighting value, and not a single modern armored ship. She achieved victory by the daring, resourcefulness, and judgment of the officers, and the splendid devotion to duty of the crews.

The world rang with stories of the way in which the Japanese had fought, and these achievements planted in the breasts of the Japanese people a pride not felt before in the marine forces of the island-kingdom. The events which occurred at the time of the signing of the treaty of peace at Shimonoseki fired the nation, newly awakened to the meaning of sea-power, with a determination to build and equip a fleet capable of meeting any probable combination of enemies. While Japan was dictating terms to China, Russia, Germany, and France stepped in between the two parties, and declared that, in the interest of the integrity of China, Japan could not be allowed to hold Port Arthur which she had captured. Neither Great Britain nor the United States made effective protest against this interference. The victor had to bow in face of superior force, and within a short period had the mortification of seeing Russian soldiers take over the barracks built during Japanese occupation of Port Arthur, and the sway

of the Muscovite Power slowly but surely spread over the whole province of Manchuria. This sequence of events was sufficient to rouse the whole people to a resolve to build a fleet which should be able not only to defeat China again, if need be, but to hold its own against any probable European enemy.

As soon as the war was over, the Japanese Government, which had two battle-ships already under construction, decided to put in hand a great ship-building programme, which was to occupy British workmen for several years, for all the battle-ships and most of the cruisers and torpedo craft were ordered from England. The scheme was a gigantic one for a small and commercially backward country like Japan, for Japan is poor. It included no fewer than four first-class battle-ships, and, in addition to smaller craft, six first-class cruisers, so heavily armored and carrying so many big guns as to be battle-ships in all but name.

Out of the spoils of her fight—for Japan received a heavy indemnity from China—the victorious navy has been rebuilt, while the personnel has been doubled. Now the programme which was outlined at the conclusion of hostilities has been completed, and this year the Emperor—now a constitutional monarch, but the head of his navy as is the German Emperor of the German fleet—has had the pride of reviewing his new fleet. So great an expansion in so short a period is unexampled in the history of modern navies, for not even Germany's growth is comparable to that of Japan, when their relative wealth, development, and industrial resources are borne in mind. At the time of the war with China, the whole fleet of Japan displaced only about 30,000 tons; today, the aggregate displacement is over 250,000 tons.*

While this armada has been in process of creation, other Powers have been adding to their naval strength in the Far East. Russia has hurried from Europe practically every new ship as it has been finished, while France also maintains a more powerful squadron adjacent to Chinese waters than she did. In view of developments near their doors, the Japanese people decided last

* The navy of Japan, at the present time, consists of: 6 first-class battle-ships, 1 second-class battle-ship, 2 coast-defence vessels (armored ships which cannot fight at a distance from a base), 6 armored cruisers of the first class, 10 protected cruisers of the second class (with 2 building), 8 protected cruisers of the third class (with 1 building), 9 unprotected cruisers, 1 torpedo vessel, 17 torpedo-boat destroyers (with 2 more building), and 67 torpedo-boats (with 18 others in process of construction).

autumn that the time had come to augment their fleet still further. Some wrangling occurred as to the means by which the new ships should be paid for, out of fresh taxation or loans, but backed up by the popular demand for a greater navy, politicians did not long delay in settling their differences; and now it has been agreed to raise a loan with which to carry out another big programme, the construction of the ships being spread over a period of six years. The scheme has been framed to neutralize the additions which, it is understood, Russia and France will make to their forces in the Far East in the near future. The Japanese people have not forgotten Port Arthur over which the Russian flag flies, and they are determined that they will not again be robbed without making a determined stand. Moreover, Japan's teeming population of upwards of 40,000,000 requires an outlet, and colonies are among the necessities of the near future.

While the array of ships which have been built in less than ten years is impressive, ships without men adequately trained to answer to the needs of the highly complicated mechanical vessels of to-day, and without officers capable of commanding, thinking and planning, are mere dangerous toys. Any nation might be proud of the personnel of the Japanese fleet; officers and men are splendid. During the visits to Europe of ships flying the brilliant ensign of the Rising Sun, it has been possible to form some estimate of the crews. Mrs. Bishop, the traveller, summed up the race as "vehemently patriotic, civilized, independent, educated, ambitious, free, persevering, tenacious, possessing a singular secretiveness and powers of assimilation." These are essentially the qualities that impress any visitor who spends any considerable time on board any of the Japanese men-of-war, which the officers navigate with such consummate skill. They keep their vessels as spotlessly clean as British or American ships-of-war; than this no higher praise can be paid. But in the men of the fleet one also notices some remnant of the savage fighting qualities which have made these proud little people the dominant military factor among Far Eastern nations.

The Japanese are sailors by instinct. They are secured by conscription and do not volunteer for service, as is the case in England. Japan has a fishing population of about two million men, and from this section of the community she draws her best seamen, men of intelligence, resource, and sea-lore, and capable

of quickly acquiring sufficient mechanical skill to enable them to control the complex mechanism of their modern men-of-war with complete success. They desire no pampering and they can live on the simplest food and sleep anywhere; but in their new ships they have more air and, in some respects, greater comforts than are to be found on many, if not most, British men-of-war. These sailors of the Far East take things very much as they find them, with a stoical calm. They face danger with much the same spirit with which they take their pleasure; and, in spite of the rapid strides which civilization has made in their country, their luxuries are few and they are contented and happy. They are devoted to simple sports, to fencing, and to acting; no one can ever forget the dramatic entertainments on board Japanese men-of-war who has been privileged to witness them. Nor does the memory soon become dim of one of these ships when decked out in gala dress, with chrysanthemums, cherry blossoms, and other blooms typical of Japan enlivening the grim aspect of the decks. The men are adepts in the making of imitation paper flowers, which so closely resemble the handiwork of nature that at a casual glance one hardly notices the deception.

On ordinary occasions, there is little on board a Japanese vessel to differentiate it from a British or American ship. The Admiral's quarters on board one of the flagships are not unlike such an apartment as Lord Charles Beresford has in the Channel Fleet, except for the complete outfit of ancient and beautifully wrought Japanese armor that stands against one wall, like some ghost of the not far-distant time when these wonderful people had still to grip civilization and acquire all it had to give in power and culture. And the officers are as like British officers in their cordial good humor as one could wish, open-hearted, easily amused, and polite to every English bore who afflicts them because they assume that it is their place, when visiting English harbors, to suffer the bore willingly since they are guests. They have been pupils, learning all worth knowing that the Western world had to teach, but they have maintained a dignity of manner which has won admiration.

It is a common belief that the Japanese have the imitative faculty, but that they are lacking in initiative. This is one of those erroneous opinions which, hastily formed, time will serve to correct. There is already sufficient evidence to show that these

people, who have proved such apt students of Western methods, will soon be able to stand absolutely alone, and to carry on their developments with a calm belief in their powers and a consciousness of having grasped the rudiments of every branch of knowledge. They have learnt as children, almost by rote, and then worked out the meaning of the knowledge they have acquired. No one acquainted with the Japanese can fail to be struck with their all-round capacity, as evidenced in many branches of industry, and not least in the industry of manufacturing instruments of war for use afloat and ashore. It has been already stated that most of the ships of their new fleet were designed and built in Great Britain; and, to propitiate other Powers, a proportion of orders, a small one, was given to countries of Continental Europe. Now the time is coming when Japan will be able to throw off the assistance of the Western world, politely, but finally. Already her arsenals have progressed so far that they are capable of building protected cruisers and torpedo craft, destroyers as well as torpedo-boats. Soon the gun-factory and armor-plate factory, now being established, will be ready to begin work; and then the day will have dawned when Japan will bid farewell to all those Europeans, especially Englishmen, who have helped her to acquire all the expensive accessories of a Great Power with a voice in the councils of the world.

Japan closely resembles Great Britain. Both countries consist of a group of islands with almost similar area and population, and Japan was not slow to see that the force of circumstance which had led Great Britain to rely for trade on a great mercantile marine, and for defence mainly on her fleet, applied in her own case with almost equal urgency. Consequently, Japan has been gradually and, of late, swiftly building up her commercial power by means of a great mercantile marine, which is now seen passing to and fro, East and West, and her fighting strength by means of a navy which promises, in the future, to attain a supremacy in the Far East almost as indisputable, all factors considered, as the supremacy of Great Britain in the Far West. The latest movement in favor of a yet greater war-fleet is one of the most significant facts in the ever-changing scene in Chinese and Korean waters. Year by year the expenditure of Japan on her naval defence is growing; but she has far to go before she can be said to be devoting to her fleet as much proportionately as

Great Britain spends on hers. Japan still spends eighty per cent. more on her army than upon her navy. It will be interesting to note whether this latest recruit to the concert of the Great Powers will attempt the rôle of Germany, France, and Russia, and endeavor to maintain a huge army—her army now numbers 632,000 officers and men—as well as a navy capable of dominating adjacent waters, in spite of the development of Russian ambitions and because of them; or whether she will follow the example of Great Britain and the United States, and rest satisfied with a comparatively small regular army and concentrate her attention on the fleet. It is probable that a nation so dominated by patriotism could rely, to some extent, successfully upon a volunteer force; but it is doubtful if a citizen army, even stiffened by regulars, could meet such an emergency as Japan may have to face. The question is one which may arise in the future, as the country develops industrially and the pressure of military service becomes more irksome, the avenues for labor are widened, and the necessary training for commerce and manufacture is more exacting. It is a problem which is leading European Powers to shorten the term of service in the interests of trade and of social order, for all democracies hate forced service. Japan is still young as a war-Power and as a commercial nation, and such a problem may not confront her for some years.

Japan has gone far. With her great resources, with her industrious, patriotic, quick-witted and adventurous population, she is destined to go yet farther, and as her interests, trade and territorial, spread beyond her group of islands, her navy must undoubtedly continue to grow. As Russia despatches ships-of-war in increasing numbers to the Far East to support her diplomacy, so Japan will spend and be spent in the determination to be ready for the struggle which a large section of the people regard as inevitable. A nation with the deep-rooted love of country and the high pride which characterize the Japanese will not soon forget Port Arthur. In any struggle, unless it be legitimately in defence of the integrity of China for "the open door," Japan, of course, would stand alone, since Great Britain's treaty obligation requires her only to stand aside and see fair play—in other words, to prevent any other Power or Powers joining in the fray to the detriment of Japan.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

THE REPUBLIC AND THE DOMINION.

BY FRANK B. TRACY.

He would be a most superficial and oversanguine observer of North-American affairs who should see in the happy reopening of the Alaskan boundary negotiations the preliminary to a harmonious settlement of all questions in dispute between Canada and the United States. Granted that the adjustment of that boundary will be ordered speedily, and that the verdict will be accepted without much grumbling by either of the parties, there remains a veritable host of issues and questions, each full of irritating and festering features. The Alaskan dispute has been, it is true, a fruitful source of discord and embarrassment to both countries, but its settlement carries with it nothing else. On the contrary, it is only natural to presume that one side will feel worsted by the boundary award, and will be all the more insistent upon its claims when another dispute between the parties is called for adjudication. I emphasize this point because it has been urged by the roseate-visioned that, once the Alaskan muddle is cleared, all other mooted difficulties will collapse like a house of cards. Tradition, history and precedent are all against completely harmonious relations between Canada and the United States. The real reason for this inharmony is fundamentally political. It lies in the blunt fact that one country is a Republic and the other a Dominion.

The vast majority of the Anglo-Saxons of to-day feel lightly or not at all the government yoke, and they are accustomed to sneer at those who assert its influence. Yet, even to-day, government is one of the most potent factors in determining sentiment and the direction of the currents of thought and action. The condition of political separateness between Canada and the United States explains practically all their differences and dis-

putes. That condition is abnormal, even though we have been used so long to regard it as natural, permanent and inevitable. It is abnormal, because it violates a simple law of ethnological and sociological science. That law is: that contiguously situated peoples of like origin and race grow great only when united; when separated, they become weakened by conflicts, jealousies, and recriminations. It was the perception of this law which fortified American statesmen in forbidding the South to secede. The past and present of the states of the German Empire furnish a potent illustration of the operation of this law. Its obligation rests more clearly upon Canada and the United States to-day, for the German states were independent, and Canada has not even that justification for her separate existence.

In fact, Canada's position is not only anachronistic, but is also unique. It is to-day the only colony in either hemisphere that is situated beside a great, civilized, alien power. An ocean divides it from the Mother Country, and the huge nation near it is constantly, though unconsciously, attracting it away from its allegiance. It is this United States which, in its swift rise, democratic principles and overpowering might, and by its example and drawing power, has robbed all European nations, except England, of their vast colonies on the mainland of North America. Only Canada remains, a solitary example and survivor of the policy of past centuries.

There are many reasons for the union of Canada and the United States. The two peoples are almost homogeneous. In neither country is the population of a single race; but, in both, amalgamation of largely the same elements has been so carried on that the average American and the average Canadian have many points in common. Both countries would be stronger if united; and not only does the simple law just cited urge and demand their union, but Manifest Destiny has pointed to that result for years. The successive acquisitions of Louisiana in 1803, of Florida in 1819, and of the Pacific West in 1846, 1848 and 1853, certainly indicated that the next step in the expansion of the United States would be the absorption of Canada. But just at the time when conditions were ripest for the change, when Canada's tie to England was loosest and republicanism in England was strongest, came the American Civil War. Thus one chapter in the book of progress was for a time omitted, and our

next acquisition was Alaska, Canada being passed over. It would be fatuous to believe that the plain trend of American ambitions and the tremendous inertia of democracy are to be denied because temporarily diverted. That this union is imminent I do not believe. In general, Canadians to-day manifest no desire for annexation. The psychological moment has not yet come. But time and growth must bring it to pass. The barriers between the two countries are largely fictitious. The incorporation of the lesser into the greater could even now be effected without the slightest disturbance. I say this without forgetting for a moment the many, many points of difference between their respective laws and institutions. But these differences are merely on the surface and are fundamentally traceable to the abnormality of political relations, and would disappear with the adjustment and correction of that condition. The two peoples are much more nearly alike in spirit than are New-Englanders and Texans. Independence for Canada would mean absorption into the United States in a short time, by the plain and free wish of the inhabitants, not by the "gobbling" process of which the wily Mr. Tarte has spoken.

I repeat, the barriers between the two peoples are almost wholly artificial. On the one side, Canadians have felt both abashed and vain—abashed because they were not a nation like their neighbor; proud because the British Empire of which they are a part was greater than that neighbor. On the other side, the Americans have felt, and too freely expressed, good-natured contempt for a people tied to an Old World Power, by apron strings from which they themselves cut loose over a century ago. Hence bickerings and taunts. Upon such trifles are wars waged and nations built.

The most irritating part of these dissonant relations and this separateness is their utter uselessness and folly. In the considerable time in which I have studied Canadian affairs I have been unable to discover wherein the connection of Canada and England was of material value, political or commercial, to either. I am free to go further and declare that, except for the magic in the maxim, "What we have we'll hold," I continue to marvel of what earthly use Canada is to England. Commercially, the Dominion has always got the upper hand in all dealings with the Mother Country, as statisticians grow weary of showing. The

preferential tariff plan of Mr. Chamberlain, however much it may be misunderstood and opposed, is really a splendid and statesmanlike attempt on his part to make the colonies of some real value to the Mother Country. And yet the tie binding Canada to the Empire has, on the other hand, been of incalculable injury to the Dominion. It has been a fetter—socially, politically and nationally. By union with the United States, Canada would have caught the swing of this exuberant, bustling Republic, and would have grown with much greater rapidity. Colonialism has checked the natural impulse of her people to grow, and it has driven many of her most energetic sons to the States. It has also had the curious effect of leading to the planting of many large industries in Canada by Americans, who thus evaded the tariff which prevented the entrance into the Dominion of goods made in their American factories. This American invasion is a familiar plaint of the Dominion Tories, which is now being repeated often because of the settlement of the Canadian Northwest where, they bitterly cry, "Americans have got in on the ground floor—as usual!"

I do not wish to be understood as declaring a belief that all Canadians, or even a majority, are envious of the United States. There is too much inharmony prevailing between the two countries to expect such feeling. And especially do I disclaim the position of an omniscient interpreter of Canadian sentiment. I wish at this point merely to set forth this opinion (in which I am sustained by almost all the intelligent Canadians with whom I have conversed), that the great mass of the people north of the Great Lakes are, consciously or unconsciously, dissatisfied with their form of government, and regard it as only temporary. It would be unnatural if they should have any other view. Their dissatisfaction can only grow with the growth of civilization and its complexities. It can have but two outlets, independence or annexation; and independence means annexation. Let me speculate to the extent of venturing the suggestion that, barring a world-wide war and terrible crises involving the trading of empires by battle or treaty, Canada will come to the United States—after a brief period of independence.

Let us now turn from the general to the particular in our discussion of the relations between the United States and Canada. Any treatment of this subject would be most incomplete

which did not include what is, from either an international or a domestic standpoint, the Dominion's most conspicuous if not most important movement—the settlement of the Northwest. I hesitate to declare it the most important for a variety of reasons. It is well to remember that this is the second land boom which that section has had, the first having collapsed most dismally only twenty years ago. That fact must make us cautious in examining the subject. Then, again, I have had some experience with life in a cold farming country, and I am quite well acquainted with the general character of the region into which settlers are now going so rapidly and with such enthusiasm. I fear that Canada's delight in this movement is premature. I cannot be convinced that farming there is beyond the experimental stage. The innumerable, complex trials and the crushing toils of life in a new, cold prairie country are beyond any one's imagination. They confront the immigrant in utterly unexpected forms, and take the courage out of men whom battle, the sea, fire and flood would not daunt. Life there has nothing of the romance which it bears in the mountains or the forest. It lacks some of their terrors, but it has privations, destitutions and, above all, a monotony which is worse than almost any other hardship. The only factor which can make it endurable is financial success, and that is in the Canadian Northwest by no means assured. I do not speak as a pessimist, but only as a cautious observer. I have not been in the Northwest for a few years, and so am not able to speak at first hand of conditions there, but I am fortified in my conservatism by private letters from Manitoba and other sections of that country. Leading men there deprecate the booming of the new lands, lest a reaction and a retreat may make the situation all the more disastrous. It has taken northern North Dakota twenty years to become settled, and to be able to assert with confidence its certain and permanent prosperity. That State has only three months of warm weather, and yet some of the loudly vaunted Canadian land lies 800 miles north of the international boundary! To assert that this far northern land is certainly fruitful and a fit place for human beings is to place a too heavy burden of proof on the boomers. All easy talk of Chinook winds and of varying climatic conditions must be proved very conclusively before the settler with small means can or should be induced to go there. Isothermal lines are too often, inferen-

tially at least, isothermal lies. It will take ten years, at least, to determine whether the Canadian Northwest is a success. In the mean time, it is the part of wisdom to exercise caution in forming opinions regarding its settlement.

An important feature in this settlement, so far as it has proceeded, is the large percentage of Americans among the immigrants—about thirty per cent. I have seen this movement referred to by socialists, and other against-the-present-order writers, as a complete refutation of the prevalent impression as to the prosperity of the Middle West. Such an argument is fundamentally erroneous. These American immigrants are not at all poor. The majority of them are, as Westerners say, "well-fixed." Many of them have retained their homes and property in the States, and have gone into the Northwest for investment or to secure cheap land for their sons. It is the very prosperity of our Western farmers which has so increased the value of land that making a start in life as landowner has become much more difficult than it was twenty or even ten years ago. While I personally deprecate the judgment of these Americans in going further north, when so much rich land in the South is offered for settlement in congenial surroundings at very low prices, and indeed is already attracting the attention and securing the investment funds of people of our Northwest, the Americans who are going into northwest Canada are by no means going there because they have failed in this country.

Now, until the experiment of farming in Alberta, Saskatchewan, etc., has been fairly tried, it were idle to speculate upon the political effect of the American invasion of that region. But, granting that the new lands prove one-half as satisfactory and remunerative as the boomers boast, and that increasing numbers of Americans settle there, I can see nothing to justify the fear that a sentiment disloyal to the Dominion may find root there—that there may grow up a sort of Acre in Canada. In the first place, the percentage of Americans is not great enough to menace seriously the remainder. Some of these Americans will only buy land and will retain their American citizenship. The others will enter public land and must, of course, become British subjects; and, while it may hurt every one of them deeply to swear away his American birthright, they will all settle down contentedly into the ways and customs of the country. That is the American

plan. They may chafe and laugh a bit at Canadian institutions and the Imperial Fuss and Feathers, but the sentiment and the raillery will be all good-natured. These are ready-made, solid citizens, pioneers and leaders of civilization. The very fact that they can find Canada and Canadians so much to their liking is abundant proof of the homogeneity of the two countries and the inevitableness of their ultimate consolidation. The Americans feel this, and it makes their alien condition seem of a temporary character. Another factor in this quick adjustment is the good feeling now prevailing between the United States and Great Britain. These American invaders of Canada do not stop for a moment to consider the possibility of war between the two Powers—the suggestion is too absurd. The only class likely to disturb the harmonious relations now existing among the various nationalities in the Northwest is the English immigrants. By their lack of experience with a cold, pioneer country, the irrepressible English tendency to find fault, and their inability to adjust themselves to the new conditions, they may cause some dissatisfaction there and in England, but no international ill-feeling is likely to result.

I repeat, therefore, that the settlement of Canada's Northwest by Americans involves no political danger either to the Dominion or to the Empire. On the contrary, it will be of incalculable benefit to both. There is no aspect in which it bodes ill to Canada if—and it is a big word—the lands prove rich and habitable. Nor do I anticipate any disturbance to Canada, nationally, from the rapid settlement of that region by any race likely to go there. Wiseacres have predicted that the "British Empire will break its back over the Rocky Mountains," but that seems to be mere rhetoric. The same prediction was made in regard to the United States. Of course, new and strange conditions would arise if the western part of the Dominion should quickly become the greater in population. Naturally, its wishes in regard to tariff and other regulations would clash somewhat with those of the more thickly settled provinces, but not more so than the various parts of the United States clash and wrangle when a tariff bill is being framed at Washington. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, greatest of all Canadian statesmen, has already recognized the necessity of meeting the desires of the Northwest by his new Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad bill, by which a second trans-

continental line will be built, especially for the purpose of giving a quicker outlet, as well as an all-Canadian route, for West Canadian produce. Doubtless, this line is also intended to weld the Dominion more firmly together. It may fail in that regard, but it may win a more glorious victory in bringing the American government into a realization of the necessity of a better and more friendly sentiment toward the Dominion.

Consideration of Canada West naturally brings us back to the Alaskan Boundary. The subject is just now no longer embarrassing, but of much felicity to Americans, Canadians and Englishmen. In fact, the most amazing, and at first blush an inexplicable, feature of these Alaskan negotiations is this felicity—the general feeling on both sides of the Great Lakes and the ocean that, in our happy vernacular, "this time it is a go!" In spite of the fact that it is a three to three court, which looks calamitously like a tie vote, the public expects a speedy verdict after years of fruitless negotiation, and that the execution of the verdict will be accomplished without mutiny or revolt. Nothing new has happened to change any opinion; no secret alliance has been concluded between Great Britain and the United States, by which Canada is to lose or gain mightily in exchange for a tremendous something-or-other; no new maps have been discovered; no new gold deposits have been found; and even the arguments in the case, a digest of which has appeared in this country, contain practically nothing new. With all the circumstances promising a continuance of the disagreement and with a court apparently built to bring in a disagreement, we are all sure of an agreement. Whether the public believes that the time has come for each party to waive all petty objections and seek a verdict by making all possible compromises, or whether higher authorities have already decided the case and the commission is merely intended to register that decision, or whether there may be some other explanation, we may never know. One fact stands out clearly. It is the astonishing amount of ignorance in the two countries in regard to the respective claims of their governments to the territory in dispute. Canadians simply refuse to read the arguments, and take it for granted that their own side is right and that the United States is trying to bully the smaller country into giving away valuable land to which the latter's title is clear. Americans presume that the source of all the trouble is the desire of the

"Canucks" to get hold of some land to which they never dreamed of asserting a claim until the British lodestone—gold—was found in that neighborhood. The Canadians do not know that their case rests largely upon the doughty pretensions of a military chieftain, who seized some land without stopping to inquire of maps or treaties whose it was. Americans applaud enthusiastically the sentiment that "the United States will never give up a foot of soil upon which the flag floats," and yet know nothing of our title to that soil. What Canadians have sought most is an all-Canadian route to the sea, to secure control of the Pacific Ocean inlets. What the United States has talked chiefly about is not giving up any land. Yet it is hinted that the award of the judges will be that the United States will give up some land, and that Canada will not secure the heads of the inlets. In other words, neither country knows the grounds of its pretensions and each is likely to find its particular claim stultified by the outcome. Let us trust that the best hopes for peace of Americans and Canadians will be abundantly rewarded and realized in the verdict, that the maps and treaties, the purposes and not the quibbles of the early diplomats will rule the judges in reaching their decision. Whether the judgment is pre-determined or not, we cannot but welcome the settlement. The abolition of petty differences between the United States and the British nation is one of the necessities of civilization and progress.

But this Alaskan boundary settlement cannot be final or sufficient. Canada cannot continue to be half-free, half-slave; half-nation, and half-subject colony. The intricacies into which her anomalous existence is leading her grow more labyrinthal day by day. It is idle for her statesmen to talk and dream of her growing to be "the greater half of the continent." The trend of history and precedent, aided as in this case by the inertia of democracy, cannot be checked. Canada belongs to the United States, and by the will of her people she must some day be a great, proud, and welcome addition to the Union.

FRANK B. TRACY.

COLLEGE TRAINING AND THE BUSINESS MAN.

BY PRESIDENT CHARLES F. THWING, LL.D., WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY AND ADELBERT COLLEGE.

THE world is becoming a vast industrial condition. The basis of society is changed from the military and the domestic to the economic and industrial. The conquest of the world by aggressive peoples is now made rather through the locomotive and the steel-bridge than through the rifle. In this condition the United States is a leading power. But these industrial forces which spread themselves round the world are the strongest at home. The United States is both a vast machine-shop and a vast farm; and what lies between the shop and the farm is covered by equally vast systems of railroads. These conditions are formed into great combinations of individuals and of capital. From the individual to the partnership, from the partnership to the corporation, from the corporation to the combination of corporations commonly known as the trust, is the order of development.

This industrial process and also the unifying process in industry will undoubtedly continue. A great financier of New York has recently said that the uniting of banks and financial institutions would continue, if men could be found to manage the resulting combinations.

To this condition, therefore, in which the United States finds itself, as a manager of enormous business interests, what is the relation of the American college? What can the American college do to make these interests more worthy of humanity, and more helpful to the noblest and richest life? What, too, can the American college do to make these business interests themselves more efficient and more remunerative?

The principal means which the American college can use in helping the industrial condition, lies in the furnishing of well-

equipped workers. But some affirm that the college does not equip, much less well equip, its graduates to be workers in the world's hard work. A leader in American industrial life says:

"I do not think that the college graduate has any advantages in entering business over the graduate of a high or grammar-school. My preference has always been for boys to come to me direct from school and at the age of eighteen, because my experience has shown me that the four years spent in college are not worth as much to him, if he is to become a business man or manufacturer, as the same time in actual business experience. The average college graduate is apt to feel that he is so educated that he is disinclined to begin at the bottom; or, if the case is exceptional and the young man is willing to begin on the lowest round of the ladder, he often becomes discouraged by seeing younger fellows in positions several years in advance of him. There is a great deal to be gained by the discipline of daily life that comes with drudgery, such as the washing of ink-stands, cleaning windows, carrying bundles, and sweeping out the store, although, unfortunately for the boy's own good, the conditions are such at the present day that he is not called upon to do that work as was the custom a generation ago. I used to say that I did not care to hire a boy who owned a dress suit. Of course, there are exceptions; but, if one wants to succeed as a business man, he must begin by making sacrifices, and anything which shows a tendency toward extravagance is not a promising indication. I would advise a boy of eighteen who wants to become a merchant, business man, or a distributor of products, to go into the business at that age and not go to college. I would not, however, underrate a college education. For a lawyer, a doctor, an engineer, or a successful member of any of the other learned professions, I believe the university education is almost a necessity. The primary object of all education should be to teach boys and girls how to provide for themselves food, clothing, and shelter."

The proposition which I desire to support is, that the graduate of the American college, other things or qualities being the same, is best fitted to administer the great industrial movement. He is the one who, on the whole, can most wisely lead and most effectively carry forward the business interests of the United States.

In order to get a fair field for our discussion, it may be just as well at once to clear away certain difficulties. Let me say at once that certain boys should not go to college. Boys who dislike study should not go, for they are in peril of becoming social rebels and pessimists. Boys who cannot bear freedom should not go, for they are in peril of becoming slaves to unworthy habits. Boys who are lazy should not go, for they are in peril of adopting a soft,

luxurious life, which it is difficult to throw off and which ill becomes the hard worker in the workaday world of the new America. Of course, the number of boys of these three classes is not small. The going to a college is not a question touching the mass, it is a question touching the individual. Whether the son of a family should or should not go to college, is a question as personal as was the question whether the parents of that son should in the first place become husband and wife.

It is also evident that certain business callings demand a technical training. This training may be given, in part at least, through a college of liberal learning, or it may be given through a technical or scientific school. The work of the engineer, civil, mechanical, electrical, demands such a training. This training is as necessary to the engineer as is the training in law to the lawyer, or in medicine to the physician. Whether the engineer, before taking his technical studies, should first have the advantage of a general college course is a question which does not immediately relate to the present discussion, although be it said in passing that opinion is coming to favor the view that the technical school is purely a professional school.

The present discussion, moreover, does not concern the general advantages of a college course. These advantages, in the form of making desirable friendships, promoting a high type of the gentleman, inspiring one to nobler service for society and the state, no one seeks to depreciate. They are great. Even were there no other results, they would make the college course worth while to most men. A graduate who entered the cattle business, in which, too, he was not successful, says of his college course:

> "I think I am safe in saying that if I had the decision to make over again I should again take the college education. It may not make great returns on the investment, in actual money, but to the man who has the taste and determination it makes, I feel, adequate returns in the enlarged field he is given for the pursuits of his life with happiness to himself, and with some benefit to those about him."

Now to the main proposition: The college man in business is worth more than the same man would be without a college education. The elements that go to make up the value of the business man to his business are many; and the elements which go to make up the value of the college to the student are also many.

First of them all is the intellectual element. The leader in a great business primarily needs, of all the intellectual parts, the power to think. "What do the men whom you employ," I asked the manager of one of the great industrial combinations, "need the most?" "Brains" was the prompt answer. "What do those men lack," I said to a great manufacturer of steel and iron products? "Accuracy, the power to take a large view and to investigate thoroughly," was the reply. The merchant and the manufacturer are called on to analyze and synthesize phenomena, to relate fact to fact and truth to truth, to assess every fact or truth at its proper value, to determine the significance of the symbol, to reason logically, to relate principle to rule and rule to principle, to trace effect to cause, to distinguish the essential from the accidental, and to hold the necessary and essential under a large variety of conditions and circumstances.

These are the very intellectual qualities which the college is supposed to discipline. The knowledge which one gains in college is of no or small consequence. In fact, knowledge as an end is vastly over-estimated in all educational judgments, and knowledge as a means to power is as vastly underestimated. Two friends of mine have recently said to me, in answer to my question regarding the good of a college course to them, that it consists in the cultivation of the primary intellectual quality of thinking. One says: "College training teaches one to go to work at any task with system and method, in the consciousness that one has acquired the ability to *think* through, quickly and logically, the questions which come up"; and another says: "College training has enabled me to appreciate more fully and to practise more diligently precision and system. Unless I am very much mistaken the close of my academic life finds me much stronger from the point of view both of synthesis and of analysis."

The men now at the head of great industrial corporations believe that this intellectual quality is of great value. Mr. W. F. Merrill, First Vice-President of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company says:

"It has been my experience that men with a college education make better help than men of about the came calibre who have not had that advantage, when they get to a point where their experience warrants putting them into advanced positions; and that it does not take them so long a time to get to a point where they can be safely promoted. A college

education gives a young man habits of study and application which are invaluable. He learns how to use his brains to better advantage than one who has not had that training. You might just as well say that an apprenticeship is of no value to a man who is going to follow a particular trade as to say, in the case of a man who is going to use his brains, it is not an advantage to him that he should learn how to use them logically by study. Brains are capable of development the same as muscles, and there is nothing that I know of that will develop brains any faster than systematic study. A well-trained mind thinks more quickly and reaches results more speedily and more accurately."*

In the personality of the individual student the chief effect of the college is intellectual, and the chief element in this effect is the increase in what, in a comprehensive and general way, one calls the power of thinking. But this is not the only effect. Intellectual elements do not alone constitute the causes that promote the prosperity of the individual or of the community. Some would say that volitional, emotional, ethical elements constitute causes more important than the intellectual. It is certainly true that a strong will makes as much toward the advancement of one or of all as a clear intellect. For in a strong will are embodied ambition, diligence, persistence,—qualities most valuable. Some would also say that an honest conscience is as important as either clear intellect or strong will.

Now, the training of the will in the college is a thing much more difficult to accomplish than the training of the intellect. For the will is trained by doing, and doing is not the primary function of the college, though it is one of its functions. This inability of the college to train the will in adequate ways is the chief cause of the impression that a college education is of no advantage to the business man, the man whose life consists so largely in doing things. But let no one suppose that the college does nothing in the training of the will. Every effort of the student to master a scholastic problem is an act of the will. Every decision he makes for better or for worse is an act of the will. All co-operative endeavors of college men, and such endeavors are numerous and of great variety, represent the executive function. Not a few men in every college class get larger training for their will than for their intellect.

But now reverts the question of intellectual relations. Let it

* "The Utility of an Academic Education: an Investigation," by R. T. Crane, p. 27.

be granted that the modern business man does need the power of thinking. How does the college increase this power more effectively than business itself?

Thinking is an art. It is, of course, also, a science. But for the college man it is primarily an art. An art is learned by practising it. Thinking is, therefore, learned by thinking. It represents habits of intellectual accuracy, discrimination, comparison, concentration. Such habits are formed by being accurate, discriminating, and by the actual concentration of the mind. A course in education promotes such thinking better than a course in business. For education represents orderliness and system in intellectual effort. The effort proceeds by certain graduated steps, from the easy to the less easy, from the difficult to the more difficult. The purpose is to train in the valuation of principles, which underlie all service, and not in the worth of rules, which are of special and narrow application. The man trained only in business of one kind is not fitted to take up business of a different kind. The broadly trained man is prepared to learn business of any kind, and if business of one kind has been learned, he is able to leave it to take up work of another kind without difficulty. The practice of any art should make the one who practises this art a better thinker in it; but this advantage relates in a large degree to one who has first approached the art through thinking.

I suppose it may be said that the man who is self-educated is usually very narrowly educated. He is educated along and in certain lines. He is educated, so to speak, tangentially. His thinking, too, is usually tangential. It lacks comprehensiveness and a sense of relations. It has force, and the endeavors which spring out of it are forceful; but breadth is sacrificed.

Many and of much variety are the methods adopted to relieve the individual of the necessity of educating himself. Schools of correspondence and evening schools have their place, and for not a few the place is large. So thoroughly worth while are these forms of education that they should be promoted, their weaknesses eliminated and their points of strength conserved. But the peril against which one is to be on guard in these more or less informal methods is the peril of substituting knowledge for thinking, information for personal inspiration, formal content of learning for large power of achievement.

These perils inhere alike in the more popular and informal

methods of education and in that technical and commercial education which the individual gets in business. The education of the college and university seeks to avoid these perils. The university offers opportunities for reasoning and for thinking of all kinds, degrees, orders. It sets forth the exact reasoning of the mathematical sciences—sciences in which things are as they are, as Bishop Butler says, and must be as they must be. It thus confirms the habit of intellectual conviction. It sets forth the general reasoning of language, literature, history and philosophy, in which truth is to be separated from truth for seeing each more clearly, in which truth is to be united with truth for establishing both more firmly. It uses analysis and synthesis. It uses deductive reasoning and inductive reasoning. It recognizes the uncertainties attending intellectual judgments; a recognition which fixes a habit of intellectual humility. It seeks to assess each fact at its proper value, to use right methods of intellectual procedure, to maintain each faculty of man's whole being in the performance of its proper function, without interference from other faculties, and to bring forth a well-ordered character as the consummate result.

In this endeavor the content of knowledge plays a less important part than is commonly believed. Content of knowledge for intellectual processes is somewhat akin to content of food for physical processes; the purpose is not to retain the content, but to convert the content into health and power. In the intellectual relation, too, as in the physical, one's appetite is a pretty good guide for the selection of content. Certainly no other guide is so good, or so little unworthy, unworthy as at times it may prove to be. To choose certain courses of study in college because one does *not* like them, on the ground that the dislike represents a certain lack of nature which these studies may help to fill, may have a certain degree, though small, of reasonableness. Such choices are medicines. Medicines are necessary, if one be sick. But the mind of the college man should be treated as if it were in a state of health. It, therefore, needs, not medicine, but food. To choose courses of study in college because one does like them, represents the hygienic process of assimilation which results in strength, health, growth.

It will usually be found, too, that studies thus chosen are most directly preparatory to one's probable calling in life. For the

desire which determines the choice of studies also determines the choice of a vocation. President Eliot writes of his son, Charles:

"He arrived at the end of his Senior year without having any distinct vision of the profession which awaited him, neither he nor his father having perceived his special gifts. Nevertheless, it turned out, after he had settled with joy on his profession, that, if he had known at the beginning of his Sophomore year what his profession was to be, he could not have selected his studies better than he did with only the guidance of his likings and natural interests. He took during his last three years in college all the courses in fine arts which were open to him; he subsequently found his French and German indispensable for wide reading in the best literature of his profession; his studies in science supplied both training and information appropriate to his calling; and history and political economy were useful to him as culture studies and for their social bearings."*

The college course which Charles Eliot took was on the whole a broad and a broadening one. It was not so broad that it became thin or a means of intellectual dissipation. The broad course is always in peril of becoming a little thin and the narrow course of becoming narrowing. A course can safely to a degree become narrow in case a man knows the channel in which his life is to flow. But most men do not so know. "I am to-day thirty years old, I graduate as a mechanical engineer. I now know I do not want to be a mechanical engineer. I want to be a lawyer." So said a student on the Commencement Day of his Scientific School. Ignorance of one's abilities or desires or opportunities should lead one to a broad course of study in the college. Even many of the great manufacturing corporations prefer the liberally to the technically trained graduate. Said a member of a great corporation which builds steel mills round the world:

"The man of liberal education is, on the whole, worth more to us than the man of technical training. He is worth less for a year or two after coming to us, but he has a power for learning all branches of our business which are specially needed."

The peril of overeducation, for those who are to enter business, is a peril in the existence of which I find not a few "captains of industry" believe. By overeducation is meant an education of the intellect which fits the individual to do a higher work than is

* "Charles Eliot: Landscape Architect," pp. 28-29.

actually open to him, or a higher work than his other faculties fit him to do. The point at which this danger touches the college relates to the equilibrium of personal forces. The college may draw too heavily on the intellectual resources of the individual. Strength, which in the course of his college career he should have given to the will, the conscience, the heart, the body, may have been given to the intellect. As a result, the graduate may come forth from the college halls bearing a mind disciplined to think, but lacking the power of body or of will to use this disciplined mind. He is like an engine, perfect in every part, but without sufficient steam. Mr. S. R. Callaway, formerly President of the New York Central Railroad, writes me that a friend of the late Commodore Vanderbilt bore to him from Lord Palmerston a message that it was "a pity a man with so much talent had not the advantages which education gives." "You tell Lord Palmerston from me," said the Commodore, "that if I had learned education I would not have had time to learn anything else." It is a story beneath the humor of which, says Mr. Callaway, "lies more or less of reality." The peril of the overeducation of the intellect is simply the peril of the undereducation of the will, of the conscience, of the heart, of the body. This peril is to be avoided not so much by lessening the education of the intellect as by increasing the education of the body, the heart, conscience and will. The members of the British cabinets of the last twenty-five years illustrate the advantage of a well-proportioned education. All have been, with hardly an exception, graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge; not a few have been honor men. One never forgets Gladstone with his double first-class. But besides whatever intellectual power they possessed, they have been men of great strength of body, and of distinct force of will. Unique strength of character has not segregated them from their fellows. They have been at once commanders and servants, men and gentlemen, golf-players and thinkers.

Business of every sort requires men of power: power of intellect, to think; of will, to do; of conscience, to right; of heart, to appreciate; of body, to begin and to endure. Some men possess these manifold powers more largely without a liberal education than other men with a liberal education. But the purpose of the college is not to make men equal, but to develop each to his utmost capacity of development. As a rule, both the ablest men and the

men not ablest by nature would become still more able by reason of a liberal education. This is the meaning, I take it, of Professor Elihu Thompson, who writes saying:

"The boy who does not go to college enters business life earlier, gets an early start, and perhaps loses less of the power of adaptation to his surroundings. The older a man is, the less pliable he becomes; but men differ very widely in this particular—some crystallize very early, others only in advanced age. Nevertheless, I *do* think that in the great majority of cases whatever disadvantage is at first suffered is more than made up in the end. I can see no reason why higher education should prevent or lessen success in business affairs, which success depends upon good judgment and energy. In manufacturing, and I think to an increasing extent in most business undertakings, a training which leans toward the scientific and technical will, I believe, be of the greatest value. This involves mathematical proficiency in greater or less degree; not mathematics as an abstraction, but in relation to the concrete realities."

And another says:

"If a young man forms no bad habits during his college course, he can well afford to invest four years' time in return for the college friendships, and, more especially, the taste for reading, for study, and the higher and better things of life; and if he accomplishes no more than acquiring such tastes, his time will be well spent in the pleasure and satisfaction that he will receive throughout his life, and in his ability, when he is able to do so, to retire from active business, without feeling that he can enjoy nothing but business. A young man of ability, strong, tactful, determined to succeed, will succeed, with or without a college education; and if he has to work his own way through college so much the better for him, for he starts with a distinct advantage over his fellow-students. Such a young man as I have described will soon overtake those that started in business four years before he did, and his mental training should give him a marked advantage over those that have not received it."

This question of the value of a college training to the man entering business I have discussed simply on the narrow basis of the commercial service. Of course there is another basis, and one which some would call more important. One of my correspondents speaks of a college course as fitting one "to better discern and like all that is noble and beautiful in life;" and another: "College education ought to make him a more reasonable man, and to increase his capacity for enjoyment throughout life." These are values in themselves; and, if one were inclined to urge

the point, one could show that these values have also commercial worth.

One also may be allowed to say that if civilization is to advance it is to advance, not through the selfward tendency of the individual and of individual effort, be that tendency either material or intellectual or ethical, but also through altruistic movements. One likes to quote Burke's words: "Society is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection." It is a partnership including generations yet unborn. As one reflects on the condition of the present age, as one reflects on the life of the future centuries, one realizes that the higher life of the whole race has claims upon those who live in the first decade of the twentieth century. That chief claim is to make large men.

This discussion is made forceful by liberal extracts from a few of the many letters written to me by the heads of great business corporations touching the value of a college training. The first which I submit is from Mr. Hugh J. Chisholm, President of the International Paper Company:

"I regard a man equipped with a college education, two years' technical and two years' law-school training, as the best-equipped material to build upon, if he is entering into and expecting to follow a manufacturing, mercantile, or banking business; and, after a man trained in this way gets the practical knowledge of the business in which he engages, he has a better combination of qualities than the man possessing knowledge acquired from practical encountering or conducting of any of the above referred to lines of business, whose education is confined to that which he has received from the high school. The very serious objection, however, to acquiring such a college education as outlined above, is the time it consumes, assuming that it takes from four to six years as the shortest time possible to so equip a young man. The boy who leaves the high school and commences at once from that point to get practical knowledge of the business or commercial life, has certainly an advantage later in life when he encounters the college graduate who is just commencing his business career, and by the lack of this practical, technical knowledge, the college graduate is handicapped when brought in competition with the young man who has devoted his time to the learning of the business into which he may have entered. But, assuming that they both possess equal mental and physical ability, in the four or six years following, the college graduate ought to excel the young man whose education has been confined to the high school. In my judgment, the college presidents of the present day have no more serious problem to intelligently and practically work out than that of

properly establishing a course of studies in the great colleges of this country, which will take into consideration how best to educate and equip that portion of their students who intend to follow a commercial calling rather than a profession, realizing, as every thinking man does to-day, the great demand that has been created for the highest type of intellectual ability, integrity, and executive ability, necessary to manage successfully and honestly the great amount of capital that has been and is being concentrated in the large industrial corporations of this country."

John W. Dunn, President of the International Steam Pump Company, says:

"Although I did not myself enjoy the benefits of a college education, having left school at an early age to go to work for my living, I do not share the prejudice against a college education which is expressed by some of our self-made men. I believe that the theoretical foundation which a young man receives at a well-conducted college can be of great use to him in after-life, provided that on leaving college he is willing to begin at the bottom of the ladder to learn practically any business he may choose to enter upon, without bringing with him any false idea that the learning that he has acquired from his books and his professors absolves him from going through precisely the same course of practical training that he would have had to undergo if he had gone directly from school or high school to a shop or factory. We have in our various companies a number of young men who are graduates of the various technical institutes, and whom we are willing to assist in making their way, provided they are content to begin as common operatives, like any ordinary working-man who is to earn his living. To any young man who is content to take up his work in this frame of mind, I believe that a professional education will be of great value after he had thoroughly mastered the practical details of his work, and familiarized himself with those matters which can only be acquired by actual experience, and by actual contact with business and with men. Any young man, however, who is imbued with a belief that because he has gone through college he has nothing further to learn, and is superior to the necessities which those who have had no such advantages are compelled to recognize, will find that his college education is not only of no benefit to him, but is a positive hindrance to his success in life. My observation of young men, in whom I have always taken a great deal of interest, has led me to believe that the main reason why so many college men are not as successful in business as others who have only had the very plainest rudiments of an education is, that by reason of the species of conceit to which I have just referred their minds are closed to those sources of instruction and training which they would otherwise gladly avail themselves of, and to which the success of most of our self-made men is in a considerable measure due. I believe that all of our best colleges recognize the truth of what I have just said, and take pains to instil

it into the minds of their students. That is to say, they impress upon them that when they leave college they have not learned everything there is to know, but are only on the threshold, and that the advantages they have had over other men will not avail them unless they apply themselves to their business with the same energy, fidelity, and perseverance that those other men habitually employ."

Mr. J. Ogden Armour, of Chicago, through his secretary states:

"That, in his opinion, the solution of this question, as far as commercial success is concerned, is not so much one of the abstract value of advanced education, as compared with that obtained in the public schools, as it is of adaptability to the chosen pursuit of the student. He, of course, recognizes the very great value of a complete education, but he thinks it is to be largely measured, in relation to success in commercial affairs, by the trustworthiness, ambition, and perseverance that accompany it. With these fundamental qualifications, and others which naturally suggest themselves, opportunities for a successful career would unquestionably occur. Mr. Armour's action regarding employees in his own business is practically wholly independent of the possession by them of exceptional educational advantages. He does not, however, desire to underrate the desirability of the highest education possible, but thinks that commercial success is chiefly dependent upon qualifications which may or may not accompany exceptional scholastic attainment."

Mr. Wyerhaeuser of Wyerhaeuser & Company, of St. Paul, writes:

"The disadvantages under which a college graduate labors when he enters business are that he is pretty well advanced towards manhood, is awkward, has had no business training, and is apt to think that because he is a college graduate he ought not be obliged to commence at the bottom of the ladder and work up, as the office boy does who enters the office when he is fourteen years of age. If he is a man of good sense and does not think too much of his college education, by the time he is forty years of age he has a great many advantages over the boy who left school at eighteen, and it must be a source of great satisfaction to him during his life that he has had the benefit of a college education. I, by all means, would recommend to a boy who is inclined to study, a course in some good college. He certainly, in the course of time, will find that he is amply repaid for it. The boy who is bright and starts in business after graduating from the high school will, for the first ten years, get along much better and be happier than the man who has spent four or five years attending college, and may have made a good start towards laying the foundation for a profitable business long before the college man gets an insight into the business. Still, I think

the college graduate, by the time he reaches seventy, would have had the most satisfactory life, and, perhaps, would be fully as successful as the man who has not been fortunate enough to possess a college education."

Mr. Powell Stackhouse, of the Cambria Steel Company, says:

"I hold that a young man of proper physical and mental balance cannot be overeducated. In the manufacture of steel (and the same is true of any modern manufacturing operations), a thorough technical education is an essential, as without it a limit of advancement will sooner or later be reached. In the commercial line it may not be so essential, but is a great advantage. It is true that there are many notable men who, without the advantages of a technical education, have risen to the top of their profession; these are the exceptions in many thousands, and are only such as have the natural ability, coupled with great perseverance and the self-denial afterwards to educate themselves, and they cannot be raised as objections, but as an incentive to a thorough college education. It does not follow by any means that because a young man has passed a college life with credit, he will necessarily be a success in any line he may select. He has only been furnished with the mental tools to work with, and their after application depends upon his use and the opportunities thereby afforded. Any failure of a young man to secure the most advanced education he possibly can must in some time of his future life operate detrimentally."

Such testimonies I might call to great number and length. But enough has been said to prove that the managers of the great business undertakings of the present and of the future will receive large advantage from the college. To the merchant, the manufacturer and the administrator the college offers an understanding more comprehensive, a sense of relationship more just, as well as a training of the will more adequate for large undertakings. The college helps to create the man of soberminded-ness, of personal resolution, who is intent on things of the mind. It aids, let us believe, in nourishing the noblest type of the gentleman. But, while causing these richest personal results, it is also training great executives for the great affairs of the United States and of the world.

CHARLES F. THWING.

THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE POPE

BY JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY, ASSOCIATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

AMONG the rulers of the earth, the Pope occupies a peculiar position, which is as unique in the realm of international law as the Papacy itself in the realm of religion. In the eyes of international law, the Holy See is not a sovereign state; for the very definition of a state implies the possession of territory, and when the Popes were deprived of the temporal sovereignty which they had for centuries exercised over a part of Italy, the Holy See ceased to be a member of the family of nations. The Pope is no longer head of a temporal state, but he is still Sovereign Pontiff, he is still head of that great Church which commands the loyalty of two-fifths of Christendom.

The position of head of the Church, as Monsieur Bonfils says in his book on International Law, is not a local dignity. It is not Italian; it is universal. It has an essentially international character. Infallible legislator in matters of dogma and morals, supreme regulator of ecclesiastical discipline, chief of the hosts of the Church, the Pope, by the very force of circumstances, frequently intervenes in the internal affairs of a number of states. But those nations of which the population is partly or wholly Catholic cannot allow the Pope to be the subject of any ruler. The Pope should be free and emancipated from subjection to any Government whatever. The Sovereign Pontiff cannot be the subject of any state.

Consequently, although the Popes have been deprived of their Papal States, although by loss of territory the Supreme Pontiff has ceased to be a reigning sovereign of a temporal state, yet, by the general consent of the Powers, he is treated as a sovereign. He has the right to send and to receive diplomatic representa-

tives, and, moreover, at certain courts the Apostolic Nuncio has precedence over other ambassadors.

It is not only the so-called Catholic countries which maintain diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Even the Tzar of Russia, the official head of the Russian Church, has found it convenient to have a diplomatic representative at the Papal Court; and stout Protestant dynasties, like those of Holland and of Prussia, have seen the advantage of maintaining diplomatic relations with the Head of that Church which numbers so many of their subjects in its communion.

England does not maintain an embassy at the Vatican, but on special occasions she has sent missions to the Pope, as at the time of the late Pontiff's Jubilee, when the Duke of Norfolk conveyed to His Holiness the good wishes of Queen Victoria.

The United States maintained a legation at the Papal Court up to the time of the loss of the Papal States. Since that period, regular diplomatic relations have ceased between the Vatican and Washington, although recently it was found necessary to send a special mission to consult with the Pope in regard to affairs in the Philippines.

A number of the South-American republics also have ministers accredited to the Pope. The Argentine is represented there by the distinguished jurist, Dr. Carlos Calvo. The Brazilian Minister was, until very recently, Dr. J. A. Ferreira da Costa, the talented diplomatist whose agreeable personality made such a pleasant impression in this country while he was in the Brazilian Legation at Washington.

The attitude of Italy toward the Holy See is indicated by the Italian Law of May 13th, 1871. That law does not acknowledge in the Pope the quality of sovereignty, but it offers him guarantees of inviolability and the honors due a sovereign.

"The person of the Sovereign Pontiff," according to this law, "is sacred and inviolable. The Italian Government, within the territory of the kingdom, will render sovereign honors to the Sovereign Pontiff, and will uphold the pre-eminence of honor which is accorded him by Catholic Sovereigns."

Other articles of the law give assurances of the respect and immunity to be enjoyed by the diplomatic representatives accredited to the Vatican, and by the representatives of the Holy See, while on Italian territory.

Article XII. declares that the Pope may correspond freely with the episcopate, and with the entire Catholic world, without interference from the Italian Government, and that facilities shall be given for the establishment at the Vatican of special post and telegraph offices managed by Papal authority.

This law of May 13th, 1871, known as the "law of guarantees," is simply a declaration by the Italian Government of its attitude in regard to the Holy See. The Powers, fearing to burn their fingers, refused to take any part in regulating the relations of the Vatican and Quirinal, and, as for the Popes, they have steadfastly ignored both the "law of guarantees" and the annual pension of half a million dollars offered by the Italian Government.

The Vatican does not officially recognize the Quirinal, although it is sometimes necessary to hold unofficial negotiations.

The Pope, although deprived of his temporal possessions, still receives royal honors, sends and receives ambassadors, treats with temporal sovereigns on equal terms, and is one of the great factors in the world's politics. It may even be said that his authority has been purified and increased since he has ceased to be a petty prince of Italy.

The power and authority of the Pope has never been commensurate with the temporal possessions of the Holy See. As Leo the Great said, nearly fifteen centuries ago: "To Rome, exalted by the preaching of the Chief of the Apostles, there has been appointed a spiritual dominion wider than her earthly sway."

The Pope claimed authority over the world, not on account of his small lands in Italy, but in his character as Vicar of Christ. As in man the spirit rules the flesh, so in the world the spiritual power claimed authority over the fleshly or temporal power. Long was the struggle for supremacy between the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and the Pontiffs of the Holy Roman Church. The Emperor claimed to be the Vicar of God in temporal matters. The Pope claimed to be the Vicar of Christ in spiritual affairs. Both were raised high above all other monarchs. But which should be supreme—the temporal or the spiritual?

The writers of the Middle Ages saw in the two swords, spoken of by Saint Luke, the symbol of the Empire and the Holy See. The disciples said unto Christ, "Lord, behold here are two swords"; and he said unto them, "It is enough." The Lord had given the two swords for the protection of Christendom. The

spiritual sword was confided to the Pope, the temporal sword to the Emperor. The Popes claimed that both these swords belong to the Pope; one he wields in person, the other he intrusts to Emperors and Kings—but always for the defence of the Church and under the direction of the Pontiff.

Moreover, it was at the hands of the Pope that the Emperor received his imperial crown and investiture. The Emperor was but the Pope's delegate. The Empire, the highest expression of earthly power, was dependent upon the Holy See. The Pontiff was the dispenser of crowns to monarchs, the Lord Paramount to whom all the rulers of the earth owed homage and obedience.

The Popes claimed the right to crown monarchs and to depose them. They claimed the power to absolve vassals from the oath of allegiance to their king. Naturally, the Emperor was disposed to protest against this assumption of superiority; but some of the smaller temporal princes found the pretensions of the Pope a valuable weapon to use against their temporal suzerain, the Emperor.

The struggle for supremacy between the temporal power and the spiritual power went on with varying fortune. William the Conqueror refused to do homage to Gregory for the newly-conquered England, yet some of his successors on the English throne paid tribute to Rome and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope.

There is a scene in the courtyard of Matilda's castle where a penitent Emperor stood, barefooted and woollen-frocked, on the snow for three days and three nights imploring the pardon of the Pope; and there is another scene where we see the same proud Pontiff ending his days in misery and exile, cast down by the hand of the Emperor.

Frederick Barbarossa struggled against the Papal claims to supremacy, and refused to hold the Pontiff's stirrup as the Emperor Lothar had done. The struggle was long and bitter; yet when Pope and Emperor met in Venice, at the suggestion of the Doge, the great Frederick knelt in sudden awe before the Vicar of Christ, and the Pope raised him up and kissed him with the kiss of peace. Three slabs of red marble in the porch of Saint Mark's show the spot where the temporal power thus abandoned the contest, though it were but for a season; and in the ducal palace there used to hang a picture of the scene, but the painter

had added to the facts of history and had represented the Pontiff as placing his foot upon the neck of the prostrate Emperor, saying: "The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot."

From the time of Gregory VII., the Popes began to take first rank. The age was intensely religious, and readily accepted the idea that the spiritual power should rank above the temporal power. The opinion grew that the Pope was the first sovereign in Christendom, to whom all other sovereigns owed homage. Even champions of the Imperial power, like Dante, admitted that "the Emperor, sovereign in the secular domain, depends in certain points upon the Pope; for terrestrial welfare is of an order lower than celestial welfare, and Cæsar should, therefore, show to Peter the respect which the first-born should show to his father."

The Emperors themselves did not dare to assume the Imperial crown except at the hands of a Pope, even if they had to set up a Pope specially for the purpose.

The power of the Pope rested not on armed hosts nor on wide lands, but on divine right and on authority over men's souls. Whether we believe in the logic of the Pontifical claims or not, there can be no doubt of the immense power of the Popes and the exalted position which they attained with regard to other sovereigns. They dispensed crowns to monarchs, they arbitrated disputes, they put down one and raised up another, they apportioned territory to kings. It was by the Bull of Alexander VI. that nearly all the newly discovered Western Hemisphere was divided between the crowns of Spain and Portugal. To this day, Kings still proudly bear titles which were conferred by the Popes, and which indicate the subordination of the secular power to the spiritual authority of the Holy See. The King of Spain is still "His Catholic Majesty," the King of Portugal is "His Most Faithful Majesty," the Emperor of Austria is "His Apostolic Majesty." "His Most Christian Majesty" of France and "His Orthodox Majesty" of Poland have ceased to be, but the King of England still claims to be the "Defender of the Faith."

While bestowing these titles upon others as a mark of the favor of the Church, the Pope reserved for himself a modest yet proud qualification, "*Servus Servorum Dei*," "Servant of the Servants of God."

The power of the Holy See over men's souls has been more durable than its power over their bodies. At the present day, the Pope no longer claims the right to direct the temporal affairs of the world. He no longer claims to be Lord Paramount of the kings of the earth in temporal matters. He no longer pretends to depose princes nor to absolve subjects from their allegiance, but he is still one of the most powerful political personages in the world. His loss of territory has necessarily entailed certain changes. He cannot make war, for obvious reasons. Even if he should attempt to make war with his small band of faithful soldiers, it is doubtful whether the Powers would regard it as a legal war. He does not enter into treaties as between state and state, but he concludes with Governments agreements which are known as Concordats. He was also debarred from taking part in the Tzar's Peace Conference, on account of the fact that the Holy See is not a temporal state. The loss of the temporal possessions has in some ways, however, added to the dignity and authority of the Pope. His power, relieved from temporal localization, has increased throughout Christendom. His influence touches all countries. For an illustration, one has but to look at Spain, where for years Carlist agitation has been kept down and the dynasty of Alphonso has been upheld, largely through the influence of the late Pontiff.

As Monsieur Rivier remarks in his great work on International Law: "If the successor of Gregory and of Innocent is not to-day the monarch of monarchs, the dispenser of crowns, the distributer of continents and oceans, he still personifies the greatest moral force of the world."

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

AMERICAN COURTS-MARTIAL.

BY WILBUR LARREMORE.

THE adverse criticism upon American Courts-Martial, if not constant, is at least periodical and systematic. The sentiment of lawyers toward the methods of military justice is frankly contemptuous. It is doubtful whether Courts-Martial do not contribute more largely to the stock anecdotes of professional derision than even the courts held by bucolic Justices of the Peace. When one member of the bar cites the instance of a farmer Judge deciding a point of law in a civil case upon the authority of Cushing's "Manual of Parliamentary Procedure," another may retort with an authentic ruling by a Court-Martial that, though hearsay evidence is incompetent, hearsay based upon hearsay, that is a story that has passed through two mouths instead of one, is entirely unobjectionable. Nor is the attitude of members of the bar one merely of superficial jocosity; they are seriously convinced that the system itself is unscientific, and that, when justice is done, it is in spite of defective method and grievous obstacles. The sentiment of the laity quite substantially concurs with that of the bar.

Singularly enough, at first sight, the class who seem least concerned by scientific imperfections is the very class practically affected—members of the Army and Navy themselves. The general acquiescence of military officers in the antiquated features of judicial inquiry would seem to indicate an unjudicial habit of mind which goes far to account for the vagaries committed by Courts-Martial in practice. One result of a military education is to breed a special temperament, marked primarily by reverence for authority, and, secondarily, by a strong feeling of caste. Naturally, men of the military habit of mind acquiesce without question in the authority of existing law, as

well as in that of superior officers. The sense of caste causes members of the service to cling to the institution of trial by a body of what they consider their peers. This sentiment has a legitimate basis in utility, and it is not my purpose to advocate the abolition of trial of military men by military officers. That the service itself is not strenuously concerned in any proposed change is no reason why criticism from outside should be condemned as officious or impertinent. Such a view would discountenance the spirit of missionary reform the world over in all departments. It is believed that, with some important but not subversive modifications, the system of Courts-Martial might be made sufficiently scientific, while retaining its distinctive and valuable features.

The unscientific character of the present system principally results from the concatenation of functions imposed upon a judicial Pooh-Bah, known as the "judge-advocate." The very title of the officer is balefully significant. The scientific method, as applied to jurisprudence, as well as in other fields, consists simply of abstract generalization from large numbers of observations of particular cases. A universally conceded conclusion which has been reached by that method is, that no man may safely be trusted to act both as judge and advocate. Even though no motive of direct personal gain exist, there are the considerations of pride of opinion and inevitable emotional championship of a cause which may have been espoused merely through force of circumstances. In the determination of criminal controversies in the regular law courts, a factor that is constantly arising is the intemperate advocacy of the public prosecutor. Many convictions are reversed by the civil courts every year because of the possibility of injustice flowing from a district attorney's blind zeal to carry his point. Theoretically, a public prosecutor is a quasi-judicial officer; he is expected not unduly to press for a conviction if the fact of guilt be doubtful. Actually, he becomes a strong partisan; and, in spite of the fact that the trial is presided over by an independent judicial officer, he often hounds the prisoner with such narrowness of vision and bitterness of invective that appellate tribunals are forced to undo the result of his work.

Under our American system, the authority appointing a Court-Martial designates the place for holding the court, the hour of meeting, the members of the court, and a judge-advocate. It is

enacted that the judge-advocate "shall prosecute in the name of the United States, but when the prisoner has made his plea he shall so far consider himself counsel for the prisoner as to object to any leading questions to any of the witnesses, and to any question to the prisoner, the answer to which might tend to criminate himself." It is also laid down that, while the court is in open session, "the judge-advocate shall respectfully call the attention of the court to any irregularities in its proceedings. He should act as legal adviser of the court so far as to give his opinions upon any point of law arising during the trial, when it is asked by the court, but not otherwise." The judge-advocate is thus made the really responsible legal factor of military trials, and, to add to the anomaly of the situation, he is not required by law to be a lawyer by profession, nor are any qualifications of legal knowledge prescribed. In practice, the persons designated as judge-advocates, at least for important Courts-Martial, are usually officers of some legal attainments and of experience in the conduct of trials. Nevertheless, some of the most delicious legal solecisms in circulation consist of opinions given by judge-advocates which became the foundation of rulings by military courts. The section of the Articles of War above quoted makes it the duty of a judge-advocate to object in the prisoner's behalf to leading questions. We venture to say that many gallant soldiers have officiated as judge-advocates who had not the remotest idea what a leading question was. It may be remarked incidentally that the provision itself is unwise and inadequate. Much more important would it have been to provide for the exclusion of "hearsay" evidence. Leading questions—questions whose form suggests the answer expected—are not absolutely barred in civil trials. They are commonly made use of to bring out facts as to which there is no dispute, and the allowance or exclusion of them rests in the discretion of the court. "Hearsay," on the contrary, is rigidly barred. Trial by "hearsay" would be equivalent to trial by common rumor or village gossip. Perhaps there is no single rule quite so essential for the administration of justice as that which confines a witness to original evidence derived from his own observation and knowledge.

The responsible judicial officer should be placed upon the bench and should be entirely freed from the entanglements of advocacy. In the German system, civilian judges sit with the officers as part

of a Court-Martial. The writer believes that our American system can best be reformed by taking a leaf out of the German book. In the comparatively recent German case of Sergeants Marten and Hickel, the civilian members of the court did effective service in preventing the railroading of probably innocent men to their death. The arbitrary disposition of the military members of that court, in conjunction with the attitude of the French court in the Dreyfus case, ought to furnish an object-lesson to the entire world of the danger of trusting the administration of justice to the spirit of militarism. This spirit is apt to work injustice in favor of, as well as against, accused persons. As to many American Courts-Martial during the past few years, the bar and the public have concluded that palpably guilty men had been whitewashed. An indulgent professional sympathy crops out, especially in trials for offences not primarily against the service itself, such as financial irregularity or cruelty to prisoners or barbarous combatants. The difficulty is that a Court-Martial is too sensitive to caste sentiment, whichever way it happens to set. Abstract justice would be promoted by the presence of at least one trained lawyer on every military tribunal. The administration of justice is a science. It is fatuous in the extreme to conclude that military trials may safely be conducted without some infusion of the exact scientific spirit.

Our law should be amended so as to provide for the creation of a board of military judges to be appointed by the President. Membership of the bar of from five to ten years should be a condition of eligibility, and it might be wise to have them attached and primarily responsible to the Department of Justice, rather than to that of War. When a Court-Martial is appointed, one of these judges should be designated as its presiding officer, and he should have the sole right of ruling upon questions of the admissibility of evidence. It would be well to have the other members of the court continue to consist of military officers, but it would also be expedient to have the civilian member join in their deliberations and entitled to one vote on the judgment to be rendered. His participation in the conference would tend to prevent illogical and inconsistent action, and the position he took would be a guide to the Secretary of War, or the President, in reviewing the judgment. The proposed reform is scientific, as in jurisprudence and juridical methods successful reforms have ever

been evolutionary and not revolutionary. The scheme in view would preserve the essential features of the present combination judge-and-jury system, while introducing a scientific policy which now is lacking. Combination judge-and-jury tribunals exist as features of our civil judicature. Causes in equity are tried both as to fact and law by a single judge. Many cases both in law and equity are so tried by one or more referees. The feature of trial by one's peers would remain, and on most of the questions coming before military courts, and especially on issues of alleged conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, a verdict by persons trained in military practice and tradition is desirable. The writer would strenuously oppose the entire abolition of military members and the creation of purely civilian tribunals, nor does he believe that a separate military Court of Appeal is necessary, both of which propositions have been advocated with considerable force. (In England, judgments of Courts-Martial are reviewed by the Judge-Advocate-General of the Army as criminal cases in the law courts are reviewed by the Home Secretary.) The office of advocate for the prosecution should be continued, but it should be shorn of its judicial features, and probably it would be well to prescribe for such officers some qualifications of legal education and experience. The accused should be permitted to be represented by any counsel, civilian or military, he may choose, and provision should be made for assigning him counsel, if he have none, in the discretion of the court.

The North American Review for February, 1899, contained a communication by Mr. Earl M. Cranston on "The Existing Court-Martial System," which pointed out some of the evils here treated of, and, among other things, contended that the existing right of challenge should be extended. So far as our observation goes, no serious injustice has resulted on this score. It will be remembered that, upon the convening of the Schley Court of Inquiry, one of its members was successfully challenged for bias and compelled by his fellow members to retire, whereupon an acceptable substitute was appointed. It would, however, be entirely proper to provide for challenge of designated members of a Court-Martial, or of Inquiry, directly to the appointing power and before the court meets. If the hearing and determination of challenges be restricted to the court itself, there is the possibility—experience does not disclose a probability—of having to appeal to

a tribunal all of whose members are biased, and therefore predisposed to stand by one another. There are other minor features of reform which might well be considered if the system of military courts were subjected to a general overhauling. The present discussion is substantially confined to what are deemed crucial defects.

To the proposition above detailed for a military tribunal presided over by a civilian judge, two objections may be suggested and answered. First, it might be feared that the civilian president would morally overawe his associates and virtually constitute a court sole. The experiences even of civil justice tend to show that such apprehension is groundless. The writer has been informed by two judges of courts of general civil jurisdiction, each of them of large experience in conducting jury trials, that jurors are apt to resent any attempt at influence by the trial judge. They accept the law of a case from the bench without demur; but, realizing that the determination of the facts is their province, they wish to discharge their duty without moral coercion. A biased charge by a judge often leads at least to a disagreement in a case where the jurors would unanimously have taken the judge's view of the merits if he had kept his hands off. The situation is different in England, where juries notoriously are clay in the hands of the judicial potter. But there is no doubt that the spirit of democratic independence to a large extent dominates the American jury-box. Cases, indeed, are not so very rare in which an ultra-conscientious juror will protest and even refuse to be recorded when a judge directs a verdict as matter of law—a purely technical form of procedure, for which the jury has no actual responsibility whatsoever. If this be the disposition of ordinary laymen, how much more independent would be a board of experts passing upon questions in their particular department of expertism! Not only would they be quick to resist any infringement of their professional prerogative and personal dignity, but, in the very nature of things, their expert judgment would have to be the substantially controlling factor. It is inconceivable that the presence of a lawyer as a member of the Schley Court of Inquiry could have rendered the results of its deliberations anything but essentially expert verdicts on purely naval questions. Such an addition to the court, however, probably would have avoided much uncertainty and confusion on matters of evidence

which arose at the beginning of and indeed throughout the trial. A civilian with legal training might also have prevailed upon the revered and beloved Admiral of the Navy to abstain from expression of an opinion upon a matter which was not referred to the court, and as to which all evidence had been sedulously excluded.

The second objection may be indicated by the reply of an official of high military standing, to whom the proposition was submitted in conversation: "It is absolutely necessary for the preservation of discipline that a deserter shall be shot the next morning at sunrise." This attitude of mind furnishes the key to the standing reproach that "Courts-Martial are organized to convict." If an alleged deserter is to be shot anyhow the next morning, it is far better that it be done without a farcical form of judicial investigation. The necessity for headlong haste certainly does not exist in time of peace. Justice deliberately and certainly rendered is more impressive as an example than official murder based on half-digested hearsay and appearances. It is further submitted that experience does not suggest the need of great precipitancy even in time of war. In the war of the Rebellion, the armies of the North contained many men halting between two loyalties, and thousands of drafted men and substitutes for hire. These improvised armies, moreover, were without the military traditions and inurement to danger possessed by regulars. In spite of these facts, and of the further circumstance that quite early it became known that President Lincoln was disposed to pardon practically every deserter within reach of a telegraph wire, at no time was any army or division threatened with anything like serious decimation. It is precisely when the need of haste is represented as greatest that most horrid injustice is apt to be done by a "drum-head" court. On the other hand, it would be perfectly feasible to have military judges present at the scene of hostilities to conduct trials of offenders, and see to it that the essential principles of scientific justice were administered before they were condemned. It could be provided by law for the increase of judges in time of war by temporary appointment.

The NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May, 1899, contained a valuable article on "Courts-Martial in England and America," by the Rt. Hon. Sir F. H. Jeune, Judge-Advocate-General of the British Army, which was called forth by and is in part a reply to the article of Mr. Cranston above referred to. It is shown that

the British system in many respects is similar to our own; but there are important points of difference. For example, the learned English Judge-Advocate-General remarks:

"Mr. Cranston has very properly pointed out that the presence of a Judge Advocate, to some extent, meets his objection of the want of legal training in the military members of the Court; but he adds that there is a risk of the Judge Advocate's ceasing to be sufficiently impartial if he also acts as prosecutor. In this last opinion I certainly concur, and I venture to hope that those responsible for the law of American Courts-Martial will not hesitate to profit by our experience, because with us there is a Prosecutor, generally the Adjutant of the regiment, independent of the Judge Advocate. The Judge Advocate acts very much as the Attorney-General acts in peerage cases in the House of Lords. He states his view of legal points, and if necessary he sums up the case, pointing out the issues and the evidence relating to them, but he leaves it to the tribunal to decide."

The fact that the functions of advocate and judge have practically been separated in England is a strong argument for at least that measure of reform here. But, if a change be made, we see no good reason why it should not be carried to logical completion by placing the real arbiter of legal points on the bench. For reasons above set forth, we are unable to share Sir Francis Jeune's apprehension that the military members of an American court would leave the facts as well as the law to the determination of the civilian judge. He contends, furthermore, that British officers as a class are sufficiently versed in the law of evidence and law in general to discharge the judicial function. However this may be, experience amply demonstrates that American officers are not capable of conducting military trials to the approval of scientific jurists, or even to popular satisfaction. It seems altogether probable that the existing British system represents a modification of the original type of Court-Martial to conform by analogy to British civil institutions. It is submitted that the plan of reform outlined in this article would modify the same original type in a manner similarly agreeable by analogy to the juridical ideals and standards of the United States.

WILBUR LARREMORE.

THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART X.

XXV.

STRETHER occupied beside little Bilham, three evenings after his interview with Mamie Pocock, the same deep divan they had enjoyed together on the first occasion of our friend's meeting Mme. de Vionnet and her daughter in the apartment of the Boulevard Malesherbes, where his position affirmed itself again as ministering to an easy exchange of impressions. The present evening had a different stamp; if the company was much more numerous, so, inevitably, were the ideas set in motion. It was on the other hand, however, now strongly marked that the talkers moved, in respect to such matters, round an inner, a protected circle. They knew, at any rate, what really concerned them to-night, and Strether had begun by keeping his companion close to it. Only a few of Chad's guests had dined—that is fifteen or twenty, a few compared with the large concourse offered to sight by eleven o'clock; but number and mass, quantity and quality, light, fragrance, sound, the overflow of hospitality meeting the high tide of response, had all, from the first, pressed upon Strether's consciousness, and he knew himself to be somehow part and parcel of the most festive scene, as the term was, in which he had ever in his life been engaged. He had perhaps seen, on Fourths of July and on dear old domestic Commencements, more people assembled, but he had never seen so many in proportion to the space, or had at all events never known so great a promiscuity to show so markedly as picked. Numerous as was the company, it had still been made so by selection, and what was above all rare for Strether was that, by no fault of his own, he was in the secret of the principle that had worked. He had not inquired, he had averted his head, but Chad had put him a pair of questions that themhe had replied that they were the young man's own affair; and he selves smoothed the ground. He had not answered the questions, had then seen perfectly that the latter's direction was already settled.

Chad had applied for counsel only by way of intimating that he knew what to do; and he had clearly never known it better than in

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now presenting to his sister the whole circle of his society. This was all in the sense and the spirit of the note struck by him on that lady's arrival; he had taken at the station itself a line that led him without a break, and that enabled him to lead the Pococks—though dazed a little, no doubt, breathless, no doubt, and bewildered—to the uttermost end of the passage accepted by them perforce as pleasant. He had made it, for them, violently pleasant and mercilessly full; the upshot of which was, to Strether's vision, that they had come all the way without discovering that it was really no passage at all. It was a brave blind alley, where to pass was impossible, and where, unless they stuck fast, they would have—which was always awkward —publicly to back out. They were touching bottom, assuredly, to-night; the whole scene represented the terminus of the *cul-de-sac*. So could things go when there was a hand to keep them consistent—a hand that pulled the wire with a skill at which the elder man more and more marvelled. The elder man felt responsible, but he also felt successful, for what had taken place was simply the issue of his own contention, six months before, that they properly should wait to see what their friends would have really to say. He had determined Chad to wait, he had determined him to see; he was therefore not to quarrel with the time given up to the business. As much as ever, accordingly, now that a fortnight had elapsed, the situation created for Sarah, and against which she had raised no protest, was that of her having accommodated herself to her adventure as to a pleasure-party surrendered perhaps even somewhat in excess to bustle and to "pace." If her brother had been at any point the least bit open to criticism it might have been on the ground of his spicing the draught too highly and pouring the cup too full. Frankly treating the whole occasion of the presence of his relatives as an opportunity for amusement, he left it, no doubt, but scant margin as an opportunity for anything else. He suggested, invented, abounded — yet all the while with the loosest, easiest rein. Strether, during his own weeks, had gained a sense of knowing Paris; but he saw it afresh, and with fresh emotion, in the form of the knowledge offered to his colleague.

A thousand unuttered thoughts hummed for him in the air of these observations: not the least frequent of which was that Sarah might well, of a truth, not quite know whither she was drifting. She was in no position not to appear to expect that Chad should treat her handsomely; yet she struck our friend as privately stiffening a little each time she missed the chance of marking the great *nuance*. The great *nuance* was, in brief, that of course her brother must treat her handsomely—she should like to see him not; but that treating her handsomely, none the less, wasn't all in all—treating her handsomely buttered no parsnips; and that in fine there were moments when she felt the fixed eyes of their admirable absent mother fairly screw into the flat of her back. Strether, watching, after his habit, and overscoring with thought, positively had moments of his own in

which he found himself sorry for her—occasions on which she affected him as a person seated in a runaway vehicle and turning over the question of a possible jump. *Would* she jump, could she, would *that* be a safe place?—this question, at such instants, sat for him in her lapse into pallor, her tight lips, her conscious eyes. It came back to the main point at issue: would she be, after all, to be squared? He believed, on the whole, she would jump; yet his alternations on this subject were the more especial stuff of his suspense. One thing remained well before him—a conviction that was in fact to gain sharpness from the impressions of this evening: that if she *should* gather in her skirts, close her eyes and quit the carriage while in motion, he would promptly enough become aware. She would alight from her headlong course more or less directly upon him; it would be appointed to him, unquestionably, to receive her entire weight. Signs and portents of the experience thus in reserve for him had, as it happened, multiplied even through the dazzle of Chad's party. It was partly under the nervous consciousness of such a prospect that, leaving almost every one in the two other rooms, leaving those of the guests already known to him as well as a mass of brilliant strangers of both sexes and of several varieties of speech, he had desired five quiet minutes with little Bilham, whom he always found soothing and even, a little, inspiring, and to whom he had actually, moreover, something distinct and important to say.

He had felt of old—for it already seemed long ago—rather humiliated at finding that he could learn in talk with a personage so much his junior the lesson of a certain moral ease; but he had now got used to that—whether or no the mixture of the fact with other humiliations had made it indistinct, whether or no directly from little Bilham's example, the example of his being contentedly just the obscure and acute little Bilham he was. It worked so for him, Strether seemed to see; and our friend had, at private hours, a wan smile over the fact that he himself, after so many more years, was still in search of something that would work. However, as we have said, it worked just now for them equally to have found a corner a little apart. What particularly kept it apart was the circumstance that the music in the salon was admirable, with two or three such singers as it was a privilege to hear in private. Their presence gave a distinction to Chad's entertainment, and the interest of calculating their effect on Sarah was actually so sharp as to be almost painful. Unmistakably, in her single person, the motive of the composition and dressed in a splendor of crimson which affected Strether as a fall through a skylight, she would now be in the forefront of the listening circle and committed by it up to her eyes. Those eyes during the wonderful dinner itself he had not once met; having confessedly—perhaps a little pusillanimously—arranged with Chad that he should be on the same side of the table. But there was no use in having arrived now with little Bilham at an unprecedented point of intimacy unless he could pitch everything into the pot. "You who

sat where you could see her, what does she make of it all? By which I mean on what terms does she take it?"

"Oh, she takes it, I judge, as proving that the claim of his family is more than ever justified."

"She isn't then pleased with what he has to show?"

"On the contrary; she's pleased with it as with his capacity to do this kind of thing—more than she has been pleased with anything for a long time. But she wants him to show it *there*. He has no right to waste it on the likes of us."

Strether wondered. "She wants him to move the whole thing over?"

"The whole thing—with an important exception. Everything he has 'picked up'—and the way he knows how. She sees no difficulty in that. She'd run the show herself, and she'll make the handsome concession that Woollett would be, on the whole, in some ways the better for it. Not that it wouldn't be also, in some ways, the better for Woollett. The people there are just as good."

"Just as good as you and these others? Ah, that may be. But such an occasion as this, whether or no," Strether said, "isn't the people. It's what has made the people possible."

"Well then," his friend replied, "there you are. I give you my impression for what it's worth. Mrs. Pocock has *seen;* and that's to-night how she sits there. If you were to have a glimpse of her face, you'd understand me. She has made up her mind—to the sound of expensive music."

Strether took it smoothly in. "Ah then, I shall have news of her."

"I don't want to frighten you, but I think that likely. However," little Bilham continued, "if I'm of the least use to you to hold on by—!"

"You're not of the least!"—and Strether laid an appreciative hand on him to say it. "No one's of the least." With which to mark how gayly he could take it, he patted his companion's knee. "I must meet my fate alone, and I *shall*—oh, you'll see! And yet," he pursued the next moment, "you *can* help me too. You once said to me"—he followed this further—"that you held Chad should marry. I didn't see then so well as I know now that you meant he should marry Miss Pocock. Do you still consider that he should? Because if you do"—he kept it up—"I want you immediately to change your mind. You can help me that way."

"Help you by thinking he should *not* marry?"

"Not marry at all events Mamie."

"And who then?"

"Ah," Strether returned, "that I'm not obliged to say. But Mme. de Vionnet—I suggest—when he can."

"Oh!" said little Bilham with some sharpness.

"Oh, precisely! But he needn't marry at all—I'm at any rate not obliged to provide for it. Whereas in your case I rather feel that I *am*."

Little Bilham was amused. "Obliged to provide for my marrying?"

"Yes—after all I've done to you!"

The young man weighed it. "Have you done as much as that?"

"Well," said Strether, thus challenged, "of course I must remember what you've also done to *me*. We may perhaps call it square. But, all the same," he went on, "I wish awfully you'd marry Mamie Pocock yourself."

Little Bilham laughed out. "Why, it was only the other night, in this very place, that you were proposing to me a different union altogether."

"Mlle. de Vionnet?" Well, Strether easily confessed it. "That I admit, was a vain image. *This* is practical politics. I want to do something good for both of you—I wish you each so well; and you can see in a moment the trouble it will save me to polish you off by the same stroke. She likes you, you know. You console her. And she's splendid."

Little Bilham stared as a delicate appetite stares at an overheaped plate. "What do I console her for?"

It just made his friend impatient. "Oh come, you know!"

"And what proves for you that she likes me?"

"Why, the fact that I found her, three days ago, stopping at home alone all the golden afternoon on the mere chance that you would come to her, and hanging over her balcony on that of seeing your cab drive up. I don't know what you want more."

Little Bilham after a moment found it. "Only just to know what proves to you that I like *her*."

"Oh, if what I've just mentioned isn't enough to make you do it, you're a stony-hearted little fiend. Besides"—Strether encouraged his fancy's flight—"you showed your inclination in the way you kept her waiting, kept her on purpose to see if she cared enough for you."

His companion paid his ingenuity the deference of a pause. "I didn't keep her waiting. I came at the hour. I wouldn't have kept her waiting for the world," the young man honorably declared.

"Better still—then there you are!" And Strether, charmed, held him the faster. "Even if you didn't do her justice, moreover," he continued, "I should insist on your immediately coming round to it. I want awfully to have worked it. I want"—and our friend spoke now with a yearning that was really earnest—"at least to have done *that*."

"To have married me off—without a penny?"

"Well, I sha'n't live long; and I give you my word, now and here, that I'll leave you every penny of my own. I haven't many, unfortunately, but you shall have them all. And Miss Pocock, I think, has a few. I want," Strether went on, "to have been at least to that extent constructive—even expiatory. I've been sacrificing so to strange gods that I feel I want to put on record, somehow, my

fidelity—fundamentally unchanged, after all—to our own. I feel as if my hands were embrued with the blood of monstrous alien altars—of another faith altogether. There it is—it's done." And then he further explained. "It took hold of me because the idea of getting her quite out of the way for Chad helps to clear my ground."

The young man, at this, bounced about, and it brought them face to face in admitted amusement. "You want me to marry as a convenience to Chad?"

"No," Strether debated—"*he* doesn't care whether you marry or not. It's as a convenience, simply, to my own plan *for* him."

"'Simply'!"—and little Bilham's concurrence was in itself a lively comment. "Thank you. But I thought," he continued, "you had exactly *no* plan 'for' him."

"Well then, call it my plan for myself—which may be well, as you say, to have none. His situation, don't you see? is reduced now to the bare facts one has to recognize. Mamie doesn't want him, and he doesn't want Mamie: so much as that these days have made clear. It's a thread we can wind up and tuck in."

But little Bilham still questioned. "*You* can—since you seem so much to want to. But why should I?"

Poor Strether thought it over, but was obliged of course to admit that his demonstration did superficially fail. "Seriously, there *is* no reason. It's my affair—I must do it alone. I've only my fantastic need of making my dose stiff."

Little Bilham wondered. "What do you call your dose?"

"Why, what I have to swallow. I want my conditions unmitigated."

He had spoken in the tone of talk for talk's sake, and yet with an obscure truth lurking in the loose folds; a circumstance presently not without its effect on his young friend. Little Bilham's eyes rested on him a moment with some intensity; then, suddenly, as if everything had cleared up, he gave a happy laugh. It seemed to say that if pretending, or even trying, or still even hoping, to be able to care for Mamie would be of use, he was all there at his service. "I'll do anything in the world for you!"

"Well," Strether smiled, "anything in the world is all I want. I don't know anything that pleased me in her more," he went on, "than the way that, on my finding her up there all alone, coming on her unawares, and feeling greatly for her being so out of it, she knocked down my tall house of cards with her instant and cheerful allusion to the next young man. It was somehow so the note I needed—her staying at home to receive him."

"It was Chad of course," said little Bilham, "who asked the next young man—I like your name for me!—to call!"

"So I supposed—all of which, thank God, is in our innocent and natural manners. But do you know," Strether asked, "if Chad knows—?" And then as his interlocutor seemed at a loss: "Why, where she has come out."

Little Bilham, at this, met his face with a conscious look; it was as if, more than anything yet, the allusion had penetrated. "Do you know yourself?"

Strether lightly shook his head. "There I stop. Oh, odd as it may appear to you, there *are* things I don't know. I only got the sense from her of something very sharp, and yet very deep down, that she was keeping all to herself. That is, I had begun with the belief that she had kept it to herself; but face to face with her there I soon made out that there was a person with whom she would have shared it. I had thought she possibly might with *me*—but I saw then that I was only half in her confidence. When, turning to me to greet me—for she was on the balcony, and I had come in without her knowing it—she showed me she had been expecting *you* and was proportionately disappointed, I got hold of the tail of my conviction. Half an hour later I was in possession of all the rest of it. You know what has happened." He looked at his young friend hard —then he felt sure. "For all you say, you're up to your eyes. So there you are."

Little Bilham after an instant pulled half round. "I assure you she hasn't told me anything."

"Of course she hasn't. For what do you suggest that I suppose her to take you? But you've been with her every day, you've seen her freely, you've liked her greatly—I stick to that—and you've made your profit of it. You know what she has been through as well as you know that she has dined here to-night—which must have put her, by the way, through a good deal more."

The young man faced this blast; after which he pulled round the rest of the way. "I haven't in the least said she hasn't been nice to me. But she's proud."

"And quite properly. But not too proud for that."

"It's just her pride that has made her. Chad," little Bilham loyally went on, "has really been as kind to her as possible. It's awkward for a man when a girl's in love with him."

"Ah, but she isn't—now."

Little Bilham sat staring before him; then he sprang up as if his friend's penetration, recurrent and insistent, made him really, after all, too nervous. "No—she isn't now. It isn't in the least," he went on, "Chad's fault. He's really all right. I mean he would have been willing. But she came over with ideas. Those she had got at home. They had been her motive and support in joining her brother and his wife. She was to *save* our friend."

"Ah, like me, poor thing?" Strether also got to his feet.

"Exactly—she had a bad moment. It was very soon distinct to her, to pull her up, to let her down, that, alas, he was, he *is*, saved. There's nothing left for her to do."

"Not even to love him?"

"She would have loved him better as she originally believed him."

Strether wondered. "Of course one asks one's self what notion a

little girl forms, where a young man's in question, of such a history and such a state."

"Well, this little girl saw them, no doubt, as obscure, but she saw them, practically, as wrong. The wrong, for her, *was* the obscure. Chad turns out, at any rate, right and good and disconcerting, while what she was all prepared for, primed and girded and wound up for, was to deal with him as the general opposite."

"Yet wasn't her whole point"—Strether weighed it—"that he was to be, that he *could* be, made better, redeemed?"

Little Bilham fixed it all a moment, and then, with a small head-shake that diffused a tenderness: "She's too late. Too late for the miracle."

"Yes"—his companion saw enough. "Still, if the worst fault of his condition is that it may be all there for her to profit by—?"

"Oh, she doesn't want to 'profit,' in that flat way. She doesn't want to profit by another woman's work—she wants the miracle to have been her own miracle. *That's* what she's too late for."

Strether quite felt how it all fitted; yet there seemed one loose piece. "I'm bound to say, you know, that she strikes one, on these lines, as fastidious—what you call here *difficile*."

Little Bilham tossed up his chin. "Of course she's *difficile*—on any lines! What else in the world *are* our Mamies—the real, the right, ones?"

"I see, I see," our friend repeated, charmed by the responsive wisdom he had ended by so richly extracting. "Mamie is one of the real and the right."

"The very thing itself."

"And what it comes to then," Strether went on, "is that poor awful Chad is simply too good for her."

"Ah, too good was what he was after all to be; but it was she herself, and she herself only, who was to have made him so."

It hung beautifully together, but with still a loose end. "Wouldn't he do for her even if he should, after all, break—"

"With his actual influence?" Oh, little Bilham had for this inquiry the sharpest of all his controls. "How can he 'do'—on any terms whatever—when he's flagrantly spoiled?"

Strether could only meet the question with his passive, his receptive pleasure. "Well, thank goodness, *you're* not! *You* remain for her to save, and I come back, on so beautiful and full a demonstration, to my contention of just now—that of your showing distinct signs of her having already begun."

The most he could further say to himself—as his young friend turned away—was that the charge encountered for the moment no renewed denial. Little Bilham, taking his course back to the music, only shook his good-natured ears an instant, in the manner of a terrier who has got wet; while Strether relapsed into the sense—which had for him in these days most of comfort—that he was free to believe in anything that, from hour to hour, kept him going.

He had positively motions and flutters of this conscious hour-to-hour kind, temporary surrenders to irony, to fancy, frequent instinctive snatches at the growing rose of observation, constantly stronger for him, as he felt, in scent and color, and in which he could bury his nose even to wantonness. This last resource was offered him, for that matter, in the very form of his next clear perception—the vision of a prompt meeting, in the doorway of the room, between little Bilham and brilliant Miss Barrace, who was entering as Bilham withdrew. She had apparently put him a question, to which he had replied by turning to indicate his late interlocutor; toward whom, after an interrogation further aided by a resort to that optical machinery that seemed, like her other ornaments, curious and archaic, the genial lady, suggesting more than ever, for her fellow-guest, the old French print, the historic portrait, directed herself with an intention that Strether instantly met. He knew in advance the first note she would sound, and took in, as she approached, all her need of sounding it. Nothing yet had been so "wonderful" between them as the present occasion; and it was her special sense of this quality in occasions that she was there, as she was in most places, to feed. That sense had already been so well fed by the situation about them that she had quitted the other room, forsaken the music, dropped out of the play, abandoned, in a word, the stage itself, that she might stand a minute behind the scenes with Strether and so perhaps figure as one of the famous augurs replying, behind the oracle, to the wink of the other. Seated near him presently where little Bilham had sat, she replied in truth to many things; beginning as soon as he had said to her—what he hoped he said without fatuity—"All you ladies are extraordinarily kind to me."

She played her long handle, which shifted her observation; she saw in an instant all the absences that left them free. "How can we be anything else? But isn't that exactly your plight? 'We ladies'—oh, we're nice, and you must be having enough of us! As one of us, you know, I don't know that I'm crazy about us. But Miss Gostrey, at least, to-night, has left you alone, hasn't she?" With which she again looked about as if Maria might still lurk.

"Oh yes," said Strether; "she's only sitting up for me at home." And then as this elicited from his companion her gay "Oh, oh, oh!" he explained that he meant sitting up in suspense and prayer. "We thought it on the whole better she shouldn't be present; and either way, of course, it's a terrible worry for her." He abounded in the sense of his appeal to the ladies, and they might take their choice of his doing so from humility or from pride. "Yet she inclines to believe I shall come out."

"Oh, I incline to believe too you'll come out!"—Miss Barrace, with her laugh, was not to be behind. "Only the question's about *where,* isn't it? However," she happily continued, "if it's anywhere at all it must be very far on, mustn't it? To do us justice, I think, you know," she laughed, "we do, among us all, want you

rather far on. Yes, yes," she repeated in her quick, droll way; "we want you very, *very* far on!" After which she wished to know why he had thought it better Maria shouldn't be present.

"Oh," he replied, "it was really her own idea. I should have wished it. But she dreads responsibility."

"And isn't that a new thing for her?"

"To dread it? No doubt—no doubt. But her nerve has given way."

Miss Barrace looked at him a moment. "She has too much at stake." Then less gravely: "Mine, luckily for me, holds out."

"Luckily for me too"—Strether came back to that. "My own isn't so firm, *my* appetite for responsibility isn't so sharp, as that I haven't felt the very principle of this occasion to be 'the more the merrier.' If we *are* so merry, it's because Chad has understood so well."

"He has understood amazingly," said Miss Barrace.

"It's wonderful!"—Strether anticipated for her.

"It's wonderful!" she, to meet it, intensified; so that, face to face over it, they simply and recklessly laughed. But she presently added: "Oh, I see the principle. If one didn't, one would be lost. But when once one has got hold of it—"

"It's as simple as twice two! From the moment he had to do something—"

"A crowd"—she took him straight up—"was the only thing? Rather, rather: a rumpus of sound," she laughed, "or nothing. Mrs. Pocock's built in, or built out—whichever you call it; she's packed so tight she can't move. She's in splendid isolation"—Miss Barrace embroidered the theme.

Strether followed, but scrupulous of justice. "Yet with every one in the place successively introduced to her."

"Wonderfully—but just so that it does build her out. She's bricked up, she's buried alive!"

Strether seemed for a moment to look at it; but it brought him to a sigh. "Oh, but she's not dead! It will take more than this to kill her."

His companion had a pause that might have been for pity. "No, I can't pretend I think she's finished—or that it's for more than to-night." She remained pensive as if with the same compunction. "It's only up to her chin." Then again for the fun of it: "She can breathe."

"She can breathe!"—he echoed it in the same spirit. "And do you know," he went on, "what's really, all this time, happening to me?—through the beauty of music, the gayety of voices, the uproar, in short, of our revel and the felicity of your wit? The sound of Mrs. Pocock's respiration drowns for me, I assure you, every other. It's literally all I hear."

She focussed him with her clink of chains. "Well—!" she breathed ever so kindly.

"Well, what?"

"She *is* free from her chin up," she mused; "and that *will* be enough for her."

"It will be enough for me!" Strether ruefully laughed. "Waymarsh has really," he then asked, "brought her to see you?"

"Yes—but that's the worst of it. I could do you no good. And yet I tried hard."

Strether wondered. "And how did you try?"

"Why, I didn't speak of you."

"I see. That was better."

"Then what would have been worse? For speaking or silent," she lightly wailed, "I somehow 'compromise.' And it has never been any one but you."

"That shows,"—he was magnanimous—"that it's something not in you, but in one's self. It's *my* fault."

She was silent a little. "No, it's Mr. Waymarsh's. It's the fault of his having brought her."

"Ah then," said Strether good-naturedly, "why *did* he bring her?"

"He couldn't afford not to."

"Oh, you were a trophy—one of the spoils of conquest? But why, in that case, since you do 'compromise'—"

"Don't I compromise *him* as well? I do compromise him as well," Miss Barrace smiled. "I compromise him as hard as I can. But for Mr. Waymarsh it isn't fatal. It's—so far as his wonderful relation with Mrs. Pocock is concerned—favorable." And then, as he still seemed slightly at sea: "The man who had succeeded with *me*, don't you see? For her to get him from me was such an added incentive."

Strether saw, but as if his path was still strewn with surprises. "It's 'from' you then that she has got him?"

She was amused at his momentary muddle. "You can fancy my fight! She believes in her triumph. I think it has been part of her joy."

"Oh, her joy!" Strether sceptically murmured.

"Well, she thinks she has had her own way. And what is to-night, for her, but a kind of apotheosis? Her frock's really good."

"Good enough to go to heaven in? For after a real apotheosis," Strether went on, "there's nothing *but* heaven. For Sarah there's only to-morrow."

"And you mean that she won't find to-morrow heavenly?"

"Well, I mean that I somehow feel to-night—on her behalf—too good to be true. She has had her cake; that is she's in the act now of having it, of swallowing the largest and sweetest piece. There won't be another left for her. Certainly *I* haven't one. It can only, at the best, be Chad." He continued to make it out as for their common entertainment. "He may have one, as it were, up his sleeve; yet it's borne in upon me that if he had—"

"He wouldn't"—she quite understood—"have taken all *this* trouble? I dare say not, and, if I may be quite free and dreadful, I very much hope he won't take any more. Of course I won't pretend now," she added, "not to know what it's a question of."

"Oh, every one knows, I think, now," poor Strether thoughtfully admitted; "and it's strange enough and funny enough that one should feel everybody here at this very moment as knowing and watching and waiting."

"Yes—isn't it indeed funny?" Miss Barrace quite rose to it. "That's the way we *are* in Paris." She was always pleased with a new contribution to that queerness. "It's wonderful! But, you know," she declared, "it all depends on you. I don't want to turn the knife in your vitals, but that's naturally what you just now meant by our all being on top of you. We know you as the hero of the drama and we're gathered to see what you'll do."

Strether looked at her a moment with a light perhaps slightly obscured. "I think that must be why the hero has taken refuge in this corner. He's scared at his heroism—he shrinks from his part."

"Ah, but we nevertheless believe that he'll play it. That's why," Miss Barrace kindly went on, "we take such an interest in you. We feel that you'll come up to the scratch." And then as he seemed perhaps not quite to take fire: "Don't let him do it."

"Don't let Chad go?"

"Yes, keep hold of him. With all this"—and she indicated the general tribute—"he has done enough. We love him here—he's charming."

"It's beautiful," said Strether, "the way you all can simplify when you will!"

But she gave it to him back. "It's nothing to the way *you* will when you must."

He winced at it as at the very voice of prophecy, and it kept him a moment quiet. He detained her, however, on her appearing about to leave him alone in the rather cold clearance their talk had made. "There positively isn't a sign of a hero to-night; the hero's dodging and shirking, the hero's ashamed. Therefore, you know, I think, what you must all *really* be occupied with is the heroine."

Miss Barrace took a minute. "The heroine?"

"The heroine. I've treated her," said Strether, "not a bit like a hero. Oh," he sighed, "I don't do it well!"

She eased him off. "You do it as you can." And then after another hesitation: "I think she's satisfied."

But he remained compunctious. "I haven't been near her. I haven't looked at her."

"Ah then, you've lost a good deal!"

He showed that he knew it. "She's more wonderful than ever?"

"Than ever. With Mr. Pocock."

Strether wondered. "Mme. de Vionnet—with Jim?"

"Mme. de Vionnet—with 'Jim.'" Miss Barrace was historic.

"And what is she doing with him?"

"Ah, you must ask *him!*"

Strether's face lighted again at the prospect. "It *will* be amusing to do so." Yet he continued to wonder. "But she must have some idea."

"Of course she has—she has twenty ideas. She has in the first place," said Miss Barrace, swinging a little her tortoise-shell, "that of doing her part. Her part is to help *you.*"

It came out as nothing had come yet; links were missing and connections unnamed, but it was suddenly as if they were at the heart of their subject. "Yes; how much more she does it," Strether gravely reflected, "than I help *her!*" It all came over him as with the near presence of the beauty, the grace, the intense, dissimulated spirit with which he had, as he said, been putting off contact. "*She* has courage."

"Ah, she has courage!" Miss Barrace quite agreed; and it was as if, for a moment, they saw the quantity in each other's face.

But indeed the whole thing was present. "How much she must care!"

"Ah, there it is. She does care. But it isn't, is it," Miss Barrace considerately added, "as if you had ever had any doubt of that?"

Strether seemed suddenly to like to feel that he really never had. "Why, of course it's the whole point."

"*Voilà!*" Miss Barrace smiled.

"It's why one came out," Strether went on. "And it's why one has stayed so long. And it's also"—he abounded—"why one's going home. It's why, it's why—"

"It's why everything!" she concurred. "It's why she might be to-night—for all she looks and shows, and for all your friend 'Jim' does—about twenty years old. That's another of her ideas; to be, for him, and to be quite easily and charmingly, as young as a little girl."

Strether assisted at his distance. "'For him'? For Chad—?"

"For Chad, in a manner, naturally always. But in particular, to-night, for Mr. Pocock." And then as her friend still stared: "Yes, it *is* of a bravery! But that's what she has: her high sense of duty."

It was more than sufficiently before them. "When Mr. Newsome has his hands so embarrassed with his sister—"

"It's quite the least"—Strether filled it out—"that she should take his sister's husband? Certainly—quite the least. So she has taken him."

"She has taken him." It was all Miss Barrace had meant.

Still, it remained enough. "It must be funny."

"Oh, it *is* funny." That of course essentially went with it.

But it brought them back. "How indeed then she must care!" In answer to which Strether's interlocutress dropped a comprehen-

sive "Ah!" which perhaps expressed a slight impatience at the time he took to get used to it. She herself had got used to it long before.

XXVI.

When, one morning, within the week, he perceived the whole thing to be really at last upon him, Strether's immediate feeling was all relief. He had known, this morning, that something was about to happen—known it, in a moment, by Waymarsh's manner when Waymarsh appeared before him during his brief consumption of coffee and a roll in the small, slippery *salle à manger* so associated now with rich rumination. Strether had taken there of late various lonely and absent-minded meals; he communed there, even at the end of June, with a suspected chill, the air of old shivers mixed with old savors, the air in which so many of his impressions had perversely matured; the place meanwhile renewing its message to him by the very circumstance of his single state. He now sat there, for the most part, to sigh softly, while he tilted his *carafe,* over the vision of how much better Waymarsh was occupied. That was really his success, by the common measure—to have led this companion so on and on. He remembered how, at first, there had been scarce a squatting-place he could beguile him into passing; the actual sequel to which, at last, was that there was scarce one that could arrest him in his rush. His rush—as Strether vividly and amusedly figured it—continued to be all with Sarah, and contained perhaps, moreover, the word of the whole enigma, whipped up in its fine, full-flavored froth the very principle, for good or for ill, of his own, of Strether's, outlook. It might, after all, to the end, only be that they had united to save him, and indeed, so far as Waymarsh was concerned, that *had* to be the spring of action. Strether was glad, at all events, in connection with the case, that the saving he required was not more scant; so defined a luxury was it, in certain lights, just to lurk there out of the full glare. He had moments of quite seriously wondering whether Waymarsh wouldn't, in fact, thanks to old friendship and a conceivable indulgence, make about as good terms for him as he might make for himself. They wouldn't be the same terms, of course; but they might have the advantage that he himself probably should be able to make none at all.

He was never, in the morning, very late, but Waymarsh had already been out, and, after a peep into the dim refectory, he presented himself there with much less than usual of his large looseness. He had made sure, through the expanse of glass exposed to the court, that they would be alone; and there was now in fact that about him that pretty well took up the room. He was dressed in the garments of summer; and saving that his white waistcoat was redundant and bulging, these things favored, they determined, his expression. He wore a straw hat such as his friend had not yet seen in Paris, and he showed a buttonhole freshly adorned with a magnificent rose. Strether read, on the instant, his story—how, astir for the previous

hour, the sprinkled newness of the day, so pleasant, at that season, in Paris, he was fairly panting with the pulse of adventure and had been with Mrs. Pocock, unmistakably, to the Marché aux Fleurs. Strether really knew in this vision of him a joy that was akin to envy; so reversed, as he stood there, did their old positions seem; so comparatively doleful now showed, by the sharp turn of the wheel, the posture of the pilgrim from Woollett. He wondered, this pilgrim, if he had originally looked to Waymarsh so brave and well, so remarkably launched, as it was at present the latter's privilege to appear. He recalled that his friend had remarked to him even at Chester that his aspect belied his plea of prostration; but there certainly could not have been, for an issue, an aspect less concerned than Waymarsh's with the menace of decay. Strether had at any rate never looked like a southern planter of the great days—which was the image picturesquely suggested by the happy relation between the fuliginous face and the wide panama of his visitor. This type, it further amused him to guess, had been, on Waymarsh's part, the object of Sarah's care; he was convinced that her taste had not been a stranger to the conception and purchase of the hat, any more than her fine fingers had been guiltless of the bestowal of the rose. It came to him in the current of thought, as things so oddly did come, that *he* had never risen with the lark to attend a brilliant woman to the Marché aux Fleurs; that could be fastened on him in connection neither with Miss Gostrey nor with Mme. de Vionnet; the practice of getting up early for adventures could indeed in no manner be fastened on him. It came to him in fact that just here was his usual case: he was forever missing things through his general genius for missing them, while others were forever picking them up through a contrary bent. And it was others who looked abstemious and he who looked greedy; it was he, somehow, who finally paid, and it was others who mainly partook. Yes, he should go to the scaffold yet for he wouldn't know quite whom. He almost, for that matter, felt on the scaffold now, and really quite enjoying it. It worked out as *because* he was anxious there—it worked out as for this reason that Waymarsh was so blooming. It was *his* trip for health, for a change, that proved the success—which was just what Strether, planning and exerting himself, had desired it should be. That truth already sat full-blown on his companion's lips; benevolence breathed from them as with the warmth of active exercise, and also, a little, as with the bustle of haste.

"Mrs. Pocock, whom I left a quarter of an hour ago at her hotel, has asked me to mention to you that she would like to find you at home here in about another hour. She wants to see you; she has something to say—or considers, I believe, that you may have: so that I asked her myself why she shouldn't come right round. She hasn't *been* round yet—to see our place; and I took upon myself to say that I was sure you'd be glad to have her. The thing's therefore, you see, to keep right here till she comes."

The announcement was sociably, even though, after Waymarsh's wont, somewhat solemnly made; but Strether quickly felt other things in it than these light features. It was the first approach to a meaning; it quickened his pulse; it simply meant at last that he should have but himself to thank if he didn't know where he was. He had finished his breakfast; he pushed it away and was on his feet. There were plenty of elements of surprise, but only one of doubt. "The thing's for *you* to keep here too?"

Waymarsh had been slightly ambiguous.

He wasn't ambiguous, however, after this inquiry; and Strether's understanding had probably never before opened so wide and effective a mouth as it was to open during the next five minutes. It was no part of his friend's wish, as appeared, to help to receive Mrs. Pocock; he quite understood the spirit in which she was to present herself, but his connection with her visit was limited to his having—well, as he might say—perhaps a little promoted it. He had thought, and had let her know it, that Strether possibly would think she might have been round before. At any rate, as turned out, she had been wanting herself, quite a while, to come. "I told her," said Waymarsh, "that it would have been a bright idea if she had only carried it out before."

Strether declared that it was so bright as to be almost dazzling. "But why *hasn't* she carried it out before? She has seen me every day—she had only to name her hour. I've been waiting and waiting."

"Well, I told her you had. And she has been waiting too." It was, in the oddest way in the world, on the showing of this tone, a bright, new, cheerful, pressing, coaxing Waymarsh; a Waymarsh conscious with a different consciousness from any he had yet betrayed, and actually rendered by it almost insinuating. He lacked only time for full persuasion, and Strether was to see in a moment why. Meantime, however, our friend perceived, he was announcing a step of some magnanimity on Mrs. Pocock's part, so that he could deprecate a sharp question. It was his own high purpose in fact to have smoothed sharp questions to rest. He looked his old comrade very straight in the eyes, and he had never conveyed to him in so mute a manner so much kind confidence and so much good advice. Everything that was between them was again in his face, but matured and shelved and finally disposed of. "At any rate," he added, "she's coming now."

Considering how many pieces had to fit themselves, it all fell, in Strether's brain into a close, rapid order. He saw on the spot what had happened, and what probably would yet; and it was all funny enough. It was perhaps just this freedom of appreciation that wound him up to his flare of high spirits. "What is she coming *for*?—to kill me?"

"She's coming to be very, *very* kind to you, and you must let me say that I greatly hope you'll not be less so to herself."

. . . . .

This was spoken by Waymarsh with much gravity of admonition, and as Strether stood there he knew he had but to make a movement to take the attitude of a man gracefully receiving a present. The present was that of the opportunity dear old Waymarsh had flattered himself he had divined in him the slight soreness of not having yet thoroughly enjoyed; so he had brought it to him thus, as on a little silver breakfast-tray, familiarly though delicately—without oppressive pomp; and he was to bend and smile and acknowledge, was to take and use and be grateful. He was not—that was the beauty of it—to be asked to deflect too much from his dignity. No wonder the old boy bloomed in this bland air of his own distillation. Strether felt for a moment as if Sarah were actually walking up and down outside. Wasn't she hanging about the porte-cochère while her friend thus summarily opened a way? Strether would meet her but to take it, and everything would be for the best in the best of possible worlds. He had never so much known what any one meant as, in the light of this demonstration, he knew what Mrs. Newsome did. It had reached Waymarsh from Sarah, but it had reached Sarah from her mother, and there was no break in the chain by which it reached *him*. "Has anything particular happened," he asked after a minute—"so suddenly to determine her? Has she heard anything unexpected from home?"

Waymarsh, on this, it seemed to him, looked at him harder than ever. "'Unexpected'?" He had a brief hesitation; then, however, he was firm: "We're leaving Paris."

"Leaving? That *is* sudden."

Waymarsh showed a different opinion. "Less so than it may seem. The purpose of Mrs. Pocock's visit is to explain to you in fact that it's *not*."

Strether didn't at all know if he had really an advantage—anything that would practically count as one; but he enjoyed for the moment—as for the first time in his life—the sense of so carrying it off. He wondered—it was amusing—if he felt as the impudent feel. "I shall take great pleasure, I assure you, in any explanation. I shall be delighted to receive Sarah."

The sombre glow just darkened in his comrade's eyes; but he was struck with the way it died out again. It was too mixed with another consciousness—it was too smothered, as might be said, in flowers. He really, for the time, regretted it—poor dear old sombre glow! Something straight and simple, something heavy and empty, had been eclipsed in its company; something by which he had best known his friend. Waymarsh wouldn't *be* his friend, somehow, without the occasional ornament of the sacred rage, and the right to the sacred rage—inestimably precious for Strether's charity—he also seemed in a manner, and at Mrs. Pocock's elbow, to have forfeited. Strether remembered the occasion, early in their stay, when, on that very spot, he had come out with his earnest, his ominous "Quit!"—and, so remembering, felt it hang by a hair that he didn't

himself now utter the same note. Waymarsh was having a good time—that was the truth that was embarrassing for him, and he was having it then and there, he was having it in Europe, he was having it under the very protection of circumstances of which he didn't in the least approve; all of which placed him in a false position, with no issue possible—none, at least, by the grand manner. It was practically in the manner of any one—it was all but in poor Strether's own—that, instead of taking anything up, he merely made the most of having to be himself explanatory. "I'm not leaving for the United States direct. Mr. and Mrs. Pocock and Miss Mamie are thinking of a little trip before their own return, and we've been talking for some days past of our joining forces. We've settled it that we do join and that we sail together the end of next month. But we start to-morrow for Switzerland. Mrs. Pocock wants some scenery. She hasn't had much yet."

He was brave in his way too, keeping nothing back, confessing to all there was, and only leaving Strether to make certain connections. "Is what Mrs. Newsome has cabled her daughter an injunction to 'quit'?"

The grand manner indeed, at this, just raised its head a little. "I know nothing about Mrs. Newsome's cables."

Their eyes met on it with some intensity—during the few seconds of which something happened quite out of proportion to the time. It happened that Strether, looking thus at his friend, didn't take his answer for truth—and that something more again occurred in consequence of *that*. Yes—Waymarsh just *did* know about Mrs. Newsome's cables: to what other end than that had they dined together at Bignon's? Strether almost felt, for the instant, that it was to Mrs. Newsome herself the dinner had been given; and, for that matter, quite felt how she must have known about it and, as he might think, protected and consecrated it. He had a quick, blurred view of daily cables, questions, answers, signals: clear enough was his vision of the expense that, when so exalted, the lady at home was prepared to incur. Vivid not less was his memory of what, during his long observation of her, some of her exaltations had cost her. Distinctly, she was exalted now, and Waymarsh, who imagined himself standing there on his own feet, was truly but suspended in an air of her making. The whole reference of his errand seemed to mark her for Strether as by this time consentingly familiar to him and nothing yet had so despoiled her of a special shade of consideration. "You don't know," he asked, "whether Sarah has been directed from home to try me on the matter of my also going to Switzerland?"

"I know," said Waymarsh as manfully as possible, "nothing whatever about her private affairs; though I believe her to be acting in conformity with things that have my highest respect." It was as manful as possible, but it was still the small manner—as it had to be to convey so sorry a statement. He knew everything, Strether

more and more felt, that he thus disclaimed, and his little punishment was just in this doom to a second fib. What falser position—given the man—could the most vindictive mind impose? He ended by squeezing through a passage in which, three months before, he would certainly have stuck fast. "Mrs. Pocock will probably be ready herself to answer any inquiry you may put to her. But," he continued, "*but*—" He faltered on it.

"But what? Don't put her too many?"

Waymarsh looked large, but the harm was done; he couldn't, do what he would, help looking rosy. "Don't do anything you'll be sorry for."

It was an attenuation, Strether guessed, of something else that had been on his lips; it was a sudden drop to directness, and was thereby the voice of sincerity. He had fallen to the supplicating note, and that immediately, for our friend, made a difference and reinstated him. They were in communication as they had been, that first morning, in Sarah's salon and in her presence and Mme. de Vionnet's; and the same recognition of a great good-will was again, after all, possible. Only the amount of response Waymarsh had then taken for granted was doubled, decupled now. This came out when he presently said: "Of course I needn't assure you *I* hope you'll come with us." Then it was that his implications and expectations loomed up for Strether as almost pathetically gross.

The latter patted his shoulder while he thanked him, giving the go-by to the question of joining the Pococks; he expressed the joy he felt at seeing him go forth again so brave and free, and he in fact almost took leave of him on the spot. "I shall see you again of course before you go; but I'm meanwhile much obliged to you for arranging so conveniently for what you've told me. I shall walk up and down in the court there—dear little old court which we've each bepaced so, this last couple of months, to the tune of our flights and our drops, our hesitations and our plunges: I shall hang about there, all impatience and excitement, please let Sarah know, till she graciously presents herself. Leave me with her without fear," he laughed; "I assure you I sha'n't hurt her. I don't think either, that she'll hurt *me:* I'm in a situation in which damage was some time ago discounted. Besides, *that* isn't what worries you—but don't, don't explain! We're all right as we are: which was the degree of success our adventure was pledged to for each of us. We weren't, it seemed, all right as we were before; and we've got over the ground, all things considered, quickly. I hope you'll have a lovely time in the Alps."

Waymarsh fairly looked up at him as from the foot of them. "I don't know as I *ought* really to go."

It was the conscience of Milrose in the very voice of Milrose, but, oh, it was feeble and flat! Strether suddenly felt quite ashamed for him; he breathed a greater boldness. "*Let* yourself, on the contrary, go—in all agreeable directions. These are precious hours—

at our age they mayn't recur. Don't have it to say to yourself at Milrose, next winter, that you hadn't courage for them." And then as his comrade queerly stared: "Live up to Mrs. Pocock."

"Live up to her?"

"You're a great help to her."

Waymarsh looked at it as at one of the uncomfortable things that were certainly true and that it was yet ironical to say. "It's more then than you are."

"That's exactly your own chance and advantage. Besides," said Strether, "I do in my way contribute. I know what I'm about."

Waymarsh had kept on his great panama, and, as he now stood nearer the door, his last look, beneath the shade of it, had turned again to darkness and warning. "So do I! See here, Strether."

"I know what you're going to say. 'Quit'?"

"Quit!" But it lacked its old intensity; nothing of it remained; it went out of the room with him.

XXVII.

Almost the first thing, strangely enough, that, about an hour later, Strether found himself doing in Sarah's presence was to remark articulately on this failure, in their friend, of what had been superficially his great distinction. It was as if—he alluded of course to the grand manner—the dear man had sacrificed it to some other advantage; which would be of course only for himself to measure. It might be simply that he was physically so much more sound than on his first coming out; this was all prosaic, comparatively cheerful and vulgar. And fortunately, if one came to that, his improvement in health was really itself grander than any manner it could be conceived as having cost him. "You yourself alone, dear Sarah" —Strether took the plunge—"have done him, it strikes me, in these three weeks, as much good as all the rest of his time together."

It was a plunge because somehow the range of reference was, in the conditions, funny, and made funnier still by Sarah's attitude, by the turn the occasion had, with her appearance, so sensibly taken. Her appearance was really indeed funnier than anything else—the spirit in which he felt her to be there as soon as she *was* there, the shade of obscurity that cleared up for him as soon as he was seated with her in the small *salon de lecture* that had, for the most part, in all the weeks, witnessed the wane of his early vivacity of discussion with Waymarsh. It was an immense thing, quite a tremendous thing, for her to have come: this truth opened out to him in spite of his having already arrived for himself at a fairly vivid view of it. He had done exactly what he had given Waymarsh his word for—had walked and re-walked the court while he awaited her advent; acquiring in this exercise an amount of light that affected him at the time as flooding the scene. She had decided upon the step in order to give him the benefit of a doubt, in order to be able to say to her mother that she had, even to abjectness,

smoothed the way for him. The doubt had been as to whether he mightn't take her as not having smoothed it—and the admonition had possibly come from Waymarsh's more detached spirit. Waymarsh had at any rate, certainly, thrown his weight into the scale—he had pointed to the importance of depriving their friend of a grievance. She had done justice to the plea, and it was to set herself right with a high ideal that she actually sat there in her state. Her calculation was sharp in the immobility with which she held her tall parasol-stick upright and at arm's length, quite as if she had struck the place to plant her flag; in the separate precautions she took not to show as nervous; in the aggressive repose in which she did quite nothing but wait for him. Doubt ceased to be possible from the moment he had taken in that she had arrived with no proposal whatever; that her concern was simply to show what she had come to receive. She had come to receive his submission, and Waymarsh was to have made it plain to him that she would expect nothing less. He saw fifty things, her host, at this convenient stage; but one of those he most saw was that their anxious friend had not quite had the hand required of him. Waymarsh *had,* however, uttered the request that she might find him mild, and while hanging about the court before her arrival he had turned over with zeal the different ways in which he could be so. The difficulty was that if he was mild he wasn't, for her purpose, conscious. If she wished him conscious—as everything about her cried aloud that she did—she must accordingly be at costs to make him so. Conscious he *was,* for himself—but only of too many things; so she must choose the one she required.

Practically, however, it at last got itself named, and when once that had happened they were quite at the centre of their situation. One thing had really done as well as another; when Strether had spoken of Waymarsh's leaving him, and that had necessarily brought on a reference to Mrs. Pocock's similar intention, the jump was but short to supreme lucidity. Light became indeed after that so intense that Strether would doubtless have but half made out, in the prodigious glare, by which of the two the issue had been in fact precipitated. It was, in their contracted quarters, as much there between them as if it had been something suddenly spilled, with a crash and a splash, on the floor. The form of his submission was to be an engagement to acquit himself within the twenty-four hours. "He'll go in a moment if you give him the word—he assures me on his honor he'll do that:" this came in its order, out of its order, in respect to Chad, after the crash had occurred. It came repeatedly during the time taken by Strether to feel that he was even more fixed in his rigor than he had supposed—the time he was not above adding to a little by telling her that such a way of putting it on her brother's part left him sufficiently surprised. She wasn't at all funny at last—she was really fine; and he felt easily where she was strong—strong for herself. It had not yet so come home to him that

she was nobly and appointedly officious. She was acting in interests grander and clearer than that of her poor little personal, poor little Parisian equilibrium, and all his consciousness of her mother's moral pressure profited by this proof of its sustaining force. She would be held up; she would be strengthened; he needn't in the least be anxious for her. What would, once more, have been distinct to him had he tried to make it so, was that, as Mrs. Newsome was essentially all moral pressure, the presence of this element was almost identical with her own presence. It wasn't perhaps that he felt he was dealing with her straight, but it was certainly as if she had been dealing straight with *him*. She was reaching him, somehow, by the lengthened arm of the spirit, and he was having to that extent to take her into account; but he was not reaching her in turn, not making her take *him;* he was only reaching Sarah, who appeared to take so little of him. "Something has clearly passed between you and Chad," he presently said, "that I think I ought to know something more about. Does he put it all," he smiled, "on me?"

"Did you come out," she asked, "to put it all on *him?*"

But he replied to this no further than, after an instant, by saying: "Oh, it's all right. Chad, I mean, is all right in having said to you—well anything he may have said. I'll *take* it all—what he does put on me. Only I must see him before I see you again."

She hesitated, but she brought it out. "Is it absolutely necessary you should see me again?"

"Certainly, if I'm to give you any definite word about anything."

"Is it your idea then," she returned, "that I shall keep on meeting you only to be exposed to fresh humiliation?"

He fixed her a longer time. "Are your instructions from Mrs. Newsome that you shall, even at the worst, absolutely and irretrievably break with me?"

"My instructions from Mrs. Newsome, are, if you please, my affair. You know perfectly what your own were, and you can judge for yourself of what it can do for you to have made what you have of them. You can perfectly see, at any rate, I'll go so far as to say, that if I wish not to expose myself, I must wish still less to expose *her*." She had already said more than she had quite expected; but, though she had also pulled up, the color in her face showed him he should, from one moment to the other, have it all. He now indeed felt the high importance of his having it. "What is your conduct," she broke out as if to explain—"what is your conduct but an outrage to women like *us?* I mean your acting as if there can be a doubt—as between us and such another—of his duty?"

He thought a moment. It was rather much to deal with at once; not only the question itself, but the sore abysses it revealed. "Of course they're totally different kinds of duty."

"And do you pretend that he has any at all—to such another?"

"Do you mean to Mme. de Vionnet?" He uttered the name not

to affront her, but yet again to gain time—time that he needed for taking in something still other and larger than her demand of a moment before. It was not at once that he could see all that was in her actual challenge; but when he did he found himself just checking a low, vague sound, a sound which was perhaps the nearest approach his vocal chords had ever known to a growl. Everything Mrs. Pocock had failed to give a sign of recognizing in Chad as a particular part of a transformation—everything that had lent intention to this particular failure affected him as gathered into a large loose bundle and thrown, in her words, into his face. The missile made him to that extent catch his breath; which, however, he presently recovered. "Why, when a woman is at once so charming and so beneficent—"

"You can sacrifice mothers and sisters to her without a blush, and can make them cross the ocean on purpose to feel the more, and take from you the straighter, *how* you do it?"

Yes she had taken him up as short and as sharply as that; but he tried not to flounder in her grasp. "I don't think there's anything I've done in any such calculated way as you describe. Everything has come as a sort of indistinguishable part of everything else. Your coming out belonged closely to my having come before you, and my having come was a result of our general state of mind. Our general state of mind had proceeded, on its side, from our funny ignorance, our funny misconceptions and confusions—from which, since then, an inexorable tide of light seems to have floated us into our perhaps still funnier knowledge. Don't you *like* your brother as he is," he went on, "and haven't you given your mother an intelligible account of all that that comes to?"

It put to her also, doubtless, his own tone, too many things; this at least would have been the case had not his final challenge directly helped her. Everything, at the stage they had reached, directly helped her, because everything betrayed in him such a basis of intention. He saw—the odd way things came out!—that he would have been held less monstrous had he only been a little wilder. What exposed him was just his poor old trick of quiet inwardness, what exposed him was his *thinking* such offence. He had not in the least, however, the desire to irritate that Sarah imputed to him, and he could only at last temporize, for the moment, with her indignant view. She was altogether more irritated than he had expected, and he would probably understand this better when he should learn what had occurred for her with Chad. Till then her view of his particular blackness, her clear surprise at his not clutching the pole she held out, must pass as extravagant. "I leave you to flatter yourself," she returned, "that what you speak of is what *you've* beautifully done. When a thing has been already described in such a lovely way—!" But she caught herself up, and her comment on his description rang out sufficiently loud. "Do you consider her even an apology for a decent woman?"

Ah, there it was at last! She put the matter more crudely than, for his own mixed purposes, he had yet had to do; but, essentially, it was all one matter. It was so much—so much; and she treated it, poor lady, as so little. He grew conscious, as he was now apt to do, of a strange smile, and the next moment he found himself talking like Miss Barrace. "She has struck me from the first as wonderful. I've been thinking too, moreover, that, after all, she would probably have represented even for yourself something rather new and rather good."

He was to have given Mrs. Pocock with this, however, but her best opportunity for a sound of derision. "Rather new? I hope so with all my heart!"

"I mean," he explained, "that she might have affected you by her exquisite amiability—a real revelation, it has seemed to myself; her high rarity, her distinction of every sort."

He had been, with these words, consciously a little "precious"; but he had had to be—he couldn't give her the truth of the case without them; and it seemed to him, moreover, now, that he didn't care. He had at all events not served his cause, for she sprang at its exposed side. "A 'revelation'—to *me:* I've to come to such a woman for a revelation? You talk to me about 'distinction'—*you,* you who've had your privilege—when the most distinguished woman we shall either of us have seen in this world sits there insulted, in her loneliness, by your incredible comparison?"

Strether forbore, with an effort, from straying; but he looked all about him. "Does your mother herself make the point that she sits insulted?"

Sarah's answer came so straight, so "pat," as might have been said, that he felt on the instant its origin. "She has confided to my judgment and my tenderness the expression of her personal sense of everything, and the assertion of her personal dignity."

They were the very words of the lady of Woollett—he would have known them in a thousand; her parting charge to her child. Mrs. Pocock, accordingly, spoke to this extent by book, and the fact immensely moved him. "If she does really feel as you say, it's of course very, very dreadful. I've given sufficient proof, one would have thought," he added, "of my deep admiration for Mrs. Newsome."

"And pray what admiration would one have thought you'd *call* sufficient? That of thinking this person here so far superior to her?"

He wondered again; he waited. "Ah, dear Sarah, you must *leave* me this person here!"

In his desire to avoid all vulgar retorts, to show how, even perversely, he clung to his rag of reason, he had softly almost wailed this plea. Yet he knew it to be perhaps the most positive declaration he had ever made in his life, and his visitor's reception of it virtually gave it that importance. "That's exactly what I'm de-

lighted to do. God knows *we* don't want her! You take good care not to meet," she observed in a still higher key, "my question about their life. If you do consider it a thing one can even *speak* of, I congratulate you on your taste!"

The life she alluded to was of course Chad's and Mme. de Vionnet's, which she thus bracketed together in a way that made him wince a little; there being nothing for him but to take home her full intention. It was none the less his inconsequence that while he had himself been enjoying for weeks the view of the brilliant woman's specific action, he just suffered from any characterization of it by other lips. "I think tremendously well of her, at the same time that I seem to feel her 'life' to be really none of my business. It's my business, that is, only so far as Chad's own life is affected by it; and what has happened, don't you see? is that Chad's has been affected so beautifully. The proof of the pudding's in the eating" —he tried, with no great success, to help it out with a touch of pleasantry, while she let him go on as if to sink and sink. He went on, however, well enough, as well as he could do without fresh counsel; he indeed shouldn't stand quite firm, he felt, till he should have re-established his communications with Chad. Still, he could always speak for the woman he had so definitely promised to "save." This wasn't quite, for her, the air of salvation; but as that chill fairly deepened what did it become but a reminder that one might, at the worst, perish *with* her? And it was simple enough—it was rudimentary: not, not to give her away. "I find in her more merits than you would probably have patience with my counting over. And do you know," he inquired, "the effect you produce on me by alluding to her in such terms? It's as if you had some motive in not recognizing all she has done for your brother, and so shut your eyes to each side of the matter, in order, whichever side comes up, to get rid of the other. I don't, you must allow me to say, see how you can with any pretence to candor get rid of the side nearest you."

"Near me—*that* sort of thing?" And Sarah gave a jerk back of her head that well might have paralyzed any active approach.

It kept her friend himself at his distance, and he respected for a moment the interval. Then, with a last persuasive effort, he bridged it. "You don't, on your honor, appreciate Chad's fortunate development?"

"Fortunate?" she echoed again. And indeed she was ready. "I call it hideous."

Her departure had been for some minutes marked as imminent, and she was already at the door that stood open to the court, from the threshold of which she delivered herself of this judgment. It rang out so loud as to produce for the time the hush of everything else. Strether quite, as an effect of it, breathed less bravely; he could acknowledge it, but simply enough. "Oh, if you think *that*—!"

"Then all's at an end? So much the better. I do think that!"

She passed out as she spoke and took her way straight across the court, beyond which, separated from them by the deep arch of the porte-cochère, the low victoria that had conveyed her from her own hotel was drawn up. She made for it with decision, and the manner of her break, the sharp shaft of her rejoinder, had an intensity by which Strether was at first kept in arrest. She had let fly at him as from a stretched cord, and it took him a minute to recover from the sense of being pierced. It was not the penetration of surprise; it was that, much more, of certainty; his case being put for him as he had as yet only put it to himself. She was away, at any rate; she had distanced him—with rather a grand spring, an effect of pride and ease, after all; she had got into her carriage before he could overtake her, and the vehicle was already in motion. He stopped half-way; he stood there in the court only seeing her go and noting that she gave him no other look. The way he had put it to himself was that all quite *might* be at an end. Each of her movements, in this resolute rupture, reaffirmed, reinforced that idea. Sarah passed out of sight in the sunny street, while, planted there in the centre of the comparatively gray court, he continued merely to look before him. It probably *was* all at an end.

(To be Continued.)

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AN INDICTMENT OF THE BRITISH MONARCHY.

BY ANGLO-AMERICAN.

It is difficult, just at first, to associate an Englishman with self-depreciation. The difficulty, to be sure, is more logical than real; and logic, a poor key to anything, is no key at all to the contradictions and inconsistencies of national character. With whatever surprise, one soon comes to accept it as a fact that, with the natural hardihood of their stock, there mingles, in the English, oddly and insistently, this bias towards a sort of national despondency, this element of self-depreciation. It is a fact no more explicable by formula than the political cynicism with which Americans overlay, but cannot conceal, their profound and incurable altruism. The trait would seem to be of recent growth, and yet already confirmed enough to be called a habit. One can imagine, at any rate, nothing more alien to the spirit of Elizabethan England, for instance; nothing, too, of which the aristocratic England that warred down Napoleon was less conscious.

It came in with democracy; but democracy was not the cause of it, or, at least, not the sole cause. In part, one might trace it to age, and the weariness that age thinks it almost indecent not to feel, or, at any rate, not to parade. In part, again, it is the bastard offspring of that dreamy Cosmopolitanism which so

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absurdly gilded the cold philosophy of the Manchester school of politics. But I should be inclined more than anything else to ascribe it to the passing of that halcyon age of monopoly in which England, thanks to the play of fortune and the sterling capacities of her people, became "the workshop of the world." A monopolist who has lost his monopoly, finds himself singularly unequal to the stress of competitive conditions. The change from the old to the new takes on the sweep of a revolution. The whole mental focus has to be readjusted, the quiet jog-trot of former years must be transformed on the instant into a break-neck gallop, science displaces the rule of thumb, a devouring alertness supplants the easy, hackneyed routine. The very qualities that monopoly fosters are precisely those that competition begins by discarding. The peculiarities of the English temperament made the monopolistic "atmosphere" excessively congenial, and therefore excessively hard to grow out of. There arose in consequence, first, a resentful amazement that any change should be necessary, and then a despairing wail of acknowledgment that England was unprepared, that she had reposed too long and lost thereby her ability to "rough it." The pessimism of the last few years has, perhaps, its main source in that discovery.

But, whatever the cause of it, the fact itself is but too palpable. England, almost alone among the great Powers, has entered the twentieth century in a spirit of depression and foreboding. In France, for the first time since Sedan, we are witnessing the beginnings of real hope, contentment and confidence. In Germany, the consciousness of a tremendous destiny is still keen and operative, and no domestic complications seem able to diminish that invigorating German sense of being on the crest of the rising wave. Italy feels within her the stirrings of a genuine and lasting *risorgimento;* Russia faces the future with a fervid, patient, almost mystical faith; to America the whole prospect, as usual, is rainbow-hued; even Japan waits and prepares in hope. But in England the "note" is one of self-criticism, of complaint, of discouragement. It is loudest of all in the sphere of commerce and industry, but it is heard in every section of the national life. There is little that they can call their own in which the English any longer place their old implicit trust, unless it be the navy and the colonies. They are canvassing and questioning all things, their habitual systems, their most cherished dogmas; and they are

doing this, not as the Prussians did it after Jena, but with almost hysterical pessimism.

The great thing, however, is, after all, that they are doing it, that there is at this moment a perturbation, almost an upheaval, of the national mind, pointing to what can hardly stop short of a general reorganization. Such a movement always runs to wildness and extremes at this or that point, as Mr. Chamberlain's revolt from Free Trade, a sign of pessimism and a confession of failure in itself, has already shown; and the English are just now more conscious that there are things to be remedied than sure of what remedy to apply. But the fact of this consciousness is the important one. It marks a vast inroad on the comfortable faith that whatever is British must be a law of nature. The present mood of the English is far more in agreement with a doctrine the opposite of that. They are beginning to suspect things simply because they are British. This, at any rate, is the true spirit of reform, and it has led them to the discovery of that blessed word, "Efficiency." Efficiency is now the preoccupation of Englishmen. They look around and find, very truly, that there is hardly a department of the national life where it might not be more utilized. They see their Parliament slipping down almost to the Continental level of incapacity and public indifference; they see an immense falling-off, actually and relatively, in the standard of administration; they see how politics are growing more and more an affair of friends, and of rich friends at that; they see, at a time when science is everything, their educational system made the battle-ground of theologians; they see the vast domination of privilege and vested interests and nepotism in the army, the consular and diplomatic services; they see, in short, a state where the career is not yet open to talent, where almost every form of inefficiency is condoned so long as it is not too palpably tainted with dishonesty. Among an astonishing number of Englishmen, the sight of all this has aroused something akin to a sense of desperation. An awakening is at hand, has, indeed, already begun, which, however crudely and with whatever mistakes, can only end in a re-adaptation of the national spirit and possibly of the national framework to the new needs of these changing times.

Now, it is a remarkable fact that, while so much else is being criticised and overhauled, the Monarchy remains untouched. The Monarchy lies outside the discussion. The energy of the boldest

reformer does not, even remotely, point towards the Throne. No one dreams of suggesting that there is anything, either in the social or political position and influence of the Crown, that might be altered for the better. The limitation is not one imposed by caution, cowardice or tactical expediency. It is perfectly instinctive and perfectly unconscious; something that every one takes for granted, on which no understanding or agreement is necessary. One may even go farther. Were this movement of regeneration suspected of the ambition to reach out to the Monarchy, that fact alone would irretrievably damn it. One can hardly have a stronger testimony than this to the popularity of the Crown or its fundamental affinity with English instincts. There is no institution of one half its strength in the kingdom. England has always within her borders a certain number of "intellectual" republicans, men whose sympathies are altogether with the republican theory, who are convinced of its superiority in the light of large considerations of national well-being. Yet, these are the very men who, just because they have this detachment and clearness of mind, are the first to see and acknowledge that an English Republic is an impossibility, and that the monarchical form of government is the only one that suits the English temperament.

That immense revival during the last thirty years of the monarchical principle, of which one may, perhaps, take "bossism" in America to be a sort of reflex action, has penetrated nowhere so deeply as among the English people. Indeed, one may say that republicanism in England is to-day simply non-existent, either as a policy or an aspiration. Even the Hyde Park orators of a Sunday evening have dropped it. And yet, as recently as the early seventies, it seemed to have a fighting chance. Men went about speaking of the possibility of a declared Republican Party in Parliament. Sir Charles Dilke stumped the country in a campaign against the expenses of Royalty, and riots and intense excitement everywhere marked his progress. The birth of the Third Republic in France was another factor that reacted powerfully and in an anti-monarchical direction on current English politics. There were debates in the House of Commons of extraordinary violence on the general position of the Monarchy. The question was undoubtedly for awhile "in the air"; many believed that the hour had actually struck. There was no idea of a sudden revolu-

tionary change, but the conviction grew that an English Republic was one of the certainties of the future, and that the manner and moment of its coming might safely be left to the natural play of time. The movement, if one can call it such, soon spluttered out, quenched as much as anything by the almost fatal illness of the Prince of Wales. Its next result was rather to strengthen the Monarchy than weaken it, and the immense quantity of history manufactured during the last thirty years has been of a kind to help and confirm that result. The growth of the Imperialist spirit, focussing as it must on the Crown, the mellow close of Queen Victoria's reign and the half-religious devotion that grew up around her, were two influences of inestimable potency in raising the Monarchy to a height unreached at any previous period in English annals. The Crown to-day finds an unchallenged acceptation. For the overwhelming mass of Englishmen, one might almost say, it has ceased to be an institution and become a law of nature.

To every nation, a central rallying-point, fixed, stable, unaffected by the passing tumult and strife around it, is an asset of supreme political utility. In the mere fact of its permanence and discreet aloofness, there is an invaluable restraint, an assurance of public orderliness and tranquillity. Americans have found this virtue in their Constitution; the English find it in the Monarchy. In both countries, there is, as it were, a guarantee that the foundations are secure, and the fundamental questions of politics and the social fabric already settled. Circumstances have made the fulfilment of this function an almost unconscious act in the British Monarchy; the wearer of the Crown, it is hardly too much to say, finds it automatically fulfilled for him. So far as this, the constitutional, side of his position goes, a bad English King is almost as unthinkable as a bad Speaker of the House of Commons. It would argue an astonishing incapacity if the Monarchy were to lose, or even jeopardize, its strength as a presiding object of agreement. It attained to the fulness of that strength under Queen Victoria; the last thirty years of her reign confirmed and consolidated it—and thirty years may be a long time even in the history of such an Empire as Great Britain's. This virtue, then, of the Monarchy, in marking limits, in creating and maintaining a zone of calm, in withdrawing itself from the lower planes of discussion and strife, is a virtue for which full credit should be

given. It is a negative virtue, no doubt, but, for all that, indispensable from the standpoint of public peace as well as of self-interest. Those institutions that resist the least, usually live the longest.

But it is not by any sober balancing of the expediencies that the attitude of the English people towards the Crown is to be gauged. That attitude is determined, as most things are determined, by forces that have little to do with reason. Among these forces, the first and most pervasive is the power and the charm of ancient habit, buttressed by centuries of steady, unexciting, above all prosperous, history. No influence responds so precisely to the peculiarities of the British character as this, just as no influence has done more to make that character what it is. "Whatever is, is right" is a maxim to which the English subscribe with instinctive unanimity. It may be a proof of their political genius that they do so, or it may not; but, whether it be a final advantage or disadvantage, there can be no question that the bent of mind which inclines so naturally towards a reverence for the thing that is, works powerfully for an uncritical acceptance of the Crown.

Again, the common concomitants of a Monarchy—its social pre-eminence and glitter, the pageantry of it, its variegated appeal to the smaller ambitions—all act on the British senses with singular effect. And, curiously enough, this effect is widened and intensified with the years. It used to be felt only by "the town," by a narrow, exclusive, really patrician, circle; it has now a range that embraces the whole kingdom. Democracy and mechanism, while destroying the naturalness of Monarchy, have multiplied its popular attractiveness by bringing thousands within its radius of influence, where formerly there were tens. The more artificial it becomes, the greater seem to be the possibilities of its contact with ordinary men and women. The Tzar, for example, has not one tithe of the social power over Russia that King Edward exercises over his subjects in the British Isles. There is thus a vast increase in the number of those who have a personal interest in the Monarchy, who have watched a state pageant, have been in the presence of the Royal Family, and can boast an acquaintance, even if only second-hand and momentary, with the Court. Politically, the direct power of the British Crown is largely a convention; socially, it was never so much a reality,

never so extensive and so intensive, as to-day. You have but to talk with the wife of a provincial mayor, after a Royal visit to her town, to know this.

Is this social influence of the Crown a good or a bad thing? That depends, of course, on how it is wielded. It may be the most powerful of all instruments for social well-being; it may also be very much the reverse. I am afraid that, in England's case, the conclusion of any thorough and dispassionate inquirer must be that the Monarchy militates against national efficiency, emphasizes and encourages what is least desirable in the national character, and perpetuates an atmosphere which is fatal to the realization of the country's best self. This conclusion is not based, or at any rate not entirely, on the actions or personality of the present wearer of the English Crown. The factors, or most of them, that have gone to its making are inherent in the general position and workings of Monarchy in England, in the spirit it engenders, the system it supports and is supported by, and the kind of example it sets. These might very well be considered apart altogether from King Edward VII. and the subordinate members of the Royal Family. At the same time, there is no reason to regard King Edward's mode of life as other than typical of what England expects of, likes in, and will probably continue to receive from, her Monarch. A diary of his doings might, therefore, throw a certain light on the manner in which Royalty discharges its functions, with the concurrence and even applause of the British nation. You would find in it, of course, an infinity of court ceremonies, levees, investitures, balls and "drawing-rooms," state visits to provincial towns and neighboring countries, reviews, receptions and so on. You would also find a considerable chapter given up to sport, chiefly horse-racing, with a few sections devoted to yachting, pheasant and partridge shooting and attendance at polo matches. "Bridge" and the theatres would be not infrequent items, and they might be indefinitely supplemented by the gossip of the London clubs. You would also happen upon a vast amount of popular charity-mongering—the opening of hospital wings, the endowment of beds, the inauguration of charity bazars, the patronage of this cure for consumption, of that for lupus, of the other for cancer, and subscriptions innumerable. On a somewhat less elaborate scale, you would hear of the Prince and Princess of Wales doing precisely the same sort

of thing. One hardly knows which to pity the more—Royalty, which is condemned to so futile an existence, or the nation, which can find in such an existence the highest expression of Royalty.

I do not wish to criticise the Royal turn for philanthropy, though I believe it to be utterly unscientific and am doubtful whether its influence has not worked for harm rather than good. Charity, at any rate, is the most public and persistent of the Royal activities and the direction of all others in which the Royal impulse has been most strongly felt. There is no easier access to a title than a thumping donation to some philanthropic scheme in which the King or the Queen has shown interest; indeed, one is tempted at times to regard the raising of money, the beating up of subscriptions, as one of the chief functions of the Royal office. But charity, after all, is but a palliative. The relief of distress, even when the distress is real and the relief intelligent, is not so important as the prevention of distress; and the engrossment of Royalty in the less vital work means the sacrifice of the only agencies that promise permanent results. Were education, for instance, to become as fashionable and as much an object of Royal solicitude as the London hospitals, there would be little need to talk of England's "decline." But the claims of education ceased, apparently, to interest the English Monarchy with the close of the reign of King Edward VI. The Seventh of that name, like all his recent predecessors, not only ignores them himself but causes others to ignore them, too; for, if the support of Royalty spells abundance, it is equally true that the neglect of Royalty spells inanition. An educational enthusiast on the Throne of England, or one who was willing even to affect enthusiasm, might in a generation recover for his country all that her contempt for knowledge is now putting in jeopardy. As things are, it must remain a terrible hiatus in the usefulness of the English Monarchy that the greatest of England's needs, the starving of which means nothing less than national defeat, should receive from it not the least assistance. And if the Monarchy does nothing for education, it does even less for art and letters, its ventures in both spheres having the trail of an unmitigated *bourgeoisie* all over them. You often hear it said in London, that there is no surer testimony to an artist's or a writer's commonplace respectability than that he should have won the approval of Royalty. The plain fact is that the English Monarchy is not an intellectual force. No

stimulus radiates from it; it patronizes naturally the wrong thing. England's instinct for mediocrity is already terribly keen, and stands in not the slightest need of the Royal imprimatur. It is, therefore, a double misfortune that the Monarchy, like the whole kingdom, should live contentedly in an atmosphere of mental sluggishness; that taste and thought and achievement should all be compressed by its influence into the obvious, the objectionably unobjectionable moulds; that the Court should hang like an oppressive fog to blind and stifle every free intellectual breeze.

But are these more or less indirect and intangible ways the only ways in which the Monarchy works to the detriment of England? I think an increasing number of Englishmen are coming to see that the Monarchy does an even greater disservice to the country by directly handicapping efficiency. The Monarch himself cannot, in the ordinary sense, be efficient. He can be efficient, in the English sense, by giving no political trouble, by cultivating a graceful condescension, and by publicly parading himself from time to time with full ceremonial circumstance. The negativeness of this standard is really made imperative by the Royal training. Duties of a more positive kind he has been carefully unfitted for. He is the master of no trade. He may have a smattering of the navy or of the army, but in each case it is no more than a smattering, easily forgotten in the excruciating round of "functions." His education has been too scattered to be at any point complete, and his interests too dispersed and embryonic to be capable of concentration. He has had "Constitutionalism" dinned into his princely ears from childhood; and, by the time he reaches the Throne, he has unlearned the very idea of personal initiative in the things that really matter. Incidentally, what can be more disheartening than the knowledge that the goal of all this educational paraphernalia is the trained suppression of a figurehead, who may reign but cannot govern, and who must be very careful about even interfering? The Monarch drifts, accordingly, into the decorative effects of his position, signs mechanically whatever is put before him, becomes an authority on medals and precedence and uniforms, indulges in a little easy philanthropy or frankly gives himself up to "pleasure."

The example of such a life is not, and cannot be, one that makes for efficiency. It is, indeed, a fundamental drawback to the theory of a hereditary Monarchy that efficiency in the Monarch can at

best be but an accident; and the chances of such an accident happening in England are, as I have tried to explain, discounted both by the manner of the princely up-bringing and the conventional impotence, or rather the conventional authority and the real impotence, of the Crown. No one in England seems to think of King Edward as a ruler. The idea of Royalty taking a lead in anything, of insisting, let us say, on the reorganization of the War Office or on straight shooting in the Navy, has apparently dropped from the English consciousness. Of all the compromises, and forms and conventions and tacit understandings that contribute to the workings of the British system, the Monarch is really the greatest—nominally everything, in truth next to nothing. To the prescribed and traditional inefficiency of the King, there should therefore be added, as an influence at least equally subtle and deleterious in its effect, the essential falsity of his position and the confusion, almost inversion, of standards involved in it. That a Monarch who is practically nothing should be made to appear as though he were everything, may be one of the reasonable insincerities that make government possible. The trouble begins when he is honored and kowtowed to as though he really were everything, and deserved to be more. Such a habit puts a premium on make-believe, and propagates the fatal notions that the office makes the man and that birth and worth must necessarily go together. It confirms, in other words, that caste system and that caste spirit which are the "note" of British administration and the British social atmosphere.

Of the workings of this system and spirit much might be written. Its influence is to be seen most clearly, perhaps, in the sphere of government. Monarchy and aristocracy gravitate naturally towards one another, and in a country like England, where the aristocracy forms an hereditary legislature, the alliance is not only particularly close but has a direct and especial bearing on the conduct of public affairs. It means, roughly, that the peerage and its off-shoots, the great landowning and county families, form a sort of governing class, come to look upon public office as almost a birthright, and regard themselves as naturally entitled to a predominant share in the administration. They set the tone, that is, not only of social but of official England. They make politics an affair of friends and restrict its highest honors to themselves and the comparatively limited number of wealthy persons of the

mercantile, manufacturing and professional classes who are admitted into what is called "society." Outsiders, like Disraeli and John Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, may from time to time force their way into the charmed circle by sheer weight of genius, by profoundly impressing their personality upon the masses of their countrymen. But such instances are rare, and tend, if anything, to become rarer. It remains substantially true that a man without birth or wealth or leisure, a man who has not won the approbation of the West End and is not congenial to the Court, cannot, however gifted, hope to play a really foremost part in English affairs. He has, as it were, to pass an unconscious examination, in which his capacity and fitness for the post he aspires to hardly figures at all.

The consequence is that in every British Ministry you find a wholly disproportionate number of places reserved for the aristocracy, whose title to them is based solely on the non-essentials of birth, manners and social position. Nobody pretends they are the best men for the offices they fill, or that the country receives from them anything like full value for its money. They are there simply because they are born in the purple and cannot be got rid of. These privileged administrators, from their long and intimate association with the Court, are peculiarly susceptible to the Royal example. If they find a serious Monarchy, bent on efficiency, setting the fashion of hard work, they may, so far as their abilities and intelligence will allow them, be efficient themselves. But when they find a Monarchy, like the English Monarchy, which, without being absolutely frivolous, is remarkably without keenness or vigor of any sort, they will inevitably, except in the exceptional cases, become themselves perfunctory and half-hearted. Given an aristocracy of office-holders, placed far nearer the Court than the people, and only the example and pressure of the King himself can key them up. We may from time to time be forced to smile at the Kaiser, or if not at the man himself, then at some odd way he has of showing himself. But there is a quickening salt, even in his most characteristic exaggerations, that savors the whole German body politic. He at least is keen, alert and thorough, and with the force to insist that those below him shall be equally so. His subjects respect him even when they smile; they feel his breeziness and are stimulated by it; they share and reciprocate the thrill and stir of his intense spirit. What

might not a pinch of his infectious and vitalizing energy do for England? But to expect such a tingling personality, or indeed a personality of any kind, on the English Throne, is like expecting decency from Tammany. "Tact," "amiability," "graciousness," are the qualities in which the English Monarchy has buried itself. So be it; but the reflex action of these qualities on public administration seems hardly of the happiest. In this matter, indeed, the Monarchy does a double disservice. It begins by restricting the largest share of the national business to a set of wealthy, titled, condescending amateurs; and it goes on to confirm their natural characteristics by its own example of resplendent indolence. And what the conjunction of these two influences may mean to the welfare of the state, can be learned from the appalling report of the Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the Boer War.

Nor is it in this matter of public administration alone that the Monarchy, by its disregard of merit, creates and popularizes a confusion of false and therefore of demoralizing values. The whole system of honors, of which nothing can prevent the Monarchy from being regarded as the source, sets efficiency equally at defiance. To such a being as an Englishman, in such a world as England, a title will always carry with it an implication of superiority, will command deference, will raise its wearer above the ranks of average humanity. It will do this apart altogether from the grounds on which the title has been given. Nevertheless, the spectacle of wealth buying what honors it pleases, of shrewd donations to a Royal charity being rewarded with a peerage, of baronetcies purchased by a check to the party funds, of all the wretched huckstering and intrigue that graduate the scale of English precedence, is one that works with a subtle and degrading perniciousness. Granted that, to the common run of Englishmen, still more of Englishwomen, a lord is simply and naturally a lord, with an ordained and prescriptive right to his position and all that goes with it, there will still be those who will hark back a little further, inquire into the fundamental rights and wrongs of the matter, and work down to the unescapable conclusion that the system of precedence and honors in England is nothing but a grotesque sham. And for these there remains the alternative of accepting the system, of paying a life-respect to what they know does not deserve it, and so of conceding the one point that simply cannot be conceded without a moral tarnish;

or else of rejecting it, and so condemning themselves to a life of protestant futility. No country, in my opinion, can be in a really healthy condition where such a dilemma is presented to the thinking minority of its citizens. And even the majority who do not think, who are conscious of no such dilemma and accept things more or less at their face value, cannot evade the influence of this caste system and spirit. What is it, at bottom, that makes the English atmosphere so difficult for an American to breathe in freely? It is, I believe, that he feels himself in a country where the dignity of life is lower than in his own; a country where a man born in ordinary circumstances expects, and is expected, to die in ordinary circumstances; where the scope of his efforts is traced beforehand by the accident of position; where he is handicapped in all cases and crushed in most by the superincumbent weight of caste, convention, "good form" and the deadening artificialities of an old society. That unconquerable buoyancy which infects the American air like a sting and challenge, and braces every American with the inspiration that he has a chance in life; that here are open opportunities, unreserved possibilities, no battering at locked doors, no floundering in blank alleys; that here, in short, it is the man himself who makes his career—is something which the English have so utterly lost as to be incapable of realizing it.

I feel sure that if one could follow the workings of the caste system into their uttermost details, one would find that the hopelessness and servility bred by it are responsible for perhaps half the commercial inefficiency and unprogressiveness of England. It makes for stagnation, just as certainly as it makes for that class rancor which gives to English trade-unionism its peculiarly bitter strength. At one point in the social scale, you may find its fruits in the worship of externals and appearances, in an overvaluation of the purely decorative, non-productive elements of life. At another, it will be repressing and circumscribing the ability of the "vulgar" in favor of genteel incompetence; at a third, you will see it spouting in geysers of flunkeyism. Between King Edward VII. on his Royal Throne and the London "floor-walker," who makes you shiver with the abjectness of his bowings and scrapings, the connection of cause and effect may not at first be apparent. It is there, disastrously there, all the same; and the caste spirit is the link. When the Monarchy sets the example of

governing, rewarding, behaving, with a single eye to merit, there is no room and no temptation on the lower strata for slimy servility. When the Royal influence, however, tends palpably in the other direction, it will breed flunkeys as the New Jersey marshes breed mosquitoes.

I do not see how, England being what she is, the caste system, with its enormous disabilities, its poison and its blight, can be uprooted. But it is pretty clear how it can be counteracted and the evil sucked out of it without endangering whatever value it may possess in preserving the little amenities of life. There is no real reason why regeneration should not, in England as in Germany, flow from the top downwards. In this matter, indeed, if the regeneration is to be both permanent and peaceable, there is no use in looking anywhere but at the top. The Monarchy must lead England into the path of efficiency; but, to do so, it must first become efficient itself.

ANGLO-AMERICAN.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE TO FORMULATE REGULATIONS GOVERNING WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

BY JOHN I. WATERBURY, PRESIDENT OF THE MANHATTAN TRUST COMPANY, AND UNITED STATES DELEGATE TO THE CONFERENCE, REPRESENTING THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

It is probable that few peaceful international events of recent years have had such a peculiar, as well as important, interest to the world at large as the Preliminary Wireless Telegraphy Conference which was in session at Berlin from August 4th to August 14th last. The importance lies more in the future than in the present, for Wireless Telegraphy is still in that nebulous state which prevents one from fairly judging whether or not it is of such real value as its present condition would indicate. But the real question raised was not whether such and such systems of Wireless Telegraphy should have a monopoly because they were first in the field, but whether the constituted authorities of the various great states were not for the first time brought face to face with the problem (as the head of the French delegation wittily observed) of whether there is not an ethereal and aërial league as well as a marine league, and whether under the new conditions a marine league of three miles is sufficient. Wireless Telegraphy, by utilizing Hertzian ether waves, is the first discovery that has brought this subject to the front; but possibly there may be other waves besides Hertzian that can be used for transmission of information. As regards the air, we may be compelled at no distant time to consider aërial navigation, and whether or not a foreign air-ship is not subject to our laws when it flies over our country, and if so what is the limit of height.

It is a very intangible subject, and in this preliminary confer-

ence the delegates felt all the importance of their mission and the decided inadvisability of doing more than sketching out general lines.

In order to give a broad idea of the conditions involved, it might be well to give a general résumé of the history of Wireless Telegraphy and the circumstances which brought about this preliminary conference.

Some years ago, Professor Hertz discovered the waves which bear his name. They consist simply of vibrations in the ether caused by an electric spark, which can be received by suitable apparatus placed at a distance. It should be noted in this connection that the ether is the somewhat intangible substance that fills all space, while air only immediately covers the globe. Hertz's experiments were confined to the laboratory. Sometime after Hertz's death, Professor Righi discovered the best apparatus (of his day) for making the spark, and also that a certain kind of spark was the best; but it was not until 1890 that Professor Branly discovered the first satisfactory receiver, which consists, in its simplest form, of a short glass tube, the size of a quill, containing a small quantity of metal filings. Marconi was the first to discover the fact that the most satisfactory way of collecting the waves caused by the spark and transmitting them through space, and of receiving them and conveying them to the Branly tube, was to have two upright wires, one at each station. Marconi's discovery gave the clue to practical and useful ranges; he was the first to see the commercial value of Wireless Telegraphy, and the Marconi Company was the first company in the field to exploit the new discovery.

There is no question, in this résumé, of reflecting in any way on the claims of rival inventors. Lodge, Fleming, Muirhead, Fessenden, de Forest, Tesla, Ducretet, Rochefort, Guarini, Popoff, Arco, Brann, Slaby, etc., have all contributed in most material fashion to the present imperfect solution of the problem; and in many cases the patents show that there have been independent discoveries of exactly the same thing in different countries at practically the same time. It is the old story over again that is found in the history of so many inventions: the world being ripe for the idea, the minds of many men in many countries were turned to it at the same instant. Consequently, the future battle of patents is one which is likely to be severe.

The possibility of practical Wireless Telegraphy being established, three questions immediately presented themselves: (1) how to secure secrecy; (2) how to prevent interference; (3) how to obtain range. It may be stated that to-day the practical working range, used between ship and ship at sea and between ship and shore, varies from thirty to forty miles, though the apparatus of the various makers is scheduled to range from 100 to 125 miles. This is because there are so many misstudied phenomena whose effect is not yet thoroughly understood. For example, electric disturbances of the atmosphere such as thunder storms, near or distant, have a marked effect. Sunlight has also a marked effect, but it is not certainly known whether it is light and heat or light without heat. Land is much more difficult to telegraph over than water, which is obvious enough because of the hills which break the waves; but why should fresh water be almost as difficult as land when compared with salt water. Bare rocks and ice are extremely difficult and in Somaliland the desert has up to now presented an insurmountable obstacle.

In order to obtain secrecy, two methods are now being studied. By the first method the sending and receiving apparatus are tuned to a similar wave-length. This matter of electric waves is a very odd one. It is usual to compare these waves to the circles produced in water by throwing in a stone; but the water-wave looks as if it advanced whether it does or not. A better comparison is that to the vibrations of a rope secured at one end and shaken at the other; the waves can be made to vary by the amount of force exerted, and the rope obviously does not advance. Ether waves can be made to vary in the same way by suitable electrical appliances, and laboratory experiments can be made to prove the actual length by arranging a long wire, through which a wave is passing, about the walls and ceiling, and drawing sparks from it at every foot or so. A regular wave of intensity will be shown to exist by the length of sparks extracted; it varies from nothing at the nodal points to, say, three-quarters of an inch at the point of maximum swell.

Theoretically, of course, if two sets of apparatus are using different wave-lengths, their signals will not interfere and careful experiments will show this to be true. At an exhibition before the Conference at Berlin, Count Arco showed two signals being received on different apparatus, and recorded at the same

time, from a distance of one and two miles, respectively, only one mast wire being used at the receiving station. He had arranged for a third at the same time, but the apparatus got out of order before the exhibit, and it was not shown. The two wave-lengths used were of 2,000 and 4,000 feet, respectively. The third length was to have been 1,000 feet. Marconi has made the same public demonstration in Italy with waves of 1,000 feet and 500 feet. Such exhibitions are very remarkable; but it was brought out at the conference by competent authorities that the results are not always reliable. It is to be noted that these wave-lengths are exact multiples of each other. Apparently, if reliable syntony can be obtained, the problem would be solved; but many scientists claim, for various abstruse reasons, that no more than ten different practical wave-lengths can ever be obtained. If this be true, then for a fleet, say, of forty men-of-war something more is wanted for separate communication with the flag-ship.

The second method of obtaining secrecy is simply to have each vessel supplied with a call number or signal, and with an apparatus which will work or switch in on this call and on nothing else. There are several patents which have been taken out on apparatus of this kind, some of them being paper patents, *i. e.*, patents in which the drawing is apparently accurate but which will not work out in metal. One, however, that of Anders Bull, has been tried successfully in the laboratory at Christiania, and is about to be tried practically in the Norwegian navy.

The wave theory is the most scientifically attractive, however; and syntonic arrangements do add greatly to the distance at which wireless telegraphic signalling can be carried on. Moreover, the wave theory holds in so many other fields of research, as in the construction of ships, the transmission of sound, the detonation of explosives, etc., that we may be sure that it will be much more closely studied; but at present one certainly takes the public into one's confidence when one sends a wireless telegraphic message. In last year's British naval manœuvres, the Admiral commanding one of the rival fleets took an ingenious advantage of this fact by making no signals himself but keeping a careful watch of his own receiving instruments. He thus became aware of all the projected manœuvres of his rival and therefore easily defeated him.

So far are we from being able yet to achieve secrecy that there

is sometimes something positively uncanny and Mephistophelian in the way these Hertzian waves betray their supposed masters. Some time ago, a man-of-war was exercising at discovering torpedo-boats with two searchlights. Suddenly, one of the lights commenced to wink or flicker. This seemed all the more strange as its carbons were feeding regularly, and the other light was burning clear under the same current. Presently, some one noticed that there was a certain rhythm about the winks; and, the intervals being marked on paper, a complete Morse dot-and-dash signal revealed itself. It was afterwards learned that two foreign men-of-war, which were out of sight, were exchanging this identical signal by Wireless Telegraphy at that exact time. Here was a new form of receiver accidentally discovered, which happened to be in syntonic harmony, while the neighboring light was entirely devoid of any such qualities.

How to prevent interference is something which, in the present state of Wireless Telegraphy, is reduced simply to arranging such a succession of signals that no two ships will be signalling to a third or to a shore station at the same time. Generally speaking, it may be said that, if A is signalling to B and C to D, A will interfere with C if he is nearer to C than C is to D. The general consensus of opinion at the conference was, that men-of-war and posts for national defence should be quite independent of all regulations.

How to obtain the greatest range is, for ordinary apparatus, to be solved by syntony, as has been already stated, combined with carefully constructed instruments and sensitive coherers (Branly tubes) together with more sensitive relays, which, being actuated by the slightest Hertzian wave modified by the coherer, will switch in a battery strong enough to work a Morse recording apparatus. The receiver—a term which includes the whole receiving apparatus—is at present considered to be the most important part of a Wireless Telegraphic establishment; and many other inventions designed to supersede the Branly tube are now being tried, the most notable being the Castelli coherer where a drop of mercury replaces the metal filings. Very sensitive telephones have also been invented, which give much greater range than filing tubes with Morse recorders; but the objection to them lies in the fact that they do not record. Marconi's greatest ranges have been obtained by the use of a telephone combined with his magnetic

receiver in place of the Branly tube or Castelli coherer. This magnetic receiver is an ingenious device which takes advantage of hysteresis or lag of current in a piece of metal alternately magnetized and demagnetized, and is more sensitive than a filing tube. Among the new receivers that of Professor Fessenden is remarkable in the fact that it depends upon the change of temperature produced in a minute piece of platinum wire by the passage of the Hertzian wave; this change of temperature actuating a very sensitive telephone by modifying the conductivity of the wire. For ships' use, however, filing coherers with Morse recorders are preferred, from the fact that a record on a tape is quite independent of what any man with a telephone thinks that he hears. To reach the extreme ranges obtained by Marconi, it has been found necessary to erect the huge wire-cages at Poldhu, Glace Bay and Cape Cod, so often shown in the illustrated papers. An apparatus of one hundred and fifty horse-power is said to be employed; but the Marconi Company are naturally jealous of their business interests and nothing is known of their exact methods of procedure by any one except the experts of the company, Similar stations of much greater power are proposed at Pisa in Italy, and at some point in Argentina. In the course of his earlier experiments, Marconi demonstrated that a short hollow cylinder of large capacity was almost as good an agent for collecting the waves at each station as mast wires; but he has never had time to develop the subject. It is a matter of extreme importance, and bears upon the much-mooted point as to whether the earth and its water do not really play the most important part in transmitting long-distance signals. The fact that these waves, whatever they are, will go round the curvature of the earth, although the masts are comparatively short, points in the same direction. The importance of using a short cylinder, possibly the funnels of a man-of-war, instead of 150 feet of mast wire, needs no proof when we consider their relative chances of being shot away.

Having discussed the essential requirements of successful Wireless Telegraphy and the present condition of perfection that has been attained in each, it may be well to state the general commercial situation in brief. The present manufacturers of Wireless Telegraphic apparatus for sale are, in the United States, Fessenden, De Forest and The American Marconi Company. In England there are The Marconi Company, Lodge, Muirhead, and

Armstrong & Orling; there are a few others, as in the United States, who make small parts, but no others able to name a price for a complete set. In France, there are Ducretet-Popoff and Rochefort. In Germany there were formerly Slaby, Arco, and Brann-Siemens; but they have now combined into one firm, called "Telefunken." In Russia, Popoff is associated with Ducretet in Paris, who does the manufacturing.

There are only two companies who exploit Wireless Telegraphy, own their own stations and make their own apparatus; these are the Marconi Company and the De Forest Company. There is another company in France called the Compagnie Française de Telegraphic sans Fil; but as the French Government has confiscated the only station erected by them in France, that at Cape La Hague, and has refused authorization for any others, this company can scarcely be said to have an existence in France. It advertises, however, to have received concessions for two stations in Holland, two in Norway, two in Greece, and to have formed a branch company in Spain. All the other individuals and firms mentioned merely manufacture apparatus for sale at a fixed price. The Marconi Company will not sell except for a price, *plus* a royalty for fourteen years, or for a larger price in which the royalty is included, as is the case in their present arrangement with the British Admiralty. It may be remarked that the principal Wireless Telegraphic business to-day is that between ship and ship and between ship and shore; and at the present moment there are only two pay-stations between land and land; these are between the coast of California and the small island of Avalon, and between the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, a distance of about one hundred and twelve miles. Shortly after the earthquake had destroyed the cables, the French Government erected these two stations, and they have operated with reasonable satisfaction ever since, the tariff being six cents per word. A Marconi system was successfully established among the Sandwich Islands, but it failed through unreliability caused by lack of skill among the native operators.

As regards the national use of the different kinds of apparatus the situation is as follows:

In Russia, the navy uses Ducretet-Popoff in large numbers; but the post-office and army have a few Telefunken stations for long-distance signalling and army field-work;

In Austria, competitive trials are now being made between French and German manufacturers, the Marconi Company having declined to compete;

In Germany, all departments are supplied with Telefunken apparatus, but not to the same degree; the navy has large numbers; the army a less number for field-service and the Post-Office Department a few; the apparatus is modified by government officials;

In France, the government divides its orders between Ducretet-Popoff and Rochefort, and the relative quantity ordered by the different departments is about the same as in Germany; the apparatus is perfected by government officials;

In Spain, some few experiments have been made with French and German material, but the apparatus preferred is that of de Cervera, a Spanish army officer of distinguished ability;

The Italian Government has a firm contract for all departments with the Marconi Company for fourteen years; the navy has been a very active purchaser for ships and a large number of shore stations are being erected; next to the navy, the post-office has been the most active; and the army is experimenting with Marconi field-stations;

In England, which is the only country, besides Italy and Canada, that has paid money for the Marconi patents before they were tested in the courts, the Admiralty has adopted the Marconi system and given large orders; the apparatus is afterwards perfected by the officials; they have also experimented with French apparatus, and the Post-Office Department and the army are experimenting with Telefunken apparatus, both for stations and field-service.

The smaller European Powers, as well as Mexico and the South-American States, have patronized both French and German manufacturers to a moderate degree for experimental purposes, and Sweden has adopted Telefunken for her navy and bought quite a large quantity of apparatus.

In the United States, the army has experimented with indifferent success with De Forest, Marconi, and Fessenden, and a small quantity of Lodge-Muirhead and Brann-Siemens apparatus has lately been bought for experimental purposes, partly for station and partly for field-work. The navy has bought Ducretet—Popoff, Rochefort, Brann-Siemens, Slaby-Arco, Lodge-Muirhead and De Forest for competitive test. The Marconi Com-

pany would not compete. Slaby-Arco has so far proved the best as regards general practical character and range, and forty-five more sets have been ordered for service. But this range is only 81 sea miles, compared with 125 sea miles in the Baltic with the same apparatus; there is the same relative falling off with all the others, and it appears probable that the electrical conditions of the United States are different from those of Europe.

While on the subject of apparatus, it may be mentioned that the rapidity with which improved detailed apparatus is being invented in Europe is extraordinary. At the Telefunken exhibit, the members of the Conference were shown a new coherer on the electrolytic principle, which does away with the tapper which is so necessary with the Branly tube to instantaneously decohere the metal filings after they have been cohered by the passage of the Hertzian wave. It is true that the Lodge-Muirhead revolving wheel in contact with a bubble of mercury does the same thing; but this is still another and radically different way. They were also shown a miniature Brann-Siemens apparatus for lecture purposes. The whole double set can be placed on a table about four by five feet in size, and the signalling range is about 1,000 feet. Nearly every university in Germany has one; but Toronto is the only city in America that has purchased a set. The price is about one hundred dollars, and as under existing laws they could be imported free of duty as instruments for scientific experiments, they might easily form a valuable auxiliary to the lecture outfit of our numerous colleges, as the subject of Wireless Telegraphy is certain to form a valuable and interesting accession to courses of electrical lectures in the future.

The ground having been cleared, in a somewhat rambling fashion, as regards the existing situation, it will be in order to give the reason for calling the Conference. The Marconi Company has established posts at various points in the United States, in Canada and in the United Kingdom, also at a few Continental points, and at several of Lloyds stations throughout the world. Various steamers have bought their apparatus, and travellers are now frequently able to keep in touch with the world during the whole passage across the Atlantic, by means of the Marconi apparatus on board other ships and at the shore stations. When Prince Henry visited the United States, he travelled on board a German steamer having a Marconi apparatus, and his approach-

ing arrival was duly notified to the world. When he returned to Germany, he was on board another German steamer furnished with the German Slaby-Arco apparatus. On approaching the Isle of Wight, the Marconi station at first communicated, and then, finding the apparatus of a rival on board, refused to take a message. Emperor William of Germany thereupon called a preliminary conference of the Powers to consider the matter. It was nearly two years before the day was actually fixed, principally because it was thought necessary in most countries to hold inter-departmental conferences to formulate an opinion on this complex matter, and meantime to allow this new discovery a little more time to develop. At length, the 4th of August was fixed and forty-three delegates were assembled, eleven being from Germany, three from Austria, three from Spain, three from the United States, six from France, four from Hungary, four from Italy, three from Russia. The proceedings were conducted in French, and the "*Avant Propos*," or programme of discussion, consisted of a series of propositions and sub-articles covering the details of each. The first was to cover the point as to whether any company should be allowed to act as the Marconi Company had acted, and the others dealt with minor matters regarding distressed ships, tariffs, men-of-war, etc. Broadly speaking, the first was the only real question, the others being entirely subordinate, and there was much carefully prepared argument and discussion. On the one side, elaborate arguments were made to show that the Marconi Company really lead the world, and that, if their stations were compelled to receive messages from inferior apparatus, not only would they be unjustly injured in their interests, but the world's good service would be jeopardized: that it was too soon to think of formulating rules to fetter a new discovery in its development; and that, if the Marconi Company had won any advantage over their rivals, it was by fair business competition in which their rivals had been so far worsted.

On the other hand, it was held that the Marconi Company had declined to compete with any one else over the same proving-ground; that their claimed superior results were no better than those obtained by officers of the different governments there represented; that it was well known that other people could communicate as satisfactorily as Marconi could, and that it was not too soon to recommend the formulation of some rules which would

prevent the Marconi Company from developing a world monopoly which would stifle all independent research; the fact being that whereas cable companies only exploit telegraphy by means of cables, and do not manufacture cables or the apparatus for signalling, the Marconi Company were not only endeavoring to monopolize the exploitation of Wireless Telegraphy, but also of the apparatus by which such signals are made and received.

The discussion was very interesting; and, when it came to voting, the action of the various governments was a curious study. All the European nations have a government monopoly of all means of communicating information by electricity; and the vote of France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia was prompt against the Marconi monopoly. Italy was in favor of the Marconi Company, being bound to it by a contract in consequence of Marconi's having, in Italy's opinion, the most perfectly organized system and the best apparatus. England held her decision in complete reserve; but signed the minority report with Italy, on the ground that, though the British Government had a monopoly of the telegraph, this authority was not supposed to extend beyond the marine league, and Marconi and every one else had a perfect right to operate Wireless Telegraphy between the coast and ships at sea, and make such rules as they chose regarding each other without interference from the government.

The United States delegation held, first, that the United States Government had paramount authority over any Wireless Telegraph association doing business either between the States of the Union or with foreign countries; and, second, that any such organization came under the common carrier law, which, by decision of the Supreme Court, compelled any one coming under that law to receive and transmit messages from any suitably equipped vessel or station. The vote of the delegates of the United States was thus cast with the majority.

Another very curious question raised and argued at great length was, whether the Marconi Company was entitled to an indemnity in case the recommendation of the majority became law. Italy was in favor of an indemnity. England would not admit an indemnity, but suggested that a surtax would be reasonable on all messages sent by rival apparatus. The other nations, including the United States, were against either an indemnity or a surtax, the idea of the United States delegates being that

neither the Marconi Company nor any one else was entitled to an indemnity or surtax because they had erected stations on our soil without having consulted our laws.

Minor matters, such as rates, and what part should go to the ship and what to the shore stations, were discussed *pro* and *con:* but, as the laws of the United States permit the utmost latitude in such matters, the United States delegates considered that business alone would ultimately regulate them, and that it was a matter of too small importance to discuss at the present time. The European nations held somewhat different ideas, because of their absolute control in such matters; but the general idea prevailed that the tariff should be equitable and in proportion to the telegraphic work done.

The work of such a Conference as this could be at best but preliminary, as its name indicates; but the result of the examination, for the first time, of the wireless telegraphic situation as it is to-day points very clearly to the advisability of a subsequent Congress, whose delegates shall be fully instructed and endowed with sufficient authority to go more deeply into the question in all of its relations.

JOHN I. WATERBURY.

WESTERN CANADIAN VIEW OF THE FISCAL QUESTION.

BY THE HONORABLE R. P. ROBLIN, PREMIER OF MANITOBA.

THE conditions which have been created by the fiscal conversion of the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain are such as necessarily command the attention, and invite the study, not only of every British colonist, and every man who owes allegiance to the British flag, but of every individual and every nation having financial or commercial relations with the United Kingdom. No part of the British Empire is more deeply interested in the matter than the Dominion of Canada, and no part of Canada so vitally affected as the Northwestern portion of the Dominion, which sees in the acceptation or rejection of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, the advancement or retardation of her development by at least two decades.

The abstract merits of Free Trade *versus* Protection do not enter into the consideration of the question from the present standpoint. The United Kingdom, for over half a century, has opened her doors to the manufactures and products of foreign nations, and of her own Colonies, on exactly the same terms and conditions. For a considerable portion of the earlier part of that time, the Motherland appeared to make substantial progress in almost all departments of trade and commerce; and, although certain of her industries showed a rapid decline from the moment that the protective barriers were removed, notably her farming interests and her silk manufactures, yet the increase in the volume of trade was such that it became almost a fetish with British statesmen, whose education was more on classical than commercial lines, that any increase in gross figures was a thing to rejoice over, whether or not that increase kept pace with rates of increase in other countries, and no matter whether it really represented a

larger increase of expenditure than of income. It seems, indeed, to have been an accepted maxim of political economy in Great Britain, that no man was qualified to guide the destinies of British trade and commerce unless he was absolutely ignorant of the first principles of business; and that the Colonies, the United States, and other countries which selected educated men of business to manage the industrial affairs of their respective countries, were necessarily wrong in the policy advocated and pursued by these men. Figures and statistics do, not, however, establish that Great Britain's ratio of progress has been equal in any degree with the advancement of nations which adopted a different fiscal policy, and the fact that her export trade has only increased by 7½ per cent. against an increase of 30 per cent. in her population since 1872, is striking enough compared with the extraordinary ratio of progress in foreign countries in the same period.

It is also significant that almost the first British statesman of eminence who has a successful record as a business man, should also be the first to break away from the traditions of the school founded by Cobden and Bright, the former of whom failed in business, and was assisted by a national subscription of £80,000 to carry on his mission of teaching the nation how to muddle its affairs as badly as he muddled his own.

The Colonies, while loyal to the Crown and the flag, have been forced by the law of self-preservation to abandon the fiscal policy adopted by the Motherland. The struggle for existence was too keen for them to make any progress under a policy which mortgaged their home market before it was created. The Dominion of Canada, after the Confederation of the British North-American Provinces in 1867, undertook to adopt, to a large extent, the principles which had been taught by Cobden and Bright. The result was financial distress, commercial prostration and the soup-kitchen. To rescue the people of Canada from the admittedly deplorable conditions which their adoption of this policy had produced, the principle of protection was substituted for it in 1878; and since that time no public man in Canada who has had the power, has dared to eliminate that principle from the fiscal policy of his country.

Other Colonies of the British Empire, notably the Australian Commonwealth, New Zealand and Cape Colony, and in fact all the self-governing states, have adopted a similar policy; and this

fact has gradually, but none the less surely, attracted the attention of British statesmen imbued with Imperial ideas, with the result that we have to-day the pronouncement of Mr. Chamberlain which has so profoundly affected public opinion in the United Kingdom.

There can be no doubt of the accuracy of the statement that Great Britain's future growth and expansion in trade and commerce depend upon her Colonies. It is also equally true that upon her policy to her Colonies depends her future rank as one of the first Powers in the world. The necessity which exists, therefore, for strengthening the ties which bind the Colonies and the Mother Country is recognized by those British statesmen who are called Imperial Federationists, and who believe that the internal trade relations of the Colonies and the Motherland should be placed on some different basis from that of foreign countries. This is an intelligible policy, which appeals not only to the patriotism of the Colonial citizen, but also to his business instincts; and for this reason Mr. Chamberlain's proposals appeal especially to Western Canada.

Admittedly, the most important Colony of Great Britain is Canada, which has a greater white population, greater natural resources, conditions, and prospects than any of the others; and a more assured future than at the moment it appears possible for any other Colony to attain to. The first requisite for the maintenance of Canada's present relations with the Motherland when her population increases to twenty or more millions of people, is that those people shall remain loyal to the flag and Monarch of the land which gave her her first settlers.

I have said that Canada is the greatest of the Colonies; and, without depreciating or disparaging in any way the other provinces of Canada, it may be safely asserted that the part with the greatest possibilities is that portion which lies west of Lake Superior, and which possesses those natural advantages of soil, climate, and other conditions which are necessary to pre-eminence.

Her prairies, forests, mines, and fisheries have almost illimitable possibilities. The prairies can produce hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat, and thousands of head of cattle; and, under favorable conditions, in the short space of ten years, she could supply the British market with all the grain, flour and cattle which Great Britain is bound to require from abroad even if an

alteration in her fiscal policy should give a great impetus to her manufactures.

The actual acreage in the land area of Northwest Canada, after deducting water, and ignoring British Columbia, is as follows:

Manitoba	41,002,240	acres.
Assiniboia	57,177,600	"
Saskatchewan	69,120,000	"
Alberta	63,523,200	"
Total	230,823,040	"

A careful and very conservative computation of the good farming lands in this acreage, after deducting forests, mountains, supposed swamp lands, arid districts and road allowances, gives the following results:

Manitoba	23,000,000	acres.
Assiniboia	19,000,000	"
Saskatchewan	17,000,000	"
Alberta	16,000,000	"
Total	75,000,000	"

This does not take into account many hundreds of square miles which have never been properly surveyed, and others which irrigation would make profitable for farming purposes. Out of this 75,000,000 acres, 45,000,000 are at present undisposed of; but, at the present rate of entry for homesteads, it will only take ten years to dispose of them. Now, what does this mean in crop production and possibilities? In the last twenty years, there have been only two short crops, and the average yield of all kinds of grain has been twenty bushels per acre, an average which tends to increase with more careful farming.

I do not propose to go into detailed facts and figures connected with last year's crop in Manitoba or the Territories, although the actual statement regarding the three principal products, wheat, oats and barley, for 1902, may be useful as data which may aid the reader in estimating the weight of my further arguments.

1902.	Manitoba.		N. W. T.	
Wheat	53,077,267	bushels.	13,956,850	bushels.
Oats	34,478,150	"	10,661,295	"
Barley	11,848,422	"	870,417	"
Total	99,403,839	"	25,488,562	"

Ten years hence, on the most careful estimate, based only on the present rate of settlement and production, which shows a tendency to increase at a greater ratio, the following will be the production in these three chief grains, supposing that only 43 out of each 160 acres are under crop at that time:

	Manitoba and N. W. T
Wheat	350,000,000 bushels.
Oats	200,000,000 "
Barley	50,000,000 "
Total	600,000,000 "

Looking forward to the future, as we have a right to do, the question of a preference in the home market for Western Canadian grain becomes one of great importance. Supposing that the Mother Country imposed a tariff of two shillings a quarter and gave us a preference of half that amount, so as to retain the other shilling for the benefit of her own agriculturists, it would mean that we could supply the United Kingdom with all the wheat, oats and barley she required from outside sources, at a profit to ourselves, and at no appreciable increase of cost to the consumer in the Old Country.*

In the last twelve years fluctuations of wheat in Great Britain have varied greatly in a single year, yet the alterations in the price of bread, I am informed, have not during the whole of that period varied to an extent really noticeable to the poorest householder; and to-day bread in the United Kingdom is dearer than it was before the shilling tax of last year was removed. In other words, supply and demand alone govern prices, which are not affected, so far as the consumer is concerned, by any small import duty, whether it is put on or taken off. The result of a preferential tariff would be to increase the supply of Canadian wheat, and to make the United Kingdom more secure in times of war or public unrest, than if she depended so largely as she does now on foreign markets for the necessities of her people.

The effect of a preferential tariff on Western Canada would be to give a tremendous impetus to immigration. We want people to cultivate the soil and develop the wealth of the land. Tens of thousands are flocking to the Northwest every year. Some fifty

* Average prices of wheat per year from 1891 to 1901: 1891, 37s; 1892, 30s 3d; 1893, 26s 4d; 1894, 22s 10d; 1895, 23s 1d; 1896, 26s 2d; 1897, 30s 2d; 1898, 34s; 1899, 25s 8d; 1900, 26s 11d; 1901, 26s 9d.

thousand immigrants, according to official statements, have settled here within the last twelve months. They come from the South, East and West; a great many from the United States, others from France, from Russia, from Austria, from Germany, from Norway, from Sweden and from Iceland, as well as from Great Britain herself. Even Asia has contributed her quota to the total. A very large majority come from countries which do not owe allegiance to Britain's King or the British flag. Some of them even arrive here with hostile feelings and prejudiced views of the British Empire and its institutions. The first duty of those entrusted with the government of Canada is to assimilate those arrivals from foreign and often unfriendly countries, and to weld them into a homogeneous whole. This can only be done by teaching them that political, civil and religious freedom is guaranteed by the Empire's institutions, and that protection to life and property is assured by its laws; but, even when they have learned the lesson, these people have no sentimental ties of race and blood to unite them to the Motherland, to which indeed their earliest instincts are alien. It is only by the benefits of the trade relations that exist between Great Britain and Canada, that, at any rate for the first generation, you can find a substitute for those sentiments which animate the loyalist of British birth, and which, however they may be ignored by the more narrow-minded and insular of British public men, yet have ever formed the soundest basis for national greatness from the days of Imperial Rome to the days of Imperial Britain.

It is trade relations which will make these foreigners who have settled among us happy and contented Canadians, and most easily and successfully secure their loyalty to the British Crown and flag; and this can only be done by Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to treat the Colonies on a different footing to foreign countries. So far as Canada is concerned, she has shown her willingness to adopt the principle of discriminating against all goods imported from foreign countries. Yet, there are politicians and newspapers which ask if it has been proved that the Colonies are anxious for Mr. Chamberlain's proposals to be carried into effect; while another section inquire why the Colonies should have any preference or be treated on different terms from any one else.

Rather might we ask: Why should the Colonies and self-governing states of the British Empire alone be penalized for their

loyalty to the country of which they form a part? Does Germany treat her Colonies as foreign countries? Has Russia ever been known to refuse preferential treatment to any part of her Empire? The States which form the powerful Confederacy to the south of us are as independent in laws and internal government as any of the self-governing Colonies, but to suggest that the United States would ever debate such a point among themselves is absurd. It is true the Colonies of Great Britain have the power to penalize the products of the Mother Country and have exercised it; but that was only because it was impossible for them to adopt the fiscal policy of Great Britain if ever they were to build up their own manufactures. It was merely an exemplification of the old adage, "Self-preservation is the first law of nature"; but, on the other hand, Canada has been the first to show that, while adhering to the principles of protection, she was willing to recognize that it was not inconsistent with those principles to grant preferences within the bounds of the Empire. The principles of Free Trade, however, have no supporters in Canada. The manufacturer is strongly opposed to them. The merchants and bankers have no faith in them, and the farming classes have consistently supported protectionist principles whenever the question has been submitted to them. Even the skilled and unskilled laborer is in favor of protection, for he knows that the underlying principle of all trade-unionism is protection; therefore, Mr. Chamberlain's proposals appeal with especial force to Canadians.

It is probable that we shall be told that we in Western Canada are biased by the fact that it is to the export market we are looking rather than to imports, and that we have not studied with sufficient exactness the question which more clearly touches Eastern Canada—the question, namely, of what preference the Canadian manufacturer can afford to offer to Great Britain, in return for a fiscal rearrangement which will give the Canadian agriculturist, in common with the agriculturists of other Colonies, an advantage in the British market over all foreign competitors. The fallacy which underlies this idea is based on two misconceptions—first, that Western Canada will proceed on the lines of purely agricultural development, and, secondly, that we shall take the payment of our exports in gold.

As to the first, it is absurd to suppose that a country with a land area of over 230,000,000 acres is ever going to develop along

purely agricultural lines. Our Western mines and rivers are alone a source of inexhaustible wealth; and, as our farming population increases and its needs multiply, hundreds of industries will spring up in the West, both to take advantage of the natural resources of the country, and to save the expense of transportation which at present adds so considerably to the cost of everything.

At the moment of writing, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association are touring Western Canada, not merely to look for new channels of trade, but also with the idea of bringing manufacturing concerns right into the path of the incoming tide of settlers. The extension of manufactures to the West is merely a question of time, and of a very short time. Cities like Winnipeg, which are increasing in all directions, at a proportionately much more rapid rate than eastern cities, are bound in the near future to attract the attention of commercial men. Already, the wholesale houses are extending their storage capacities to an extent which opens the eyes of business men who have only seen the East of Canada; and the next step, that of laying down manufacturing machinery, cannot be long delayed. With an almost illimitable field before us in this direction, we Western Canadians are just as vitally concerned in the import market as are the manufacturers in the East, and we have no more intention than they of seeing our young industries stifled at their birth, by allowing our land to become the dumping-ground of every manufacturing country in the world.

On the other hand, we are just as far from the policy of senseless and useless exclusiveness as any Free-Trader in Great Britain herself. It is as essential for our farmers to have the necessities of life cheaply as it is for the workmen of the Old Country; and we believe that a tariff can be so regulated that, while affording encouragement to budding home industries, it will yet not unfairly enhance the price of manufactured goods to the consumer, provided it is applied by those in sympathy with the principles involved.

I do not believe that the Canadian manufacturer desires protection to enable him to enhance the cost to the consumer, or even that if he did he would get it. What he does require is protection against being under-sold and forced out of trade by stronger rivals, who, having killed his industry, would raise prices.

So far as the second misconception is concerned—that the agricultural regions of Canada will take payment for their exports in gold—it must not be forgotten that, as Western Canada develops, her requirements will for many years exceed her power of supplying them. If Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals are adopted, Western Canada will forge ahead just as Great Britain did when the introduction of railways first gave such an impetus to her iron, coal, and steel trades. Canada will, like Great Britain, become a great purchasing nation. No matter how her own industries grow, she will, as her wealth increases, import more and more from the Old Country, under a preferential tariff.

The distribution of the 75,000,000 acres of farm lands, already referred to, at the rate of 160 acres for each family, will give Western Canada in the next ten years an additional rural population of 2,343,750 souls. This will mean a corresponding increase in large cities, and a tremendous increase in wealth and spending power. We desire that the circulation of this wealth shall be confined as much as possible to our own Dominion first, and to the Empire next. The surplus can go abroad. We shall not miss it.

It depends on the Mother Country whether our ideals are to be reached. Before this wealth can be produced at all in Western Canada, we must have population. That, I have already shown, will be attracted by the realization of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme. To exploit the mines for their riches; to utilize the forests, the rivers and lakes; to provide for the needs of the new population; to cover the land with cheap and rapid means of transportation, and to develop it all along the line, we shall need capital. Nor will that capital fail to flow our way, when it is seen that it will be safe and productive. There will be no exchange difficulties; for, apart from our own purchases from British manufacturers, we shall have to send back to the Old Country the interest on the millions of capital that will find its way here to develop our resources. In fact, half the objections which are raised by opponents of Mr. Chamberlain are due to superficial study of the question. Not only will British manufacturers find a profitable market here, but they will, under protection, become Canadian manufacturers themselves, and help to build up the commerce of this great Colony. Wealth and prosperity to any part of the Empire, if the Empire is properly constituted, mean wealth and prosperity to the whole; but, as at present arranged, it is foreign

countries who benefit by the nation's wealth and give no adequate return for it. For example, if Germans wax fat on British trade, where does their wealth go ultimately? To Germany; and what is true of Germany is true of the United States, and of every other commercial competitor Great Britain has. But, if her Colonies grow in wealth, she and the whole Empire will benefit by that wealth. It will circulate in her own coffers and among her own people, and will never be used to buy guns to subdue her, or navies to wrest from her the lordship of the seas. It is difficult to understand how our kinsmen across the sea can be led in these matters by men of no experience, no business ideas, and who are crammed with the jargon of the political economist, which they but imperfectly understand and appreciate. We can understand a man like the Duke of Devonshire, and others of his type, being wedded to the principles of Free Trade, because of their education, their narrow environment, and their great wealth, all of which are calculated to prevent them from giving heed to the necessities of those who do not enjoy the blessings and advantages to which they were born, but are compelled to make use of opportunities and create conditions which will not only maintain their own existence, but will also strengthen their relations with the Mother Country.

Opportunities have not been given to many public men in Great Britain to study Colonial Questions on the ground; and, just as it is admitted to-day that the Parliament of Great Britain in 1776 was unable to appreciate the conditions and necessities of the Colonies in America, so it appears that some of the statesmen and public men of Great Britain are equally ignorant in 1903, while others, like Mr. Chamberlain, with broader minds, clearer ideas, a wider horizon, and a more statesmanlike perception, feel the necessity of strengthening the bonds which unite the Colonies to the Mother Country, if the British Empire is to maintain its proud place among the civilized nations of the world.

The Empire stands at the parting of the ways. The man who is specially identified with the situation has not created the present crisis, nor has he precipitated it. He has merely, with great ability and more patriotic courage than his colleagues, pointed out the direction in which we should travel, and staked his reputation on awakening the Empire to a sense of its danger. In the ordinary internal politics of the United Kingdom, we Colon-

ists have no part, and there are even men who have resented any expression of Colonial opinion on this topic. But we claim the right to be heard in a matter which affects the destinies of the whole nation, and which means so much to us individually; and, for this reason, we are rallying to the support of Mr. Chamberlain, recognizing, as we do, the gravity of the question, and him as the man most fitted to cope with it.

The carrying into effect of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals in their entirety, means to Canada, and to this part of Canada in particular, the acceleration of our growth as a great commonwealth. With conditions such as would exist under Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, we can absorb millions of people in the West, and transform them into British subjects who will make for the strength and wealth of the Empire, beyond anything that the so-called Little Englanders ever dreamed or anticipated. The problem now agitating the people of the United Kingdom affects us deeply. A wrong decision can only retard us, however; it cannot stop us. But, to the Empire as a whole, it is a question of life or death, of commercial success or national decay. After recent revelations in other departments of British administration, we shall be astonished if the people of the Motherland make the mistake of refusing a hearing to the experts, and following the lead of men who, immured, so to speak, in a monastery created by class and educational restrictions, not only believe their own judgments infallible and all the rest of the world wrong, but are incapable of taking that broad view of Imperial questions which is so necessary in these days, when the best brains of the whole outside world are competing with the British Empire, and striving to raise their own individual and national interests on the ruins of British supremacy.

R. P. Roblin.

A POSTSCRIPT ON RUSKIN.

BY VERNON LEE.

"... Through such souls alone
God, stooping, shows sufficient of His light
For us i' the dark to rise by. ..."

COMING, as it did, when all England was engrossed by the tragic practicalities of the war, the death of Ruskin failed to bring home, as the death of every great master normally does, the full sense of what this man has done and can do for our more than momentary dignity and welfare. The case being such, it is better to come, as I do, when others have long since had their say; since there is now hope of some attention from those whom I would try to bring back to a study of Ruskin, by enumerating some of the possibilities and habits of thought and feeling which I am myself aware of owing, at least in definite and imperious form, to the teachings of this great prophet of righteous happiness. And the attention I should most desire is that of the younger of my possible readers and those of most advanced opinions; because I am convinced that, far-spreading as was his influence on his immediate contemporaries, and large as is the debt (though often second-hand and unacknowledged) due to him by the following generation, the very best of Ruskin's efficacy can be expected in the future: an efficacy more limited, perhaps, but more genuine and fruitful, unhelped, but unmarred also, by community of prejudice and error, and founded solely and safely on similarity of feeling and of aspiration. For the intuitions of Ruskin's many-sided genius were recommended to the majority of his contemporaries—a majority larger than could really assimilate them—by the system of symbolical metaphysics and dogmatic morals in which he set them with so tedious an ingenuity; but our modern habits of thought have reduced this artificial frame-

work to little more than a dreary litter, which wearies and vexes at every step. It is, therefore, high time to point out the genuine, though unconscious, organic system which unifies all that is living and fruitful in Ruskin's work, the vital synthesis of one of the richest and noblest and really best balanced of creative personalities.

More essentially than almost any other illustrious writer, Ruskin has been a giver of great gifts. He has opened out to us many and various fields of æsthetic and imaginative enjoyment, which we can sum up under a number of rough headings—Turner, Gothic, the Alps, Venice, mediæval painting, imaginative topography, certain botanical and geological interests, and many of the most essential and also the most recondite qualities of art; and he has, with the unerringness of unconscious instinct, united them all in a scheme of living, nay, rather of feeling and facing life, which is the spontaneous outcome of his character—the very flesh and blood of his soul given us to partake of. Moreover, this attitude towards life (higher than Goethe's or Carlyle's, more complete than Wordsworth's or Renan's, more human than Spinoza's or Emerson's) has the active, and at the same time contemplative, satisfactoriness of being in the widest sense religious—how truly so those best can judge who will strip away the mere ecclesiastical symbolism and theological metaphysics from Ruskin's genuine and spontaneous thought: religious, in his detachment from all material possession or social vanity, his capacity to take of things only their spiritual use, their ideal fruition; religious, in his desire for union with all creatures through gentleness and sharing; religious, above all, in his passionate power of communion with all the universe through love and wonder. No writer has felt more strongly the spiritual man's disgust with the narrow utilitarianism (not Bentham's nor Mill's, truly) which looks upon the world as so much food and fuel, hides and wool; and no writer (not even Tolstoi) has felt greater wrath at the exploitation of human beings by other human beings. In the same way that men were sacred in Ruskin's eyes, so also was the visible and sensible universe; because he felt (expressing his feeling in the formulas of God's works and God's children) that both the universe and man should stand in relationship of spirituality with the spiritual human being.

This leads me to begin what must needs be a very rough-and-

ready enumeration of Ruskin's many and many-sided achievements, by protesting against the common belief, shared in dogmatic moments by himself, that Ruskin was unable to sympathize with progress and was hostile to everything modern. His early education made him, indeed, impervious to many sides of science, and he had neither time nor disposition to exchange the theological notions he had received ready-made for any kind of philosophy. But the progress which Ruskin sneered at and the modernness which he anathematized were, after all, the very same which distressed and disgusted so different a man as Renan—progress which considered science merely as an instrument for commercial production, or, at best, for sanitary improvement, and modernness which regarded philosophical thought as a useful solvent of inconvenient spiritualities. We must remember that "modern" meant for Ruskin, not our latter-day habits of mind, already full of sympathy with the past and impatience of the present and tinged so deeply with reluctance and regret, but the mental habits, if "mental" they might be called, of the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century; of that period of chaotic materialism, of hand to mouth ruthless egoism, against which not only Carlyle came to protest, but Karl Marx also. The wrath of Ruskin forestalled, despite exaggeration and dogmatism, a way of feeling which the scientific and philosophical development of our day, nay, even the increased habit of material welfare, will make more and more usual in the future.

Moreover, I would point out that Ruskin showed equal abhorrence for what is the very reverse of modern and of progress, the brutish neglect of the beautiful work of the past, the disrespect to nature's fruitfulness and cleanness resulting from centuries of sloth and barbarism, such as he saw it in Italy, in France, and in the Canton Valais. The diseased newness of Leeds or Manchester and the diseased decay of Venice or Verona affected him, equally, as the desecration of the soul's sanctuary. And the deeper science, the wider practicality, of coming times will justify the noble priestly wrath he showed. But my meaning about this will become clearer, and Ruskin's meaning also, in the course of enumerating a few of the interests he brought into life, and then of summing up his attitude towards life as a whole.

And to begin with art.

The action of Ruskin has been to break down all narrow dilet-

tanteism, even of men like Winckelmann and Reynolds, and show that art was sprung from daily life and fit for daily life's consumption. Without ever belittling (as was the fashion in those days of Buckle and Taine) that creative genius which is the flower of one epoch but also the seed of another, Ruskin insisted on the participation of the humblest skill and sentiment in all the great work of the past, and indicated clearly, even if he did not formulate, that masterpieces owed the spontaneous appreciation which they got to the existence of artistic forms and qualities like their own in the commonest household objects. Moreover, while teaching his reader to take interest in the constructive reason of all architecture, Ruskin went far beyond considering this constructive reason as the essential of architectural beauty. The passages in the "Seven Lamps," and elsewhere, on the evidences of living interest, of seemingly capricious but in reality instinctively meaningful alteration of proportions and relations of line, curve, mass and surface, forestall to my mind one of the most important discoveries which scientific æsthetics will have some day to register.

And here I would point out that, in order to get Ruskin's full meaning, we must never separate his writings from those wonderful illustrations which tell us all the things words can never say. It is in them that he has given us the real quality of mediæval architecture. Nay, more than that; he has given us, in his rendering of balcony and window tracery, of the pine-cone brick-work of steeples, of the feathery keenness of lance-like iron-work, not merely the æsthetic loveliness, but also the imaginative fascination, of Venice and Verona. Think how even Goethe saw those towns, and how *we* see them. Well, the difference is due, two-thirds, to Ruskin. Similarly with the Alps. Look at his drawings, in "Modern Painters," of the Mont Blanc range. These things make one forevermore feel the uplifting, the budding of clustered peaks, the sweep of moraine and avalanche tracks, the cling of forests, and add to the reality the charm of *his* having seen and felt it.

Ruskin gave us one of our greatest pleasures (gave it consciously and as an artistic factor in life)—topography; teaching us to feel the countries growing, forming, as we move through them; teaching us to evoke the haunting presence of scenery, on dreary days or evenings, over maps, the very names of stations growing delightful, and a talk about miles and levels and surveyors' details becoming fraught with delight, a poem.

This art of getting the imaginative essence of things, of combining the mysterious associations, subtle, microscopic, between lovelinesses of all kinds, between all evidences of noble life, which Ruskin gave us, enabled him also to point out the real literary quality which great paintings (Turner's, for instance, in the "Loire side" and "St. Gothard") got by mere selection of visible items. Nor must we think of Ruskin's analysis of these pictures as mere ingenious exercises like those first taught by Lessing, which distract the mind from real artistic quality. What Ruskin taught on the largest scale and by unconscious system was, not to substitute the aims of one art for those of another, but to unite in our mind separate imaginative delights, actual and remembered, and to multiply them indefinitely by each other till the whole world became an organic unity, not by mere links of causality or category, but by the vivifying sense of love and wonder. Ruskin felt all things with the energy and complexity due to previous feeling. The mere titles of chapters and illustrations ("Venga Medusa," "The Locks of Typhon," "The Sea Foundations") show his impressions to have been like tones rich in harmonies which are chords in themselves, and many of his records of mere scientific observations seem to be throbbing with imaginative pleasure — the record, for instance, of how he calculated the erosion of a certain mountain, and that delightful statement, one of his most beautiful bits of writing, "the true high cirri never cross a mountain in Europe. How often have I hoped to see an Alp rising through and above their level-laid and rippled fields." This culminates, perhaps, in the great chapter of "Modern Painters" on "The Use of Mountains": to give motion to water, change to air and diversity to soil; and we may add, after this chapter, to refresh, ennoble, and enlarge the soul of man. How in such passages as these Ruskin awakens our imaginative sympathy with the universe, teaching us to multiply, for instance, by the knowledge whence the great rivers come, the solemnity of the sight of them in defile or in estuary. What interest all this realization of life brings into life. Surely, he who should feel habitually as Ruskin teaches us to feel, merely in this one chapter, would be rich with the bare necessaries, and certainly would want no amusements or excitements, even on a rainy day, knowing the snow to be falling, the brooks to be rushing, behind the mist on the mountains. Nay, he would have things to look forward to as

others look forward to the newspaper or the theatre. What dramas are the skies preparing? What pageants will be held at sunset?

Instead of which, we privileged folk—well, let us drop a veil over the futilities, the wasteful vanities, with which we cheat our tedious leisure, while the leisure, harder won, of our less fortunate brethren is employed, let us say, in reading betting news and accounts of murders and executions; a vicious circle of overwork and idleness, of waste and lack of opportunity. Here, on the contrary, we are taught by Ruskin a virtuous circle of virtuous efficacy: intellectual and æsthetic interests being not merely wholesome and ennobling in themselves, but freeing us from the pursuit, often unjust, and always selfish, of superfluous materialism and wasteful vanities, liberating our minds and lives, and incidentally the lives and minds of others, from the grindstone. From the grindstone. This metaphor inevitably enters my mind with the remembrance of another passage of just such passionate imagination, in this same volume of "Modern Painters"—the description of Turner's "Wind Mill." "Turning round a couple of stones for the mere pulverization of human food," he writes, "is not noble work for the winds." The half page gives the essence of Ruskin's philosophy, because it gives the whole of his strong harmonious mode of feeling. It does more than merely show the religious quality of the man, which places him alongside of Isaiah, of St. Francis, and the great nameless makers of primeval myths, to whom the forces of nature are neither masters nor servants, but brethren, recreated (as all things are recreated in the act of thought) in the image of his own higher nature. It shows, also, his very noble and very original intuition of the comparative values of different kinds of work, his craving for such work as shall be fruitful, not merely for the stomach, but for the soul.

Some of us see the wind as a thing to grind corn, and the stream as a thing to spin cotton; and we have, many of us, alas, from lazy conformity with the baser practicality of our time, grown almost to think that setting natural forces (even if polluted in so doing) thus to provide us food and clothing, is doing them a kind of honor, allowing them, mere soulless things, to share the life of creatures having minds, to wit, ourselves. Ruskin has shown (despite his theology asserting that the world was made to be man's kitchen-garden) that our human life was worth partici-

pating in, that our human souls existed ("where a soul can be discerned") just in proportion as either employs nature for something beyond preparing food or providing clothing. He has not been hoodwinked by fine phrases about "saving human labor." The labor is not saved if it is set merely to other work, as stupefying and as merely hand to mouth as that you took it from. There is gain only if, setting the winds to grind and the waters to spin, we set the men and women hitherto employed at loom or grindstone to watch the winds and streams, to feel their life and rejoice in it. There is gain even if, by reducing natural forces to drudgery, a certain proportion among us, having ceased to use our muscles for such purposes, employ our minds in thoughts of higher knowledge and wider kindliness. But, in reality, we employ this privileged freedom of mind and time mainly to calculate how to get more out of the natural forces—more money out of their produce and more satisfactions of vanity out of the money. This passage forms a fit introduction to Ruskin's economical and socialistic views.

Economical and socialistic, in the sense neither of orthodox political economy nor of ordinary socialism. Ruskin's scheme, elaborated with little knowledge of economic science or of the discipline of science of any kind, strikes us at first as a hopeless jumble. He is an individualist, an opponent of collectivism. He has a theory of the intrinsic value of labor which seems to come out of some Marxian pamphlet, and, by its side, definitions of equitable exchange and summings up of the dependence of value on imaginative and emotional causes, which foreshadow the deepest analysis of Tarde's "*Logique Sociale!*" But when we look at Ruskin's books on economy in the light of his other work, we find the clue through this confusion, and we rejoice that his lack of scientific training and his unbridled personal assertiveness have made him misconceive the very subject treated by other economists, and answer them so often at cross purposes. For, while the followers of Mill or Marx have amply furnished us with treatises (more or less logical and more or less narrow-minded) on the question of how and by whom wealth is really produced, Ruskin, following only his passionate human sense, has given us what is wholly different: a theory how wealth ought to be spent. This way of looking at the subject (notwithstanding some wrong-headedness and much quibbling) enlarges and corrects political econ-

omy even on the mere scientific side, introducing the consideration of factors such as are nowadays beginning to sweep away the recent notions of "historical materialism," and setting the question of productive and unproductive labor in a more perfect manner than any other writer on economics, orthodox or socialist, whom I know. I could quote twenty passages from the "Political Economy of Art" and from "Unto this Last" alone, which, were they taken to heart, would improve not only economic theory as propounded in books, but economic practice as it enters into the life of every well-to-do man and woman. That national wealth is meaningless save as equivalent of national happiness; that he who spends deals not with his money only, but with the mode of occupation, the present bodily and spiritual welfare, the future misery or comfort, of those his money sets to work; that every object of luxury consumed without improvement to the consumers' bodily or spiritual efficiency, is so much human labor destroyed, and so much human life and happiness wasted; that, in fact there is as much morality or immorality in the mode of spending wealth as in that of acquiring it, and that every prosperous person is, however unconsciously, the honest or dishonest steward of his community; these are the chief headings of Ruskin's political economy. These are the truths which Ruskin has guessed in their main features, and elaborated, with the unerring sight of deepest sympathy, in every kind of detail. And they are truths which, if we saw and felt them thoroughly, would, as I hinted, add a great new factor to all economic problems: the factor of moral and imaginative selection, of an *idée force* (in M. Fouillée's phrase) acting as an economic determinant.

I have spoken of moral and imaginative preference. I ought to have added, to do justice to Ruskin's special genius, "and æsthetic." For it seems to me that Ruskin shows, in his own person, that such aspirations after justice, kindliness and simplicity of life are the result of a wide sweep of imagination, which feels distant evil as discordant with good at hand; and, even more, of that habit of harmony, that craving for contemplative satisfaction, which make up the æsthetic nature. I have insisted on the importance of this æsthetic side for an even weightier reason: that a belief in it is the deepest basis of Ruskin's hopes for social improvement. Increased sympathy and self-restraint, usually the only factors thereof which moralists take into consideration, are

thought of (or rather *felt*) by Ruskin as the means of substituting the interests and pleasures of the imagination for the exorbitant interests and pleasures of sensuality, of vanity or of acquisitiveness.

There would be food enough and shelter enough and leisure in the world for every one, such is Ruskin's unformulated thought, if every one would be satisfied with such superfluous wealth, with such superior power, as is represented by the spiritual possession and spiritual multiplication of everything that is and can be beautiful. Like every great dream of universal happiness, Ruskin's conception of God's kingdom on earth is that of a kingdom of the spirit. "None of us yet know," he wrote in "The Eagle's Nest," "what fairy palaces we may build of beautiful thought, bright fancies, satisfied memories, noble histories, faithful sayings, treasure-houses of precious and restful thoughts, which care cannot disturb nor pain make gloomy, nor poverty take away." And the importance of the teaching of Ruskin is largely, as I said at the beginning, that he gave us not merely the conception of a higher, wider, less selfish and more active life, but that he gave us, in the unintended revelations of his own personality, the proof that such a life can actually be lived. No man, perhaps, has ever possessed so great a power of living in all the things which increase, instead of diminishing, by use and sharing; from the great mountain, whose image ennobled further the nobility of the buildings with which he connected it, as in the splendid Matterhorn passage in the "Stones of Venice," down to the rooms of the inn at Champagnole, where he "rejoiced the more in every pleasure that it was not new." I have chosen this illustration because it exemplifies what he was fond of preaching, the increasing fertility of all beautiful and noble things under the faithful tillage of our love.

Alas, such tillage is beyond the power of most men, and few, very few of us, ill-organized and unselected creatures, life's paupers or invalids, however rich in money or robust in body, can "see and possess royally," as Ruskin did, the spiritual kingdoms of the earth. Mankind at large, leisured and well-to-do, and even intellectually cultivated, has not the health or energy or staying power to live or wish to live in such a kingdom of the spirit. Even apart from sensuality, sloth or the weakling's need for excitement, we still require, for the most part, to be kept alive by

Ibsen's "vital lies," ballasted by prejudice, stiffened into consistency by vanity, and tempted into activity by every lust and covetousness; and, as for the incentives of imaginative pleasure and higher sympathy, if we had only them, we should most of us die in the workhouse. We are not very highly evolved or well organized creatures so far. Ruskin could never realize this. And, on the whole, it is fortunate he could not, since, although it made him unjust and abusive where others would be merely self-contemptuous and hopefully patient, it enabled him to fulfil his vocation as a great spiritual precursor. Every religion, in its noblest parts, is, after all, a *counsel of perfection,* ennobling and lastingly efficacious just in proportion as it can influence only the chosen few. And the highest ethical use of a religion is thus to influence, thus to select, the capable, and to produce in them a higher standard of capacity for those below to rise by. Ruskin's counsel of perfection is different from those we are accustomed to, but it is not, therefore, more far-fetched. It is not more unlikely that mankind may some day seek its happiness in mountains, noble works of art, generous thoughts and all the sharable enjoyments called æsthetic, than that mankind will learn to love its neighbor like itself. It need not be more difficult to live in and by an inner harmony of one's soul, than to live in God: who knows, indeed, whether it would not be identically the same process?

And now, before concluding this very rough and ready tribute of gratitude to Ruskin, this seems the right place to forestall another objection likely to be made both by believer and agnostic, that Ruskin, namely, could frame what has been called his religion of beauty, because he had the help, potent in reality or in delusion, of the other religion, the orthodox one, of which he is forever talking. Now I am, on the contrary, struck more and more by the fact, that the dogmatic part of this religion not only masked from us much of the vital value of Ruskin's nature, but hampered him even more in some of his greatest, most natural conceptions: a materialistic and anthropomorphic philosophy, a cut and dried unpsychological ethic, elaborated in a comparatively ignorant and cruel past, and handed down, with every kind of misinterpretation and quibble, by minds deficient in all historical sense—this, which is the dogmatic part of every orthodox creed, could never help the religious reality of such a soul as

Ruskin's. Like every great poetical mind, Ruskin's was naturally pantheistic; not by dint of metaphysical abstraction and the reduction of all differences to a uniformity of nothingness, but through the conception of all things in the terms of a pure and ardent human spirit. There is loving sympathy in his thought of the leaves gently making room for one another, and tragic solemnity in that of the erosion, the gradual leaching away, of the great mountain. To him, as to St. Francis, as to Goethe and Shelley, such processes were not mechanical but archangelic. But the creed in which he had been brought up interfered; and instead of showing us nature as he felt it, desiring, loving, struggling, living, he was bound to explain it as a passive machinery in the hands of a manlike and capricious deity. I put aside his unceasing quibbling to explain the right or wrong of an artistic form, the superiority of a Gothic balustrade over a Palladian, the fineness of a rock by Turner and the wretchedness of a rock by Salvator Rosa, nay, questions of veneering and undercutting, by reference to the Decalogue, the Prophets or Deuteronomy. The very crudeness of these things renders them merely wearisome, but intellectually harmless. But this dogmatic belief actually warped Ruskin's thought and checked his spontaneous intentions.

No man was gifted with greater natural intuition of the organic, of affinity, growth, change, and all those harmonious complexities which we, remarking them, call "tendencies" in things; yet he allowed himself to think only in terms of deliberate willing, ordering, arranging, rewarding, punishing, in terms of humanly devised machinery and wretched human jurisprudence. With his wonderful eye for everything that told of life, he yet intellectually knew of only creation and its theological correlative, annihilation. How much finer would have been his historical conception of art, had he understood that the death (as he calls it) of a form of art is not a judgment from heaven, but a process which has its beneficent side, the possible preparation for a fresh living form. Nay, his habit of looking at the universe in a way not essentially different from that of Dante, had an even worse effect, depriving Ruskin, in a serious degree, of real hope in the future. The notion, the result of modern psychology from Spinoza and Kant downwards, that beauty is the name given to certain relations of proportion, visible or imaginative, in harmony with man's organic wants, this view, so really

spiritual because subjective, and corresponding so happily with that of moral fitness and its imperative, was one which naturally fitted in with Ruskin's æsthetic intuitions, with all his discoveries about form, composition and imaginative effect, and with his aspirations after a "spiritual kingdom" it harmonized so perfectly. But Ruskin believed that beauty was a sort of entity, put by the Creator into things, and which it is the duty of man thence to extract; and, thinking thus, he naturally felt that the preference for inferior art was a form of wickedness, and that artistic appreciation must be taught with an enormous amount of theological reviling to a perverse mankind. For, as I said before, the worst effect of his theological bias upon Ruskin is its depriving him of real faith, of hope in possible improvement. The idea of spontaneity, like the idea of evolution, is carefully excluded by his dogmatism. Now, the discovery or invention of evolution has given us a habit of conceiving life as spontaneity and adaptation, above all, unconscious, necessary improvement, as distinguished from a continual unquiet readjustment and effort of our little human will; and with it a kind of wider optimistic finality, or a possibility, humbly and hopefully, of doing without finality at all. It is instructive to compare with Ruskin's harassed feeling, that all will go wrong in the world unless it be converted to his notions, the hopeful serenity of even such a pessimist as Renan; his reassuring certainty, even in his plays and dialogues, that the moral world will live through every crisis, and that the good and evil we fight and mourn about are only our small human ways of looking at the movements of a universe which takes care of itself. Whereas, alas, the universe of Ruskin is (despite its singing streams and rejoicing mountains) inert, mechanical; a dead weight lugged about by a personal (and on the whole inefficient) creator, and requiring to be poked and scolded by Ruskin himself.

And to sum up. When we have separated what Ruskin can give the future from what (unfortunately in the long run, though fortunately at the moment) Ruskin got foisted on him by the past, I think we shall see that in Ruskin, as in every other great prophet, the valuable, the efficacious element was, not what he intended to teach, but the personality, the type of human power in nature, which we feel through all his teachings. Ruskin's deliberate intention was to place Turner above Claude, Gothic above

Renaissance, the Middle Ages above modern times, hand labor above machinery, Protestantism above Catholicism, and Biblical interpretation above scientific. But this programme matters little and soon will matter not all, these questions sinking more and more into squabbles about definitions and crusades about names, the embodiment thereof in his work being marked by injustice, violence, sophistry, and self-contradiction. But, meanwhile, the real man, the organized, intuitive, unhesitating creature of perception and aspiration, has subdued all this to his unconscious purposes, and has left us the priceless teachings of his true preferences and antipathies. He has shown us art, history, nature, enlarged, transformed and glorified through the loving energy of his spirit. He has shown us a scheme of life in which greater justice for all would result merely from greater happiness of endowment of every one. He has given us an example of contemplative union with all living things, and in his contemplative ecstasy made all noble things alive. The most larklike soul of our time, he sings at heaven's gates, and his song makes heaven's gates be everywhere above us. Greatest of all his gifts, he has given us himself: himself unconscious of all the baser temptations which we struggle with, and absorbed in happy, fruitful thoughts and feelings, sharable with every free-born spirit. His work, as I said before, is comparatively useless and positively supremely useful, because it is a counsel of perfection; and one might say, without exaggeration, that the highest meaning we can put into this ceaseless jostle of rapacities and vanities which we now call real life, would be the hope that the day may come when all mankind, or mankind's flower at least, may be allowed by circumstance and be capable by endowment to seek their most natural happiness as this real man has really done.

VERNON LEE.

PUTTING CHINA ON THE GOLD STANDARD.

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WESTERN civilization has seemed, during the last few years, to be sighing with more restlessness than Alexander for new worlds to conquer for its inventive genius and its financial and economic organization. Such conquests, happily, where they do not raise the question of territorial acquisition, benefit alike those who make them and the countries where they are made. Railway construction, within the past decade, has traversed the steppes of Siberia, bringing the West within two weeks' journey of the extreme Orient; has connected Europe with Central Asia and the Caspian Sea; and has carried the shriek of the locomotive through the cities where Paul preached, to the capitals of the ancient civilizations of Nebuchadnezzar and Xerxes. A railway is being completed "from the Cape to Cairo," which is sending offshoots through the heart of Africa and spreading the arts of civilization through a country which, a generation ago, could hardly be traversed by the most hardy explorers under armed escort.

Familiar as are the arguments for the benefits derived from railways, their real influence as agents alike of civilization and centralized power is often overlooked. They have made possible political unions which would otherwise be extremely difficult. Many were found who predicted that the American Union would fall to pieces of its own weight when it extended to Oregon, and the maintenance of Russian power in Asia would hardly be possible without her network of ways of steel. The recent history of Mexico is another case in point. Insurrections against the central authority which once spread for weeks before they were even

known at the capital, can now be suppressed by the use of the telegraph and the railway almost before they have taken form. The railway system in China is yet in its infancy, but the country promises soon to be gridironed with bands of steel which will open a new chapter in her economic life. In addition to the four roads already in operation to the extent of nearly a thousand miles, not less than five great lines are in process of construction, which will connect the chief cities of the interior and the coast, and concessions for half a dozen others have been granted, the plans for which are being rapidly perfected.

With the unification of national economic life which will come to China with the extension of railways, must inevitably come also many other elements of Western civilization. Among these will be the use of money and the adoption of modern methods of credit. Wherever a railway is in process of construction, coined money will be required for buying the products of the country and paying wages. Wherever a railway is in operation, money will be the only practicable medium for paying freights. Hence, railway extension will open new fields for the use of money, and introduce masses of the Chinese people to the commercial habits of the West. One of the next logical steps, therefore, in the opening of China to Western civilization, will be the adoption of a national system of currency.

China has at present no national currency. So far as coined money is used at all, it consists of foreign coins. The Mexican silver dollar has been for three centuries current on the seaboard. Recently it has encountered competition from the British dollar of the same weight and value, coined at Bombay, and from the French piastre, also of the same weight and value, coined at Paris for the use of the French possessions in Indo-China. But in the interior of the Celestial Empire coined money is not used at all. There is a medium of exchange, however, in the form of copper cash and silver shoes or sycee, the latter being cut into parts to meet the needs of different transactions.

The people of the interior of China, probably, have not yet realized the extent to which the lack of coined money hampers the development of trade. On the seacoast, however, another element has entered into the problem, which is stimulating the demand, even among the Chinese merchants, for sweeping reform in the monetary system. This element is the frequent change in

the gold price of silver bullion. All the silver coins in use in China circulate substantially for their bullion value and upon the silver basis. For many years the disadvantages of the fall of silver were felt in China; but they have become acute during the past two years, when silver fell from about 30¼ pence per ounce in the summer of 1900 to about 25 pence in the autumn of that year, and again from that figure to 21 5-16 pence in November of 1902. The last fall produced a paralyzing effect upon the import trade of both foreign and Chinese merchants doing business in China, and, by reducing the gold value of the public revenue, crippled the government in its ability to meet the indemnity payments to the Powers.

When Mexico, therefore, appealed to China to co-operate in seeking some remedy for the fluctuations of exchange with the gold countries, she received a prompt response. Mexico has been progressing rapidly in recent years. This progress has been interpreted by some of the ardent friends of silver as due to the monetary standard rather than to the energy of the people, the extension of railways, the abolition in 1896 of tariff barriers between the States, and the many other economic and political reforms introduced by President Diaz and the group of able men around him. Mexico has begun to recognize, however, the great disadvantage of a monetary standard which differs from that of the commercial countries with which she deals. Not only is her import and export trade seriously hampered, but hundreds of millions of capital which would eagerly be invested in the extension of her railways and the development of her lead and copper mines are withheld, because of the fear that if converted from gold into silver its gold value might fall to a point which would extinguish even very considerable silver profits.

Mexico and China, therefore, joined, in January last, in asking the United States to aid them in presenting to other governments the question of securing stability of exchange between the currencies of the gold-standard and of the silver-using countries. President Roosevelt, under the authority of Congress, responded by the appointment of a commission, composed of Hugh H. Hanna, Charles A. Conant and Jeremiah W. Jenks, which has recently concluded its presentation of the subject to the European Powers having large commercial interests in the Chinese Empire.

The first aim of the American and Mexican Commissions has

been to put China upon the gold standard. They recognized from the first that such a policy was surrounded by difficulties, but they believed those difficulties could be overcome by patience, energy and skill. The lack of any national monetary system whatever in China, while an obstacle in some ways to the introduction of a new system, is in other ways an advantage. The Chinese Government escapes the burden which it would be compelled to assume if it had to undertake, as Russia did in 1894 or as Spain is trying to do at the present time, to raise a great mass of depreciated paper or silver to a fixed gold par. For China there is no such problem, because her government is not responsible legally or morally for the coins of foreign countries in circulation in her seaports. She is undoubtedly bound by the highest considerations of financial policy not to take any step which will paralyze commerce and destroy confidence, but this she will be able to do, under intelligent management, without assuming the burden of redeeming at an enhanced gold value the money now in circulation.

Another element of difficulty in the introduction of a new system into China lies in the privileges now enjoyed by the viceroys in regard to coinage and by the local Chinese bankers in drawing profits from the exchange of moneys. In the introduction of a national monetary system, it is essential that the right to coin and issue money shall be concentrated in the hands of the central government. The power of the viceroys, however, is too great to allow of their privileges being taken away abruptly and without their consent. Fortunately for the future of China, the viceroys in several of the leading provinces are now men of ability, foresight and patriotism, and are themselves likely to aid powerfully in giving China the benefits of a national monetary system. Through reorganization of the taxes and perhaps the payment of commissions in distributing the new money, some compensation for taking away the right of coinage can be made, which will prevent heavy loss of revenue by the viceroys in the early stages of the new system. The local bankers, who make large profits by the exchange of the silver sycee and the copper cash, might also oppose the new system if similar compensation were not made to them in the distribution of the new currency.

The attitude of the foreign banks doing business in China is an important factor in the introduction of a new monetary system. They have made great profits during the last few years by

the fluctuations in the exchange with European countries and with the United States. It might seem that the foreign bankers would hesitate to renounce these profits and would oppose the introduction of a uniform monetary system. The more the subject has been discussed, however, the more the bankers have realized that enlightened self-interest, as well as sound public policy, demands a system which will reduce the fluctuations of exchange to the usual limitations between gold countries. On the Commissions appointed to meet the Mexican and American Commissions at London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg sat representatives of the great banks doing business in the Orient,—the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank for Great Britain, the Bank of Indo-China for France, the German-Asiatic Bank for Germany, and the Russo-Chinese Bank for Russia. These gentlemen all agreed that the gold standard for China was ultimately desirable and that measures should be taken as soon as practicable to put it into effect. They appeared to be influenced by the consideration, that what tended to China's industrial development would eventually benefit those who conducted her banking business.

If the new standard were to go into effect within ninety days throughout the Empire, undoubtedly losses to the banks would occur, so heavy as to cause them to hesitate from motives of self-preservation to see it established. It is clear, however, that even if difficulties give way with unexpected ease, its introduction must be gradual. Introduced probably at first in the cities of the coast, where coin is already familiar to the people, it will be extended through one coast province to another, and will then make its way into the interior, as the people there find how much more convenient are coins of uniform size and ascertained value than the silver bullion which has to be weighed and assayed every time it is used. Exchange between the cities on the coast and the interior will continue to fluctuate, and the banks will continue to derive profits from this source and from others related to the introduction of the new system while they gradually readjust their methods to the new economic future of China, which will grow out of the extension of railways, the introduction of foreign capital and the expansion of her import and export trade.

What is meant by introducing the gold standard into China deserves explanation. Upon its face the proposition appears to

many persons to be impracticable. If China were to acquire a gold currency of three dollars *per capita,* which is about one-tenth the monetary stock of the people of the United States, her population of 400,000,000 would require $1,200,000,000 of gold. This would mean a draft upon the world's gold resources equal to one-quarter of the entire existing stock. The rich nations of Europe and America would undergo a monetary crisis if such a demand were successfully made upon them; and the financial resources of China would be utterly incapable of making such a demand successfully upon nations so strong financially and so vitally interested in keeping their gold. In short, China could not get the gold.

How, then, is China to set up the gold standard? Can she have a gold standard without a gold circulation? If this question had been asked a generation or two ago, without the experience of many nations in recent years, it would probably have received an emphatic negative. Fortunately, however, the question has been answered in many lands under diverse conditions in a manner which justifies a decisive answer in the affirmative. British India has to-day a gold standard without a gold currency; the Netherlands have had for thirty years a gold standard without a gold currency. Belgium is in nearly the same position. France has now a considerable stock of gold, but since 1875 she has maintained at gold par several hundred millions of silver. The United States have done the same thing. Their $650,000,000 in silver, if sold in the bullion market at present prices, would net about $300,000,000. The difference between the face value and the bullion value represents the power of certain economic laws to maintain a token currency at par with gold.

Three means may be counted upon to maintain a silver currency at par with gold. These are:

(1) Limitation of the quantity of coinage;

(2) Acceptance of the coins at gold par for public dues, and in execution of ordinary contracts in legal-tender money;

(3) The maintenance of a gold reserve or gold exchange funds.

The limitation of the coinage in itself goes far to maintain the value of a currency. There is always a certain demand for legal-tender money, partly for settling the customary transactions of retail trade; partly for the payment of more formal contracts for longer terms; and partly for reserves of banks and merchants

likely to be called upon to make money payments. It is upon the principle that a certain proportion of legal-tender money will be required even under the most adverse conditions, that the Bank of England is allowed to issue over £16,000,000 in bank-notes without any metallic reserve. In the revision of the charter of the Bank of England in 1844, stress was laid upon the point that the limit of "uncovered issues" (not protected by any metallic reserve) should be fixed at the minimum of the demand for bank-notes as shown by the previous history of the circulation. Within such limits it may fairly be argued that the money issued will not return to the issuer for redemption, because it will be constantly required for carrying on the internal trade of the country. This principle of scarcity is a potent factor in keeping up the value of money, but is far from being satisfactory as the sole method of governing the money of a country. If the principle is carried too far, it makes money scarce and interest rates high; if it is not carried far enough, it fails to maintain absolute parity by permitting the quantity of currency at times to exceed the demand.

The acceptance of money for public dues goes far to maintain its value, if it is not issued in excess. This was demonstrated by the history of the first Treasury notes issued in the Civil War, which were made receivable for customs-duties at par with gold, a privilege which was refused to the later issues of greenbacks. There being a demand for a certain amount of money to pay customs-duties and these notes being the equivalent of gold for such payments, they could always command a gold price substantially fixed, so long as the supply was not beyond the demand for this purpose. The acceptance of any money for public dues constitutes a system of indirect redemption. So long as a vent can be found for the money at the custom-houses, at the post-offices, in the purchase of internal revenue stamps and at the tax-offices of city, state and nation, every holder of such money knows at least one place at which he can employ it at its full legal value. If the quantity, therefore, is not far beyond requirements for public dues and retail trade, this system of indirect redemption is an important factor in keeping up the value of the money.

These two principles,—limitation of the coinage and acceptance for public dues,—have been the controlling factors in keeping up the value of the silver coins of the United States and of all the countries of the Latin Union, since their value as bullion

fell below gold par in the early seventies. They do not in themselves, however, afford the complete guaranty of stability which is required in a sound monetary system. The third and conclusive method is the maintenance of a gold fund, to take up any excess which may develop in the volume of local currency. Whenever an excess appears in the currency of a country, that excess tends to go to other countries where it is likely to earn a higher return. The only money which is thus accepted abroad among commercial nations to-day is gold. A nation, therefore, which proposes to maintain its currency at absolute equality with gold, must face the necessity of furnishing gold on demand for export. This is, perhaps, the most vital principle in the maintenance of a gold standard,—that, while tokens and instruments of credit serve well the purposes of interior circulation, they must respond to the touchstone of exchangeability with gold to meet demands abroad.

Inasmuch, however, as the demand for gold is a demand for the use of the metal in other countries rather than at home, such a demand will be effectively met by furnishing the gold at the points where it is intended to be delivered. What has been done by the Government of the Philippine Islands is to establish a gold fund in New York, against which drafts can be delivered entitling the holder to gold at New York. It is a similar policy which is proposed by the Government of Mexico in establishing its monetary system upon stable foundations. It is a similar policy which will be recommended to the Government of China as a means of securing the gold standard. If gold funds are kept at the leading financial centres, — London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg and New York,—drafts can be sold upon these funds whenever there is a demand for gold for making payments abroad.

There is one essential condition to the successful operation of this system. This is that whenever drafts are sold for local currency, the local currency paid for them shall be locked up and withdrawn from circulation. This operates to reduce the redundancy of the currency at home, to stiffen the rates for interest, and ultimately to influence the prices of commodities in a downward direction. Hence, the new system will operate under this arrangement with the same automatic precision, in regulating the volume of the currency, as in a country with a gold currency, like Great Britain, where the withdrawal of gold reduces the volume of the circulation, and by making money scarce reacts upon the

rates of interest. When these operations have produced their effect and there comes later a renewed demand for currency at home, that demand can be met by the deposit of gold in the reserves at the leading centres, thus replenishing the stocks reduced by the previous demands, and releasing local currency to meet the demands for increased circulation. This is substantially the plan which has been in successful operation in British India, where rupees are paid out at a fixed rate for the gold coin of Great Britain.

Upon a plan like this, tending to unify the currency of China and bring her into the circle of the great commercial nations, the Mexican and American Commissions on International Exchange secured the substantial agreement of all the great Powers of Europe. That a national currency was desirable and that the only practicable means of attaining it was through a gold exchange standard, substantially on the lines above set forth, was the unanimous expression of the Commissions appointed at London, Paris, The Hague, Berlin and St. Petersburg. The only difference of opinion upon the currency of China developed over the question, whether it was preferable to adopt a currency fixed from the beginning at a definite relation to gold, or to saturate the country with a uniform silver currency first, and afterwards take steps to raise it by degrees, by government and banking control over the exchanges, to a fixed gold value. The former plan was uniformly presented and urged by the Mexican and American Commissions, and the principle was endorsed in France, Germany, and Holland. The latter plan was considered somewhat more practicable in England and Russia.

The ultimate decision of the question will undoubtedly be made upon the ground, in China. In order that it may be presented properly to the Chinese Government, Professor Jenks, a member of the American Commission, is now on his way to China bearing credentials from President Roosevelt. If careful examination shows that the inauguration of the gold standard from the outset, on the basis of the Philippine currency, is surrounded by too many difficulties, then the other plan may be considered; but the American Commission was strengthened rather than weakened in their position by the discussions which took place at the various capitals. They strongly believe that no system should be inaugurated in China which does not provide at the outset for

definite steps towards giving the currency a fixed relation to gold. It was for the purpose of securing stability of exchange that they were appointed, and that purpose they have steadily kept in view in their discussions with the representatives of other governments. In any case, they have the full approval of every leading Power for presenting to China the subject of giving uniformity and stability to her currency at the earliest practicable moment.

Subordinate to the fundamental proposition of giving stability to the currency of China was the subject of approximate uniformity in the currencies of other Oriental countries and dependencies. The Mexican and American Commissions suggested that the silver coins to be issued in Oriental countries preparing to reorganize their monetary systems, should be issued at a ratio of about 32 to 1. This ratio was chosen for the Philippines because it corresponded roughly to the market price of silver, but left a sufficient margin between the face value and the bullion value of the new coins for fluctuations in the price of the metal. It is obvious that if a coin were adopted which represented the gold price of silver at a given moment, and silver should afterwards rise in price, the silver coins would become more valuable as bullion than as coins. They would go to the melting-pot, and the country would be denuded of its currency. For this reason, a margin of about fifteen per cent. between the bullion value of the coins and the value given them by law was adopted in the Philippines, and has caused no difficulties in the acceptance of the coins at their full face value. The Government of Mexico contemplates a similar ratio, and its wisdom was approved by the Governments of Great Britain and France, which are preparing to give a fixed gold value to their currencies in the Straits Settlements and Indo-China.

So frequently has the word "ratio" been used as a part of the nomenclature of bimetallism, that it is important to state that it is not used in such a relation here. It is not intended, by adopting a ratio in China or the Straits, to attempt to fix the gold price of silver bullion at that ratio. The ratio is simply a relation chosen for convenience between the weight of metal in the gold unit and that in the silver coins. It is not a relation of value. It is in the power of governments, within certain limits, to fix the value of coins, not of commodities. They can do this in the case of coins by taking into their own hands the control of the

supply in relation to the demand, and by offering to take care of the supply when it exceeds demand by taking it from the holder for gold. Only in this sense has a ratio been recommended.

Upon the relation of these measures to the price of silver bullion, it is proper to say a word. Misapprehension has arisen in some quarters in the United States upon this subject, and some criticisms have been pronounced upon the Mexican and American Commissions on the ground that they were trying to "do something for silver." It would seem that the previous record of the members of the American Commission, as consistent advocates of the gold standard, should have protected them from the imputation of such absurd projects as were occasionally attributed to them. They were instructed to labor to secure stability of exchange between the gold countries and the silver-using countries. That such stability could be secured permanently by any other means than the adoption by the silver countries of the gold standard was never for a moment contemplated.

It is not practicable, in the opinion of the American Commission, to seek stability for silver, under present conditions, through any of the methods pursued under the name of bimetallism. All that was attempted was to ask those governments, which had occasion to make purchases of silver from time to time for their subsidiary currency or for their dependencies, to so distribute such necessary purchases in regard to time as to diminish the irregularity of their demands. The object of such a policy would not be to raise the price of silver, but simply to average the price by averaging the purchases. Such a policy could not be counted upon in itself to prevent the downward course of silver, if this downward course was the result of permanent economic causes. In so far as it might prevent an abnormal rise at one time and an abnormal fall at another, producing approximation at all times towards the mean price instead of violent movements up and down, such a policy would contribute primarily towards the stability of silver bullion. What is much more important, it would contribute towards the stability of exchange between the gold countries and the silver-using countries. All that was suggested on this point, however, was subsidiary to placing China upon a definite gold basis. The views of the Mexican and American Commissions elicited at every capital, but one, where the subject was considered, the cordial approval of the Foreign Commissions,

and their declaration that, so far as fiscal conditions permitted, they would be governed in future by the policy of regularity of purchases.

The ultimate aim of the project of putting China and other silver-using countries upon the gold standard is to promote the commerce of the world. The United States are interested in this object in a particular sense and in a general sense. In a particular sense, they have to consider the trade of the Philippine Islands with China and with other silver-using countries in the Orient. The trade of the Philippines is already larger with gold countries than with silver countries, because the gold countries include British India, Australia and Japan, from whom are bought many of the necessaries of life used in the Philippines. If the other countries of the Orient, including not only China, but the English and French possessions, go upon the gold standard, it will facilitate the trade of those countries with the Philippines to the mutual benefit of all.

It is in the broader general sense of promoting her own export trade, however, that the United States is perhaps more keenly interested than any other country, with the possible exception of Great Britain, in giving stability to exchange with China. How important is stability of exchange in promoting trade, is known best to those merchants who have suffered the effects of fluctuation in wiping out their profits and driving them into the dangerous field of speculation in exchange. Between two gold-standard countries, importer and exporter can count with certainty upon getting a full return in gold for the goods which they sell. In trade between gold and silver countries, either the exporter from the gold country or the importer in the silver country runs serious risk of finding his profits wiped out by a fall in the gold value of silver. If a consignment of merchandise worth $1,000 in gold had arrived in Shanghai in July, 1902, when the price of silver was 24 3-16 to 24 9-16 pence, it would have brought in silver about 2310 Mexican dollars. A gold bill of exchange for the settlement of the invoice would have cost this amount to the Chinese importer or to the foreigner carrying on import business in China. Only four months later, in November, 1902, silver fell to a minimum of 21 5-16 pence, and it would then have cost about 2700 Mexican dollars to buy a bill of exchange on London sufficient to settle the invoice. If the importer in China had in the

mean time sold his goods at an estimated profit of ten per cent. on the silver price of July, he would have found 2540 Mexican dollars in his hands, or less by 160 dollars than the amount required to pay his invoice. Thus, he would be not only without profit, but would be a heavy loser in interest on his money and in the costs of distributing his goods.

Such conditions can only tend to bring trade to a standstill and to force both the exporter and importer to live from hand to mouth. More important, perhaps, with regard to the ultimate prosperity of both the gold and silver countries is the effect of unstable exchange upon the investment of capital. In Mexico it is estimated that $700,000,000 of American capital has already been invested for the extension of railways, the development of mines and the building of smelting works and factories. This process has recently been checked by the fluctuations in the gold value of silver. To a more marked degree has enterprise been checked in temporary loans. Capital in Mexico is still inadequate, and a Mexican banker can loan with prudence large sums for the development of the country at from 8 to 10 per cent. There are often times when he could get the money in Paris, Brussels or Berlin at 3 per cent., making five per cent. or more directly by reloaning it. But such loans must be repaid in gold within a short period. When the fall of silver within four months amounts to 20 per cent., a banker who should make loans, even upon the best security at the highest rates, would be courting ruin in borrowing a million francs in July at a silver cost of 460,000 Mexican dollars in silver, to repay which it would cost him in November 550,000 silver dollars. His profits in interest in six months would be 11,250 silver dollars; his loss, by the fall of exchange, in transferring the money back to Europe would be 90,000 silver dollars.

Thus, the borrower in a silver country can under present conditions look for no aid abroad. The promoter of new enterprises is prevented from taking any steps to develop the natural resources of the country. The loss is perhaps equally great to the owner of capital in the gold country, who could himself invest at a handsome profit in loans, in bills of exchange and in the shares of mines and railways in Mexico and China, if he could count upon a safe return. The rupture of the par of exchange between gold and silver countries has undoubtedly done much to divide the world into two halves,—those using gold and those using

silver. It has tended to congest unused capital in the rich countries, with a depressing effect upon rates of interest, the return upon the investments of widows, orphans and those who hope to save a competence for old age, and has left the silver countries to struggle along with insufficient means for developing the treasures of nature which are locked in their soil. This rupture of the par of exchange was always one of the strongest arguments in favor of international bimetallism, but international bimetallism involved too great a reversal of the policy of the gold countries to be a workable remedy, even if it were in any sense a desirable one. The Commission on International Exchange are seeking a remedy along those lines, which, without impairing in any way the gold-standard system of the advanced countries, will make possible again the free flow of capital and enterprise between those countries and the undeveloped countries, whose virgin soil needs their touch to enter upon the great career of economic development which has marked the history of the gold-standard, machine-using, capitalistic countries during the past half century.

It was a high tribute to the disinterestedness of the United States that China should appeal to her for assistance in putting her monetary system on a sound basis. If Secretary Hay succeeds in carrying out the project for a uniform monetary system in China, he will add another shapely stone to the edifice of diplomatic triumphs which he has raised by securing the open door and protecting the integrity of China. The interest of Americans in China is simply to find wider markets. This is an interest which is consistent in every way with the progress and prosperity of China. Wide markets can best be found by increasing the purchasing power of the Chinese people. Increased purchasing power is the result of increased prosperity, of which a sound currency, as America herself has found to her cost, is a vital element. The fact that the United States were in a better position, perhaps, than any other country to take the lead in presenting the subject to China was freely acknowledged at many European capitals. It is to be hoped that the opportunity thus opened to enhance our national prestige, as well as to increase our commerce, will be accepted with the same foresight and enlightened courage which have marked the other measures of our policy in the Orient.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

IS OUR NATIONAL CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVE?

BY SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

UNDER constitutional government, it is the function of every parliamentary body to represent the people who create it. A parliamentary body which is not personally and politically representative of the constituency from which it is derived, is a malformation. Any parliamentary body which is really representative practically fulfills all the conditions as to composition which may be fairly expected of it. How does the Congress of the United States stand when tried by this test?

The answer to this question may be found, partly in a knowledge of the men who make up our national parliament, and partly in a knowledge of the people who elect them.

An affirmative answer does not mean that Congress is made up of the cream of the country. Our political machinery does not provide separators by which the cream always comes to the top, nor does the lack of such machinery mean that Congress is made up of skim milk. Neither the skim milk nor the cream would be fairly representative. In a democratic government,—which is the best of all governments, because the only true government is self-government—we cannot expect an aristocracy of intellect or of character to be always dominant. Aristocracy and kakistocracy are both foreign to the democratic method and idea. In a public assembly now as in Homeric times we must expect Thersites, the brawling demagogue, as well as Nestor, Odysseus, and Neoptolemus, wise in counsel or brilliant in debate. A public body would not be complete without them. The important thing is not that they shall be separated, but that they shall be kept together. In the long run we may be sure which of them will be dominant. It would be absurd, therefore, to characterize representative govern-

ment as a failure because the ablest men, academically considered, are not always chosen by a community to represent it. Those who make such criticisms have rather in mind an aristocracy or an oligarchy, neither of which must be confounded with democracy. They overlook the fact, also, that the man who is academically the ablest may be politically and personally the weakest.

Compare now our representatives in Congress with the people who send them. The comparison to be satisfactory must be made with reference to nationality, age, occupation, education, character and personal ability. For the purpose of studying this question of representation, I have taken the last Congress, the Fifty-seventh. The House of Representatives was then composed of 357 members. Of these, 236 were lawyers, and 63 were business men in various mercantile pursuits, including banking, insurance and manufacturing. Agricultural interests were represented by ten farmers and by seven others who combined farming with some other occupation. If the number of farmers seems small to represent the agricultural interests of the country, it must be remembered that many rural communities choose lawyers who have been raised on a farm and represent agricultural sentiment, and also that a good many representatives are farmers' sons. As to teachers, there are eleven members of the House who have combined teaching with the study of law; one, teaching with banking; four have occupied professors' chairs in colleges or academies. Doubtless, a still larger number have taught school while pursuing their early studies.

In the Senate, out of a possible ninety members (though the occupations of but eighty-five are recorded), there are sixty-one lawyers, eighteen business men, and three farmers. Few doctors seem to take to public life. There is one physician in the House, and one who has combined the study of medicine with that of law. In the Senate, there are two who have similarly united these professions. Journalism does not furnish such an easy road to Congress as the law. There are nine journalists in the House, and three who have combined journalism with the study of law; in the Senate, one journalist and one journalistic lawyer. Senator Lodge has been included in the sixty-one lawyers in the Senate, but he must be put down more distinctively as a representative American author and historian, which profession has also the honor of being represented in the Presidential chair. The profes-

sion which has the smallest representation in Congress, and just enough to be counted, is that of the ministry, there being but one minister in the House, and he is also professor and lawyer.

This classification of occupations does not exhaust the wide variety of pursuits that members of Congress have followed in the course of their lives, which include nearly all the more important callings represented in a civilized community. Their lives abound in picturesque and dramatic incidents, and it would be hard to find in the same number of persons a larger percentage of what are called "self-made men." Senator Perkins of California, when twelve years old went to sea as a cabin-boy. In 1855, he shipped before the mast as a sailor-boy to California. He thus laid the foundation for his successful business career and wide knowledge of shipping interests of the Pacific coast. Representative Loud, born in Massachusetts, likewise went to sea at the age of thirteen, and landed in California. Senator Pettus of Alabama, on the other hand, went with a party of his neighbors to California on horseback. Mr. Needham was born in an immigrant wagon in Carson City while his parents were crossing the Plains. Mr. Robinson of Indiana was a newsboy in his school days, then worked in a shop and studied law while at work. Mr. Smith of Illinois and Mr. Butler of Missouri learned the blacksmith trade. Messrs. Hepburn, Weeks, and Glass, and Senator Gallinger worked in printing-offices. Mr. Champ Clark worked as a hired farm-hand, was clerk in a country store, edited a country newspaper and practised law. Mr. Robinson of Nebraska was a workman in a hinge factory. Mr. Gardner of New Jersey was a waterman until the age of sixteen. Mr. Connell of Pennsylvania, who is one of the largest individual owners in the Wyoming coal region, worked in the mines as a driver-boy for seventy-five cents a day. Mr. Patterson of Pennsylvania was a travelling salesman in hardware, flour and feed. Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania was employed in a brass-foundry. Senator Bate of Tennessee served as second clerk on a steamboat. Mr. Brownlow of Tennessee earned his support from ten years of age, serving an apprenticeship to the tinner's trade, then becoming a locomotive engineer, and then entering journalism and becoming editor and proprietor. Mr. Kearns of Utah for several years carried goods from the end of the railroad in Nebraska to the mining and cattle camps in Utah. Mr. Swanson of Virginia served for two years as clerk in a store.

Mr. Cushman of Washington worked as waterboy, on a railroad, also as common laborer and errand-boy. Mr. Kahn of California entered the theatrical profession after leaving school and followed it for ten years, playing with Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson, Salvini, Clara Morris and others. Senator Patterson worked in a printing-office for three years, and at the bench of a watchmaker and jeweller for five years. Mr. Sperry of Connecticut is by trade a house-builder. Mr. Hitt of Illinois was a stenographer. Mr. Gooch of Kentucky entered the drug business at the age of seventeen. Senator Wellington at the age of twelve began working in a canal store in Maryland, and Mr. Wachter of Baltimore learned the trade of clothing-cutter and afterwards engaged in the business. Mr. Otjen of Wisconsin was foreman in a rolling-mill, and Mr. Minor of Wisconsin was a licensed master of steam vessels. Of the Territorial delegates, Mr. Rodey of New Mexico was a court stenographer; Mr. Wilcox of Hawaii is a native Hawaiian, his mother being a pure native of the island of Maui. He received his education at the Royal Military Academy of Turin, Italy, was a leader in two revolutions in Hawaii, both in favor of monarchical government. He was sentenced to death by a court-martial under the Dole Government, but his sentence was commuted to thirty-five years imprisonment and hard labor and a fine of $10,000. In 1898 he received a full pardon and was elected to Congress in 1900.

Sixty-nine members of the House have served in the army and twenty-six members of the Senate. Of these, fourteen in the Senate and twenty in the House served in the Confederate army. Senator Pettus of Alabama served as a lieutenant in the Mexican War, and Senator Bate as a private.

Thus it will be seen that, in spite of the natural preponderance of lawyers in a law-making body, the industrial, mercantile, agricultural, mechanical and professional interests of the United States are all represented in the national parliament; that it epitomizes in an unusual degree the picturesque history of the great body of what may be called "representative Americans."

Turning now to age, the Senate of the United States fulfils the condition of maturity necessary for eligibility to the Spartan Gerousia (from γέρων) and the Latin Senatus (from *Senex*), both of which took their names from the old men who composed them. The average age of eighty-five Senators (four of the

ninety not giving their ages) is sixty years, exactly the period which Cotton Mather indicated as the beginning of old age. There are seventeen Senators over seventy years of age; of these, seven are over seventy-five years. Of Senators in the sixties there are twenty-six; in the fifties, twenty-three; in the forties, thirteen. The youngest member, Senator Bailey of Texas, is forty years old, and there are three other Senators each of whom is forty-one years of age.

In the House the average age was forty-eight. There were seven members over seventy, the oldest of whom, ex-Speaker Grow, is eighty. Fifty-four are in the sixties, 104 in the fifties, 128 in the forties, and but twenty-nine between thirty and forty years of age. There are three members twenty-eight years of age, Mr. Lever of South Carolina being the youngest member of the House by a few months.

Thus it will be seen that the great majority of our national councillors are in middle life, representing neither immaturity nor decay. And, perhaps, no national body represents greater variety of experience and fortune among its members than the Congress of the United States.

As to education, forty members of the Senate are college graduates, three of them from Harvard, four from Yale and the rest from smaller and younger colleges throughout the country. Their biographies show that, with few exceptions, their early education was received in American common schools. The same is true of members of the House, of whom 139 are graduates of colleges or of the law departments of universities.

Thirty-seven Senators were born in the States which they represent. Naturally, these are Senators from the older States; some of the Western States are still too young to raise Senators on their own soil. Of foreign-born Senators, one was born in Ireland, one in England, three in Canada, and one in Norway. Of members of the House (the birthplace of several is not recorded), one was born in Scotland, three in Ireland, two in Canada, two in Germany, four in England, one in Alsace, one in the Azores, and two were born in Germany while their parents were temporarily abroad. Of the Territorial delegates, one was born in Hawaii, one in Ireland, and the resident commissioner from Puerto Rico, Mr. Degetau, was born in that island.

One is surprised, perhaps, at the small number of representa-

tives born out of the United States; and, when the large foreign population of the United States is considered, critics of representative government may claim that foreign-born citizens have not their full share in the administration of national affairs. The answer to this, however, is, that our foreign-born citizens are represented largely and adequately by their children. Thus, though in the House no member was born in Sweden or Norway, there are four members born of Scandinavian parents and representing constituencies largely made up of Scandinavians in the West. The parentage of all members is not given in the Congressional Directory. If it were, I am confident that a large number of members would be found to be of foreign parentage. The cry is not raised in these days that the naturalized citizen is not represented, and, fortunately, Knownothingism, which assumed that the foreigner was too much represented, has disappeared from American politics.

That the representation of our States and political divisions in Congress is reasonably satisfactory to their constituents is shown by the repeated terms of service of members in both Houses of Congress. It is too commonly assumed that representation is constantly shifting. This is true in some of our cities and in close districts where political parties are nearly equally divided; but, taking the country as a whole, the stability of representation is something remarkable, especially when we consider the shortness of the term, but two years in the House, and the frequent opportunity thus furnished for constituencies to change their representatives if they desire.

Of 357 members (actually 352) of the Fifty-seventh Congress, but eighty-nine were new members, 79 were serving their second term and 76 their third; 108 members, or thirty per cent., were serving four terms and upwards; 69 members, or nineteen per cent., served in Congress ten years.

The showing as to terms of service of individual members would be still stronger if we took the record for the Fifty-eighth Congress to be convened in extra session in November; for 250 members of the Fifty-seventh Congress were re-elected to the Fifty-eighth.

If we take the profession farthest removed from politics, and which is represented in Congress by a single member, that of the Christian ministry, should we find that the tenure of service in

the ministry is as long as it is in the House of Representatives? Should we find, for example, that thirty per cent. of our ministers had served eight years and upwards in their parishes? When we remember that one of the great Christian bodies of the country for years maintained the doctrine that ministers should change their pulpits every two or three years, and it has been said—though I have never verified the figures—that the average length of Protestant pastorates, taking the ministry as a whole, is not more than five years, it may be affirmed that our political bodies are not more fickle in changing leaders than our churches.

In the Senate, a large number of members have served previously in the House. Senator Teller has served six terms in the Senate and three as a Cabinet officer; Senator Platt of Connecticut, four terms in the Senate. Senator Hawley has served three terms in the House, and is serving his fourth term in the Senate. Senator Allison was a representative for five terms in the House, and has been a member of the Senate since 1873, a period of thirty years. Senator Hale of Maine served five terms in the House, and has been a member of the Senate since 1881. His colleague, Senator Frye, served six terms in the House, and has likewise served in the Senate since 1881. Senator Hoar served four terms in the House, and has been in the Senate since 1877. Senator Burroughs of Michigan served nine terms in the House before taking his seat in the Senate in 1895. Senator Cockrell has been in the Senate since 1875. Senator Jones of Nevada, who has just retired, served for thirty years. Senator Stewart, after serving for ten years in the Senate from 1865 to 1875, re-entered it in 1881, his length of service covering twenty-six years. Senator Morgan of Alabama has served for twenty-six years. Senator Jones of Arkansas has just retired from the Senate after a service of eighteen years. His colleague, Senator Berry, has served an equal length of time, and his term will not expire until 1907. Senator Cullom has been in public service, partly in his own State and partly as representing it at Washington, for forty-seven years. He was four times elected to the Illinois Legislature, beginning in 1856, and served one term as Speaker of that body; he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1865, served for two years as Governor of Illinois, and in addition has been in the United States Senate for twenty years. Senator Vest served twenty-four years, and Senator Daniel of Virginia has served sixteen years.

What shall be said as to the character of our public men? As to morals, standards of taste, and personal habits, they represent as fairly as in political sentiment the communities that send them. In communities where there is any weakness or indifference in this respect, such weakness or indifference may very likely appear in the representative; communities in which these qualities are strong and high naturally expect them in their representative, and feel that unless he embodies them they are misrepresented. Under conditions of apathy which too frequently prevail in electors, men who are below the moral standard of their districts may slip into Congress and disgrace themselves and their constituents. But such men are not kept there; the indignant moral sentiment of the community is pretty sure to assert itself and dislodge the incumbent. Neither of the great political parties in this country generally cares to incur the chance of defeat by putting up for high national office a man whose character can be successfully attacked in public.

The odor of a single unsavory reputation in a public body frequently creates the impression of general corruption and moral decay, and there are people who apply a standard of moral severity to such bodies which would break down if applied to the Twelve Apostles. In that illustrious group of disciples there was one liar and one traitorous thief, two out of twelve. There are ninety men in the Senate, 386 in the House under the new apportionment. Applying the same standard, we should expect to find fifteen liars and thieves in the Senate and sixty-four in the House. But what pessimist in regard to our public men will maintain that there is any such proportion of black sheep in the national folds at Washington?

As to veracity, there is no club in the country which exacts any higher standard for its members than prevails in Congress; there is nothing about which a public man is generally more sensitive. The two breaches of order which have broken the decorum of each House in the last five years have arisen because veracity was questioned.

As to personal honesty and honesty in handling or appropriating public funds, our national parliament illustrates and maintains the high standard of honesty of the American people, the same standard upon which the whole fabric of industrial and commercial enterprise is built up in the United States and in our

modern civilization. If we wished to find in all the United States two men who should embody the highest ideals of honesty and conscientious, patriotic disposition of public money, where could we turn with more confidence and satisfaction than to the men who, for the last thirty years, one in the Senate and one in the House, have devoted themselves to public affairs, and for a large portion of their time have been Chairmen of the Committees on Appropriations, William Boyd Allison in the Senate, and Joseph G. Cannon in the House. There is no position in which a man could have better opportunity to grow rich at the public expense through bribery and jobbery than that of holding the strings of the public purse in the House and the Senate. Yet the men who for years have administered this trust have remained comparatively poor, while in administering private interests the same intelligence and knowledge as they have brought to bear upon public affairs would have made them both immensely rich. The same may be said of the minority leaders on those committees, Mr. Cockrell in the Senate and Mr. Livingston in the House.

The question is often raised as to how the Congress of the United States of to-day, in all that affects character and ability, will compare with those of the past.

With respect to corruption, a comparison can be made with the greatest confidence and with the greatest satisfaction. Senator Hoar has drawn a picture of the conditions which prevailed when he entered public life in 1869. I have no space to quote it, and it is somewhat melancholy reading. It was a bold and brave protest against shameless corruption in public office. It is more satisfactory to quote from a speech of the same Senator, in which he said:

"When I came into the national service in 1869, all avenues to this and the other chamber and to every executive department were swarming with a powerful and corrupt lobby. That lobby has disappeared before an aroused and vigorous public sentiment. Who hears now of great measures of legislation promoted or affected in Congress by corrupt instrumentalities? . . . These great evils, one and all, have been corrected by the American people with the abundant resources which, under their existing constitutions, were at their command. Other evils, as grave, but not graver, demand our attention to-day. These evils will in their turn disappear when brought into the daylight before the intelligence and the justice of the American people."

The opinion of Senator Hoar will be supported, I think, by all who have occasion to compare the conditions and standards existing thirty years ago and those of to-day.

With respect to the standard of ability, I am led personally to make a comparison in the same period of thirty years. As a newspaper correspondent at Washington more than thirty years ago, I had a good opportunity to study public men at a period when a great crisis in our history had brought many of the strongest men to the front. If there were giants in those days there are giants in ours. There has been no diminution in the intellectual stature of this battalion of our public men. As to particular districts in the House, and certain States in the Senate, a comparison of past and present might be unfortunate; but, taking both bodies as a whole, there has been no abatement in intelligence, knowledge, practical sagacity, statesmanlike grasp of public questions or brilliancy in oratory. After going through the list of States and districts past and present, I find not the slightest reason to believe that the Congress of 1871 was any stronger than the Congress of 1900.

If asked how our American Congress will compare with European parliaments in point of ability, I may say that three times I have had the personal honor, by virtue of membership in the House of Representatives, to represent this country in the International Parliamentary Union, when it held sessions in Paris, Brussels and Christiania. I have thus been brought into contact, on each of these occasions, with three hundred and fifty or more representatives of European members of parliament. Gathered together in the interest of peace through arbitration, they have represented the most progressive elements in European politics. I regretted that Mr. Bartholdt and myself should have been the sole delegates from the United States, for I felt that the only gap between European representatives of constitutional government and our own was the gap made by the ocean. In point of linguistic facility, the representatives of polyglot countries, like Switzerland, Austria or Belgium, are much ahead of our own; but in everything else which goes to make up the qualifications of a good representative, I have failed to mark any important difference, except those differences of method and tradition which mark the difference between Europe and America. Senator Hoar very confidently says:

"I am not afraid and ashamed to invite a comparison of the men who have sat in these seats and represented my own commonwealth, down to the date when the present Senators took their places, with any line of dukes, barons, or princes, or emperors, or popes, who have successively filled the seats of any legislature or the executive chair of any commonwealth, whether these persons held their titles by virtue of noble descent or royal favor or of the favor of the people themselves."

It is rarely that we find in Congress a man who is below the average of his constituents in ability, as frequently occurs in a parliamentary chamber admission to which is an inherited privilege. It is seldom that a man is chosen for the American Congress out of respect to his father or grandfather; he is sent there because of some force of personality or gift of popularity depending upon his own characteristics. But of men who are above the average of their constituents in intellectual power and force of personality, many can be found in both Houses of Congress. It is interesting to notice, too, that while the arts of the demagogue may be influential in landing a man in Congress, they are not the arts which secure him leadership in that body. A recent illustration of this fact was furnished by the late Mr. Dingley. He was not a man of aggressive or imposing personality. He was small of stature, and weak in voice. Though he sat in the middle of the hall, he could not be heard half the time by those in the extremities. His speeches had none of the pleasing arts of the orator, he was not gifted with humor or eloquence, but he was a mine of information on the tariff, and he had a businesslike habit of stating his conclusions with definiteness, clearness and decision. The leadership and influence he exerted over his party gave proof that thorough information, a faithful memory, clear exposition and businesslike methods of address are more valued in the House of Representatives than rhetorical fervor or glittering generalities. There is no deliberative body in the world in which shallowness, conceit, ignorance and pretension are more rapidly exposed. A man must know something about his theme; he must be prepared to stand a Gatling-gun fire of questions. The set speeches that are made for the Congressional Record and for home consumption may be dressed up with the pomp and glory of a drum-major, but such speeches never make votes, and often the House is half empty when they are delivered. When the House settles down to business in Committee of the Whole, and speeches are made at short

range, it is the point-blank aim and the well-loaded statement that take effect. Wit often scintillates and humor glows genially in these strenuous hours, but force and earnestness of conviction, here as everywhere, drive an argument home.

I have pointed out some of the virtues of American public men. What are their failings? I mean not individually, but as a class. Individually, of course, like 476 men anywhere, they have their personal weaknesses and foibles. And this will be just as true of the same number of clergymen, scholars or scientific men. If we seek a weakness which may be said to be composite or characteristic of them as a whole, we shall find it in the faults and weaknesses and limitations of the very system of representative government which creates them. It is their tendency to see their duty too much in relation to the needs of their district, too little in relation to the needs of the country as a whole. Hence is developed a certain provincialism and sectionalism. This is seen too frequently in our attitude towards foreign governments. The accomplished Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Hitt, and the Secretary of State often find this provincialism a serious obstacle in conducting international affairs. The provincial member is disposed to disregard international traditions, to wrap himself in the American flag, and conclude that we can get on without the rest of the world if the rest of the world can get on without us. But the extension of American markets abroad, the development of commercial relations, the passage of the United States from its traditional insularity in international affairs to a position of commanding power and influence are compelling broader and larger views of world problems.

As to the sectional spirit based on the points of the compass in our own land, it is rapidly disappearing. Conflicts of interest there will always be; but, as our country becomes more closely consolidated, the sectional view is giving way to the national. It was worth while being in the Fifty-fifth Congress if only to see the unanimity and patriotic fervor with which all sectional differences could be obliterated, on the memorable day when fifty millions of dollars were placed in the hands of the President for national defence.

Recurring, then, to the special question of this article, Is our national Congress truly representative? I reply that it is so just as far as it can be under existing laws or their imperfect opera-

tion. The limitations which impress me at Washington are not the limitations of public men as a class, but the limitations of the electoral systems or prescriptions under which they are chosen. The most obvious limitations of these systems (for every State prescribes the qualifications of its electors, and these differ greatly) are, first, that the women of the United States, constituting numerically so large an element of the population and embodying so much of the intellectual and moral life of the country, are not adequately represented in our government, either local or national; secondly, that several millions of negroes are not represented in Congress by any members of their race. Neither color nor sex constitutes any rational basis for parliamentary representation, and in four of the States of the United States neither of them is regarded. In these States women may vote for the President of the United States and for their representatives in Congress, as well as for their local officers, and no color line is drawn in counting the ballot. If these conditions of justice and equality do not prevail throughout the country, it is due to local laws and traditions and to the miscarriage of justice in their administration. Congress, therefore, so faithfully reflects local usage and sentiment that it represents the defects and injustice of our electoral system as well as its excellencies.

A third limitation of our representative system is, that the man who is elected to the House does not take his seat until a year from the time in which he is chosen. In the lapse of twelve months, it is quite possible that the issue upon which he was elected has changed its character or given place to some other public question. It would be a great improvement if members of Congress would take their seats within a month or two after their election.

In the opinion of many public men, our national parliament would be still more representative if members of the Senate were elected by a direct vote of the people. Several State Legislatures have asked for this change and the House of Representatives has passed bills to this effect. The ultimate effect of such change, however, would probably be to destroy the equal representation of the States as separate political entities in the Senate, and the need of such a change in our constitutional law has not yet been demonstrated.

Making allowance for the limitations I have noticed in our

electoral system and its administration, I do not hesitate to say that, taken by and large, and with all fair allowance for individual differences and for fluctuations of local standards, the Congress of the United States represents very fairly and accurately in its membership the great majority of the American people, though the statement would be still more accurate, when we consider the large number who are disfranchised, if I said the great majority of American voters.

The fountain cannot rise higher than its source. If our public men are not all that they should be, we must seek the cause in the standards of life, in the ideals of patriotism and public service of the people they represent. Though bribery and corruption have been banished from Congress they have not been banished from the polls; venality is still a crying sin in American politics. It is not merely the newest and most densely peopled States in which it is found. The smallest States in the Union, Delaware and Rhode Island, have been the theatres of political scandals as disheartening as any that have appeared in Montana or New York city. The difference between the negro in the South, who sells his vote for a glass of whiskey, and the New Hampshire farmer, who sells it for two dollars, is that one is a dry bribe and the other a wet one. No relief from such conditions can be expected until we develop a sentiment of patriotism which shall make it as dishonorable and outrageous for a man to sell his vote for money as to sell the virtue of his wife or daughter.

If vote-buying and vote-selling is one of our political evils, voluntary abstention from voting must be counted another. It is easy to see why the negro stays away from the polls in certain communities, when he knows that his ballot will not be counted if it is cast; but it is impossible to respect the patriotism of a man who deliberately counts himself out because he has no interest in securing good government or good men. And yet these absentees who stand aloof from what they call "the mire of politics," and do not lift their finger to lighten public burdens, are most ready to complain of the character of our public men.

Without respect to party, a loftier ideal of consecration to public service is animating and inspiring some of our national leaders; and I cannot better close this article than by quoting two memorable utterances in which it was embodied, both delivered on the same occasion, May 1st, 1903, at the dedication of the St.

Louis Fair, the one the utterance of an ex-President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, and the other the utterance of Theodore Roosevelt, the President of the United States. Ex-President Cleveland said:

"We may well recall in these surroundings, the wonderful measure of prophecy's fulfilment within the span of a short century, the spirit, the patriotism and the civic virtue of Americans who lived a hundred years ago. And God's overruling of the wrath of man and his devious ways for the blessing of our nation. . . . Let us appreciate, more keenly than ever, how vitally necessary it is to our country's weal that every one within its citizenship should be clean-minded in political aim and aspiration, sincere and honest in his conception of our country's mission, and aroused to higher and more responsive patriotism by the reflection that it is a solemn thing to belong to a people favored of God."

President Roosevelt said:

"The old days were great because the men who lived in them had mighty qualities, and we must make the new days great by showing these same qualities. We must insist upon courage and resolution, upon hardihood, tenacity, and fertility in resource; we must insist upon the strong, virile virtues, and we must insist no less upon the virtues of self-restraint, self-mastery, regard for the rights of others; we must show our abhorrence of cruelty, brutality and corruption in public and private life alike.

"If we come short in any of these qualities we shall measurably fail. And if, as I believe we surely shall, we develop these qualities in the future to an even greater degree than in the past, then in the century now beginning we shall make of this republic the freest and most orderly, the most just and most mighty, nation which has ever come forth from the womb of time."

SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE LATE LORD SALISBURY.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THERE may seem, at first sight, to be but little ground for the suggestion that a definite and significant connection existed between the United States and the eminent British statesman who died recently at Hatfield House. As a matter of fact, however, Lord Salisbury held the post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs at various times during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in that capacity he took a leading part in shaping the relations of the United Kingdom to the great American Republic. At two memorable conjunctures he was both Foreign Secretary and Premier; and the somewhat unexpected policy which he chose to adopt had a direct, if not a decisive, effect upon the future of the English-speaking world. Moreover, Lord Salisbury personified, as no other man could personify, the remarkable change that has taken place during the last fifty years in the attitude of England's governing class toward the American people. He was a typical British aristocrat, and the ultimate transformation of his posture toward the United States must be regarded as a triumph of enlightenment and conviction over social and political prejudice.

Lord Robert Cecil entered Parliament seven years before the outbreak of our Civil War. The fact that he represented a historic family would not, we scarcely need to say, necessarily determine his course in the British legislature, for we have seen the son of a Duke become the head of the Liberal party, and the son of an Earl become a Socialist. Such exceptions, however, are rare. There is no doubt that Lord Robert Cecil, when he made his *début* in public life, was imbued with all the preconceptions, prepossessions and antipathies of his order, and that he retained

most of them to the end of his career. Only as regards the United States and Russia did his opinions, if not his feelings, undergo a drastic modification. Like almost every other member of the British aristocracy, he viewed without regret, if not with positive complacency, the threatened disruption of the American Union, and made no effort to disguise his sympathy for the Confederate cause. He could see nothing majestic or beneficent in the Titanic efforts which brought about the abolition of slavery and the reconsolidation of the American Commonwealth. He long continued to regard our political institutions with aversion, and, during the debates which preceded the enactment of the second Reform Bill, held up to opprobrium the United States as a sinister example of the dangers of democracy. To his mind, as then constituted, no more fatal blunder could be made by his beloved country than to sanction a readjustment of her political system on the transatlantic pattern. He concurred with Robert Lowe in deeming the second Reform Act a suicidal concession to the proletariat, and in holding that nothing was left for the former governing class to do but to try to educate its masters. Nor, from his point of view, can we consider it at all surprising that in 1866-68, he almost detested the United States for the tremendous demonstration of strength which had refuted the principal argument against a democratic scheme of government.

Lord Salisbury differed essentially, however, from the hidebound and incorrigible Tories, of whom he was to become the leader, in that his mind was open to conviction. It was characteristic of his intellect that at Oxford he took but little interest in the classics, and contented himself with a mere pass degree in *litterae humaniores,* yet gained an honorary fourth-class in mathematics. Having mastered the higher mathematics, which constitute an indispensable instrument of exact inquiry, he proceeded to explore for himself many fields of scientific research, including particularly chemistry and physics. All his life, his leisure hours were devoted to independent investigation, so that the invitation to assume the Presidency of the British Association in 1894, when, it will be remembered, he was out of office, was but a just recognition of his solid scientific attainments. Now, it is obviously impossible for a man habitually engaged in scientific inquiry to remain impervious to evidence and argument. Prejudices he may still retain, but he will not suffer them to dominate

his acts, especially when he finds himself clothed with immense responsibilities. No more signal proof of Lord Salisbury's openness to conviction could be given than the confession, publicly made by him a few years ago, that, during the last Russo-Turkish War, England had "backed the wrong horse." To appreciate the candor of that utterance, we have to recall the fact that, from 1874 to 1879, Lord Salisbury was far more intensely pro-Turkish than was Lord Derby, his predecessor in the Foreign Office, or even than Lord Beaconsfield himself. When he made that remarkable avowal, he had been for years Prime Minister, and subjected to the chastening and clarifying influence that is exercised by the consciousness of power on men of a certain intellectual stature.

The time came when a similar reversal was to be witnessed in Lord Salisbury's attitude toward the United States. It is true that from 1885, when he first became Prime Minister, up to December, 1895, there was no unmistakable indication that he had awakened to the importance of reconsidering and readjusting the relations of Great Britain to her colossal daughter-state. During the first part of the period named, the affairs of Ireland riveted his attention, and, subsequently, he paid but little heed to transatlantic questions, having his eyes fixed on Egypt, on South Africa and on the Far East. He allowed the correspondence with Secretary Olney on the Venezuela boundary controversy to be conducted in a perfunctory way, the Foreign Office taking it for granted that our mediation on behalf of the South-American republic was merely academic, and persisting, therefore, in its arrogant refusal to refer the dispute to arbitration. Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message, announcing that, since arbitration was refused, the United States would take upon themselves the task of investigating and determining the rightful boundary of Venezuela, gave an electric shock to Englishmen, and it is probable that none of his countrymen was more astounded than was the Prime Minister himself. Had Lord Salisbury at sixty-five been as irremediably steeped in Tory prejudices as he was thought to be, and had he been incapable of receding from the contemptuous or condescending attitude toward the United States which had been maintained by the British governing class for upwards of a hundred years, nothing could possibly have averted a war, which would have had calamitous consequences for one, if not for both, of the combatants. It is to Lord Salisbury's lasting honor that

no gust of indignation or resentment prevented him from recognizing the gravity of the situation when the veil was torn rudely from his eyes. He perceived that the economical relations of his country to the great American Republic had become at the close of the nineteenth century fundamentally different from those which had existed at earlier epochs, and that for England to quarrel with her principal food-purveyor, for the sake of a wretched strip of land in South America, would be an act of madness. He put his pride in his pocket, and, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, informed our State Department that, in the Venezuela Boundary affair, he would accept the arbitration which only a few months before he had peremptorily refused. Seldom is it given to a statesman to render, at the galling sacrifice of personal dignity, so vast a service to his native land. That nothing might be wanting to make the sacrifice complete, Lord Salisbury, perhaps the proudest man in England, did not shrink at a later date from expressing publicly contrition for the course which he had mistakenly pursued in the Venezuela matter. Nor, indeed, is it England alone, but the whole English-speaking world, which has cause to rejoice that, in the memorable winter of 1895-96, the helm of the British ship of state was in the hands of a pilot to whom age had given wisdom, and in whom an unselfish patriotism had developed foresight at the nick of time.

There was nothing spiteful or mean in the inheritor and embellisher of the great traditions of the House of Cecil. Had a trace of vindictiveness remained in the disciplined heart of the veteran Prime Minister, had he permitted himself to bear a grudge toward the country which had subjected him to a humiliation none the less bitter because deserved, he might have recognized and turned to account the opportunity to retaliate which came in the spring of 1898. There is no doubt that some of the Continental Powers were then eager to interpose on behalf of the Madrid government, and to prohibit us from attempting the liberation of Cuba. Our navy made quick work of that of Spain, but it is ridiculous to suppose that it could have coped with the combined naval forces of France and Austria. Lord Salisbury had but to give France and Austria a free hand, in order to expose us to the dilemma of accepting a grievous affront, or confronting against great odds a war which would have placed in jeopardy our principal seaboard cities.

We add that he had only to follow, instead of diverging sharply from, the traditional policy of Great Britain with reference to the Pearl of the Antilles. At the time of the "Virginius" affair, both the British and French Foreign Offices informed Secretary Fish that they could not regard the Cuban question as one which concerned Spain and the United States exclusively. It was this ominous notification which prevented President Grant from intervening in Cuba during the Ten Years' War. Now, had Lord Salisbury in 1898, when sounded officially or unofficially on the subject by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied that he saw no reason for departing from the position taken by his predecessor at the time of the "Virginius" affair, he could have avenged the personal indignity to which he had been subjected by the Venezuela message and have forced us to submit to the outrage inflicted on our national honor by the destruction of the "Maine."

It was not thus that Lord Salisbury understood the duty of a patriotic statesman. He forgot the personal annoyance of three years before, and thought only of his country. He grasped the truth that Fate had given him an opportunity of undoing all the blunders of a hundred years; of substituting confidence and gratitude for the distrust and aversion with which the American people, not unreasonably, had long regarded the British governing class. He seized the opportunity. He made known to the Continental Powers that England would not view with approval a concerted attempt to browbeat the United States. The intimation sufficed to nip the scheme of intervention in the bud. The war with Spain ensued, and was undoubtedly prosecuted on our part with admirable energy. When Americans and Cubans, however, reckon up the prizes of victory, they may do well to remember the broad-minded British statesman but for whose goodwill these prizes could never have been gained.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

AUGUSTUS ST. GAUDENS.

BY ROYAL CORTISSOZ.

WHEN modern sculpture was betrayed by its leading figures, early in the nineteenth century, through their excessive devotion to the antique, a tradition was established which for a long time seemed beyond all chance of death or change. Canova and Thorwaldsen, in Rome, erected classical precedent into a fetish. In France, which was later to be the scene of a plastic renaissance, anything that savored of personal idiosyncrasy or of romantic feeling was anathema to the Emperor and to Louis David, who, though a painter, possessed unique authority in the direction of public taste in every field. American sculptors, proceeding to Italy for inspiration, were confronted by a kind of unwritten law which left inspiration, in the strict sense, outside the pale of respectable things. In the studios all over Europe masters and pupils were united on the principle that to be great it was absolutely necessary to be "grand," and for the true measure of the grand style they looked only to Greece. Surveying the earlier history of our own school, one is appalled by the damage suffered through this sheep-like adoption of a classic ideal, passionately worshipped but only half understood. It fell like a blight upon those well-meaning workmen, and though many of them lingered long upon the scene, their art, years ago, was dead as nail in door. Greenough, Hiram Powers, Thomas Crawford, William Henry Rinehart and the rest—as I recall the names I recall the lines in Henley's ballade:

> "As dust that drives, as straws that blow,
> Into the night go one and all."

It is just because these men, members of a group once powerful and famous, have since been so thoroughly discredited as art-

ists, that it is interesting to revert to them in approaching the work of St. Gaudens. Only last July he unveiled his masterpiece, the equestrian statue of General Sherman, in New York. He is now in his prime. He is, by virtue of actual accomplishment, what even the best of his predecessors was only through the accident of chronology—a pioneer of American sculpture. The development of the art with us may fairly be said to date from his appearance. He is not only our greatest sculptor, but the first in our annals to break with the old epoch of insipid ideas and hide-bound academic notions of style, giving the art a new lease of life and fixing a new standard. All can raise the flower now, for all have got the seed. There are contemporaries of St. Gaudens who deserve honor, hardly less than he deserves it, for having breathed vitality into American sculpture. There was, for example, the late Olin Warner, who was born four years before St. Gaudens, and who exercised always an elevating influence. But Warner would probably have uttered with eagerness the tribute which the living sculptors in this country yield to St. Gaudens, testifying to the constructive part he has played, to the initiative which he took in the formation of our school.

He entered the field with the mixed racial equipment characteristic of so many distinguished Americans. His mother was an Irishwoman; his father was born in France. St. Gaudens himself, born in Dublin something less than fifty-six years ago, was brought to this country in his earliest childhood, and though he has spent more than one period abroad, he is as distinctly American in his art as though he had come from a long line of native ancestors. With a difference. He did not take up sculpture where Greenough and the others had left it, working on their foundation and transmogrifying their tradition. He showed his Americanism in striking out in a totally new vein and making his own tradition. Half Irish, half French, and wholly sympathetic to his environment, he was committed to American tendencies, not as an heir, with much to unlearn, but simply in so far as his genius inclined him to assimilate them. No American artist shows a greater freedom than he from what are generally called "early influences," and are specifically described as "So-and-So's manner." He was thirteen when he was apprenticed to a cameo cutter, and he spent several years at this craft; but I have never perceived in his sculpture anything to remind one of

these beginnings. At night he studied art. Cooper Union and the Academy of Design were both useful to him at that period. Then, in his nineteenth year, he went to Paris, and at the École des Beaux-Arts profited by the teaching of Jouffroy, until the Franco-Prussian war broke out and he entered upon a three years' residence in Rome. In all that formative period he appears to have worked patiently toward the expression of a temperament which outside influences could stimulate but could not mould to their own likeness. He was perhaps fortunate in studying under Jouffroy, a safe master who, for all his classicism, was nevertheless near enough in point of time to such men as Rude to have seen, and turned away from, the gulf of commonplace in which the conventional classicist is sooner or later lost. He was enough of an individualist in his art to keep St. Gaudens from falling into routine, and enough of an academician to nourish in his American pupil the sense of measure which might have slumbered if he had fallen into the hands of a more naturalistic teacher. The style which St. Gaudens brought back with him on his return to this country was remarkable for its blending of polish with freedom. Here was an American who could dwell at the centre of French art and only take from it that which suited him.

The special note of the medallions which are conspicuous among his first productions is one of delicacy, and in the character of that delicacy lies a source of strength which has from first to last been of immense service to St. Gaudens. It is a delicacy that leaves the door open, so to say, for the raciest realistic impression. The medallions of the modern French school are apt to be over-polished. Even so brilliant a master as Chaplain could not quite divest himself of the notion that a small work in low relief must necessarily have something of the character of a minted coin, with no single detail stated at less than its highest value. He and other Frenchmen strangely misread the lesson of the Italian Renaissance, which is that the complicated web of super-subtle light and shade, legitimate in a large Madonna by Mino, say, is better exchanged, in a medallion, for the strong simplicity of those medals in which Pisano and his followers proved that art on a small scale need not be minute in feeling. There is a medallion of Bastien-Lepage by St. Gaudens, made just after he had finished his "Joan of Arc," in which the sculptor ranks himself with the older workers in this province.

The touch is at once caressing and bold; nothing essential is slurred, but neither is anything unduly emphasized. In this, and in certain medallions of other artists who were comrades of his in Paris, Frank Millet, Maitland Armstrong and George W. Maynard, the sculptor makes us feel that in the manipulation of surface he can be as subtle as anybody, but has no intention of sacrificing vitality to the nuance. On the contrary, he delights in giving a clear, even forcible, impression of the personality before him. It is portraiture for the sake of truth and beauty, not for the sake of technique. He has been faithful to the same principle in other works of a similar character which he has executed in later years, steadily gaining in strength, but never losing the spontaneity which belongs to his earliest essays. His work in the round is, in a sense, more important; but his medallions alone would serve to make him known as a great artist. In them, and in his upright or oblong panels in low relief, he has allowed himself, reasonably enough, a certain decorative effect. Nothing could be happier in arrangement than "The Children of Jacob H. Schiff," with the shaggy hound indicated behind the two children, and the garlands suspended above them from the capitals of the pilasters which enclose the group. Again, in "The Children of Prescott Hall Butler," the composition and the treatment of the quaint costumes have a piquancy which only the artist seeing his work as an organic thing, and bent on making it something new and picturesque, could achieve. In a marble relief of Mrs. Stanford White, both the conception and the execution have the dainty realism and the exquisiteness which we associate with the finest souvenirs of the Tuscan sculptors. Masterly craftsmanship marks these reliefs, but their atmosphere remains one of engaging naturalness. The exception to the rule is provided by the "Miss Violet Sargent," in which the figure in a modern dress, seated upon a carved bench, is represented as playing a guitar. The effect is awkward, even ugly, but fortunately it illustrates the sculptor's sole departure from the ideal of subtle grace and suavity of line which seems, on the whole, to be part and parcel of his artistic nature. The "Miss Violet Sargent" is a case of modernity not quite successfully hit off.

In dealing with the late Robert Louis Stevenson, on the other hand, St. Gaudens managed to be modern without crossing

the line that separates art from photography. The Stevenson is known in two versions. The first of these, the circular one, dates from 1887, when the romancer was ill in New York. St. Gaudens modelled the head and shoulders in five sittings of two hours each, just before Stevenson went to the Adirondacks. He did the hands from drawings which he made at Manasquan, and from casts executed at the same time, on the eve of Stevenson's departure for Samoa. The long relief for the memorial in St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh was modelled in Paris in 1900 from the medallion aforesaid—and, by the way, the history of this work offers an apt example of the difficulty which St. Gaudens sometimes finds in pleasing himself, and the ardor with which he works over a thing until he has made it right. The later Stevenson was cast in bronze in Paris; but on its arrival here the sculptor was dissatisfied with it and remodelled it, simplifying it considerably. It is now finished and will soon be sent over to Edinburgh. To return to the question of modernity, it may be noted that, in both these portraits, Stevenson is shown as the sick man reclining. There has been some criticism of the pose, and objections have been raised to the cigarette between Stevenson's fingers. As a matter of fact, the various details in question are, in the first place, necessary to the characteristic impression sought; and, furthermore, they have been handled with such discretion that not one of them endangers the balance of the design. On the contrary, these are two of the best things St. Gaudens has done, realistic in essence, but in each case with the figure so well placed, and modelled with so much delicacy and beauty of style, that the result is thoroughly sculpturesque. Certainly, no more beautiful memorial to Stevenson could have been devised than the one which Edinburgh will owe to this American artist.

In discussing St. Gaudens's medallions and works in low relief, I have ignored, in a measure, the chronology of his career. But even if dates were not a matter of small moment in the art of a man who will keep a statue in his studio for years if he is not content with its first state, I would wish to turn now to a question bearing upon his whole record. This is the question of what subject, aside from portraiture, means to him. The only nude figure I find in the list of his works is the Diana surmounting the tower of the Madison Square Garden in New York. As

first modelled and placed in position this was eighteen feet high; but St. Gaudens and Stanford White took it down at their own expense and replaced it by the present version, which is five feet shorter. The incident emphasizes the point that this was not projected as a piece of statuary pure and simple, but as a decorative finial to be seen from a distance at which the pose and the outline are alone significant. Considered in this light, it is a captivating performance, graceful, picturesque, and a good illustration of what ensues to the public advantage when an artist improves an opportunity of the sort usually left to a mechanic. But it is not by work in this vein that St. Gaudens is known. For evidence of his imaginative power as applied to themes apart from the movement of contemporary life, we must look to his draped figures. Among these there stand some works of extraordinary nobility. They are variations on a type which he created more than twenty years ago. He showed then that he could carve an angel which would be neither fantastic nor sentimental, but simply an image of spirituality. Fate was unkind. The three figures for the Morgan tomb at Hartford were destroyed by fire. But even in the photograph of one of them which lies before me as I write, the loveliness of the sculptor's ideal of feminine form is obvious. The angel stands with hands outstretched holding a scroll from which she sings. An expression of peaceful happiness irradiates the pure features. The loose-flowing robe, confined at the waist with a girdle of leafage, is marked by many rippling folds. It is a beautiful figure, the attitude is perfect, and, above all, this angel expresses an imaginative idea. The same idea recurs, somewhat modified, in the caryatides executed for the house of Cornelius Vanderbilt, in the Smith tomb at Newport, and in the relief which, with a group of medallions, represents St. Gaudens in the Luxembourg. It is an idea of delicate form, interpenetrated with an emotion peculiarly sweet, spiritual and reposeful. The key is tenderly poetic, elegiac. Romantic as it is, it still does not exhaust his scope. There is another work, demonstrating that St. Gaudens can, when he chooses, rise to a tragic plane. This, the Adams monument at Washington, is, for a kind of restrained grandeur, not only the finest thing of its kind ever produced by an American sculptor, but an achievement which modern Europe has not surpassed.

The single figure in this monument sits enveloped in heavy drapery on a rough-hewn block of granite, against a wall of the same material. Her face is visible; the right hand is raised to support the chin, and one sees the bare arm to the elbow; but, for the rest, the form is muffled as in unearthly garments. It is a mysterious, sphinx-like presence, strange and massive, with something of terror, but more of solemn dignity and beauty, in its broad, simple lines. I have seen it more than once, under different conditions. It is impressive in sunshine, confronting happy nature with its sombre secret. But on a bleak winter's day, or in rain, its mournful charm is heightened; and here, one reflects, far beyond the measure of any other of his compositions, St. Gaudens is the poet, the dramatist, intermingling with the concrete qualities of plastic art the more elusive qualities of mind and soul. And with what wonderful sobriety does he attain his end! I have thought, standing before this great work, of certain notable figures in French sculpture. I have recalled Dubois, in one of his figures for the tomb of General Lamoricière; Rodin, in divers of his hierophantic improvisations, and several remarkable statues by colleagues of theirs, men on a lower plane, but still eminent. None of these foreigners has, in my opinion, ever modelled a statue at once so simple and so full of meaning as this one at Washington. Where Dubois would have made it dignified, noble, but academic to the point of coldness, St. Gaudens has clothed it in an air that is charged with the thrilling implications of the grave. Where Rodin would have made it speak of movement, would have made it rugged and almost luridly epical, St. Gaudens has made the figure symbolical of rest itself, and has been tragic through intensity, not through emphasis or gesture. I remember how many fine French statues have been spoiled by the hint of the theatre introduced, by some exaggeration in the expression of the face or by some arbitrary arrangement of the limbs; and I rejoice anew in the determination with which St. Gaudens has turned his back upon all meretricious expedients and has given to this statue the bare majesty of a passage out of Homer. It is interesting to note that this landmark in American sculpture, on its imaginative side, was modelled by an artist who has never wreaked himself to any extent on allegorical and symbolical composition. The several angelic figures he has produced are, when all is said,

merely angelic. Their physiognomies are furrowed by no lines of complex thought. But the seated divinity in the cemetery at Washington touches the mind at many points, and is remembered with a sense of profundity and supernatural wonder.

It is St. Gaudens's one memorable effort in the sphere of the loftiest abstraction. His other greatest triumphs have been won in the field of heroic portraiture, working in the round and on the scale of a public monument. Twice his subject has met him half-way in respect to picturesqueness: when he made the Chapin monument at Springfield, known as "The Puritan," and when, with the assistance of Miss Lawrence, he erected a statue of Columbus in front of the administration building at the Chicago Fair. The Columbus, I suppose, having been put up in staff for a temporary purpose, has ere this disappeared. One is easily reconciled to the loss. It was a striking but not permanently impressive piece of work. The tall commander, standing in cloak and armor, with sword uplifted in one hand and a voluminous standard supported in the other, though undeniably effective, somehow lacked the quality of style. "The Puritan," however, endures to illustrate St. Gaudens's aptitude in the interpretation of a by-gone personality and in the treatment of unconventional costume; and it is a brilliant statue. The stalwart old New-Englander advances toward us with energetic tread, his stout staff seeming to ring upon the ground, and the clutch of his fingers upon the Bible under his left arm bespeaking the ardent and authoritative religionist. The wide brim of the peaked hat shades the face of a man of iron will. The long and heavy cloak, that falls nearly to his heels, seems a coat of mail for this peaceable warrior in an age of simple living and strenuous thinking on sublime themes. The statue is a strong piece of characterization. It is also an admirable study of form, boldly modelled, like all of St. Gaudens's public statues, but with a touch in it more pictorial than he has elsewhere cared to employ.

Elsewhere, indeed, he has practically always had to solve a far more difficult problem than he faced in making "The Puritan." In the relief of Dr. Bellows for the Church of All Souls in New York, he could gain an imposing effect through the flow of ecclesiastical robes, and he had some little help of a similar sort in the McCosh Memorial at Princeton. But in the five monuments in which he has commemorated five heroes of our

Civil War, he has had no aid from costume or accessories. He has had, instead, to work on the bed rock of character, and he has done this with results that put to shame the artists perpetually complaining that they are handicapped by the nature of modern clothes. The Farragut, in Madison Square, New York, was the first public statue he was commissioned to make. He modelled it in Paris, in 1880. The Lincoln, at Chicago, dates from the middle nineties, and the Logan, likewise at Chicago, belongs to the same period. St. Gaudens began work on the Shaw Memorial, for Boston, in 1884, and expected to complete it in a couple of years, but it was not unveiled until 1897. General Sherman gave him, in 1887, some eighteen sittings for the familiar bust, but the equestrian statue recently erected in New York was begun some years later, and was long in being carried to completion. No one but the sculptor himself can tell the psychological history of these undertakings; no one else can say to what extent each one of them was isolated from the others as a matter of study, or formed part of a kind of sequence in his mind. But I do not think one would go far wrong in regarding the entire group as the outcome of a broad sympathy for one capital fact in our history, the War, with all that it means to a lover of his country. In other words, just as we think of Raffet as the pictorial interpreter of the Napoleonic régime on its military side, for example, we cannot but recognize in St. Gaudens the representative, in plastic art, of our own tremendous struggle. Was he at the outset conscious of an ambition destined to flower in such a position as this? It is more than doubtful. Yet it is pleasant to think of him as veritably foreordained to carry out these splendid works, and certainly they have, whether they are taken separately or together, the quality convincing us that no one else could have done them quite so well. It is not simply that each one of the monuments has certain specific artistic merits, lifting it to a high plane. It is rather that in every one of his studies of historical subjects, St. Gaudens has somehow struck the one definitive note, has made his Lincoln or his Sherman a type which the generations must revere and which no future statues can invalidate. Monuments to leaders in the great conflict are already excessively numerous, and some of them are worthy; but none, as it seems to me, has the authority to which St. Gaudens has attained in all of his.

Though he has strengthened his art as the years have passed, this virtue of dramatic truth is perceptible as clearly in his earliest as in his latest work. The Farragut, for example, undoubtedly wants the grandeur of the equestrian Sherman, but it remains the best of all of our tributes to the dead admiral. I have heard criticisms of the pose. Ribald remarks have been made about what has been called "the Farragut strut." It is not a strut at all, but simply the natural carriage of a seaman. Indeed, the whole spirit of this monument is delightfully significant of the quarter-deck, a fact which may trouble those who fear realism in art as they fear the plague, but which carries its own recommendation to those conscious of the importance of realistic principles when they are properly handled. They are handled with excellent judgment in the Farragut. To call it breezy would be to overstate the case, but it is true that St. Gaudens produced on this occasion a figure instinct at every point with the energy and strength of a man fronting perils in the open air, amid great winds and under a vast sky. It owes something, by the way, to the pedestal, which is at once charmingly decorative and quite weighty enough to provide a true monumental base for the bronze. It is well to remember the date of the Farragut, 1880-81. At that time we were still more or less held in thrall by the facile makers of "soldiers' monuments," those dreary, lifeless productions which cheered our patriotism and ought to have shocked our taste. St. Gaudens pointed the way to a better order of things. To do this was to do much, but the sculptor did more when the commission for the Lincoln at Chicago was given to him, and, under the pressure of a greater inspiration than Farragut supplied, his art leaped forward, rising to a more imposing height.

The Lincoln has always seemed to me one of the salient statues in the world, a portrait and a work of art of truly heroic mould. Simplicity is its predominating characteristic. Precisely in this attitude does one prefer to see Lincoln portrayed, with no hint of dramatic movement, with nothing of the orator, but with everything of the quiet, self-contained genius that was the same under all circumstances, in all crises. There is more eloquence in the grip of the left hand on the edge of the coat than in any gesture which an artist of melodramatic tendencies might possibly have invented.

Invention has no place here. It is as if St. Gaudens had divined Lincoln's very soul and had imaged him forth as men saw him under the stress of the war, and as he lives in the imagination of millions who never beheld him in the flesh, but feel, with deepest gratitude, as though they had known him all their lives. Here, in the tall and intensely human figure, American to the core, with its magnificent head—that has, to my mind, more of living grandeur than belongs to the marble of any antique hero—we have the Lincoln of Lowell's lines:

> "How beautiful to see
> Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
> Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead;
> One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,
> Not lured by any cheat of birth,
> But by his clear-grained human worth,
> And brave old wisdom of sincerity!
> They knew that outward grace is dust;
> They could not choose but trust
> In that sure-footed mind's unfaltering skill,
> And supple-tempered will
> That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust.
> His was no lonely mountain-peak of mind,
> Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
> A sea-mark now, now lost in vapor's blind;
> Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,
> Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,
> Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars.
> Nothing of Europe here,
> Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,
> Ere any names of Serf and Peer
> Could Nature's equal scheme deface
> And thwart her genial will;
> Here was a type of the true elder race,
> And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face."

Lowell, gathering up into his Commemoration Ode the traits which all men have learned to see in Lincoln, gives us a portrait with an accent of its own. St. Gaudens does the same thing. We think first of Lincoln when seated in the stately exedra with which Stanford White partially enclosed the statue. But one of the many thoughts with which we leave the work is of its originality, of the way in which St. Gaudens has stamped his own individuality upon the bronze. I come back to the question of

his style, its polish that is never hard, its freedom that never passes into license. In the treatment of the hopelessly commonplace costume in the statue, everything depended upon an avoidance of anything like self-assertion. When occasion requires it, St. Gaudens can beguile us with every touch that he bestows upon the clay. We see a work of his as a whole, and yet linger with pleasure over this or that passage. In the Lincoln the modelling is so broad, it is so sterling an example of the art of generalization, that no single detail attracts the eye. This is the grand style as the classicists of our old school failed to understand it, to their lasting cost.

St. Gaudens abandoned it, consciously or unconsciously, when he modelled the equestrian statue of General Logan for Chicago, and was, no doubt, justified in so doing. He had a valiant warrior to portray, and, perhaps, it was fitting to represent him controlling a fiery animal and bearing a flag aloft with the air of a conqueror in the face of the enemy. It is a stirring piece of sculpture, ebulliently alive, and, like the Farragut, a wonderfully intimate interpretation of a moving personality. All that the motive demanded is adequately expressed. One is easily lured from this, however, as the Lincoln lures one from the Farragut, by the two other equestrian monuments which complete the group of St. Gaudens's Civil War memorials, the Shaw and the Sherman. The first of these suffers from two serious drawbacks. The bronze casting of the Shaw is far from satisfactory, and the monument is unfortunately placed in front of the State House at Boston, at a point which prevents the spectator from seeing it unobstructed at just the right distance. But it might be still further handicapped without losing its effect, which is one of interfused fire and pathos. The colored troops marching across the relief to the beat of the drum convey the needed impression of martial animation; and Shaw, on his advancing charger, deepens the sense of tense excitement which it is one of the sculptor's aims to communicate. Simultaneously, though, with our apprehension of what is spectacular and thrilling in the relief, comes our perception of the sadness in Shaw's face and the melancholy beauty of the figure that floats above him. The scheme is daring. Ever since Velasquez painted the "Surrender of Breda," his arrangement of the long lances in that glorious canvas has been emulated by one artist after another, and always

the collocation of vertical lines has driven them to despair. St. Gaudens must have struggled sorely before he marshalled the uplifted muskets and flags in the Shaw in an array neither restless nor inert. As the work stands, however, there is no sign of struggle. The weapons represented, like the figures, fall into an unbroken harmony. The composition is a perfect unit.

This is one explanation of the success of the Sherman. The introduction of a winged Victory in front of the horse and its rider, involved St. Gaudens in the study of a problem on which no light had been thrown by any of his predecessors. Really great equestrian statues have always been rare, and neither of the two in the past which have been especially inspiring to modern art, the Colleoni of Verrocchio at Venice, and the Gattamelata of Donatello at Padua, has any suggestion to make by which St. Gaudens could have profited when he proceeded to design a group including an added figure. But those will seriously misunderstand him who fail to discern the essentially creative bent of his genius. If he had found suggestions apposite to his task among the old masters, we may be sure that, however he might have used them, he would not have imitated anybody. The composition of the Sherman is his own, and it has the spontaneity and the balance of a work evolved straight from a powerful imagination and an original mind. The Victory is exactly where it belongs, and bears a relation as true, as unforced, as anything in nature itself to the horseman pressing close upon its flying robe. Once more a word on the sculptor's discretion is inevitable. He wanted to express movement in this monument, to give the Victory almost aërial lightness in her carriage, to embody in the horse a type of great strength, pushing its way to the front, and to make Sherman himself the very ideal of a leader, who spurns the miles behind him. The bronze seems almost sentient. The group quivers with vitality. But the rhythm of this dramatic conception is held so well in hand, it is so majestic, that classic art itself could not produce a more nobly monumental effect.

St. Gaudens has, indeed, this much in common with the antique, that he cannot be trivial or violent, but must see life, and treat it in his art, with a wide and steady vision, a strong hand and a lofty feeling. Sincerity is writ large upon everything he has done, and from the medallions of his earlier days to the

Sherman, which is the fruit of his maturity, he has exemplified the purest qualities of modern art. He has his reward, which has come to him not simply in numerous commissions, but in specific honors bestowed by artistic organizations, and in a public repute that is growing wider every day. More than most men he has helped to make American art, and his name will endure among the brightest in its annals.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ.

A MOHAMMEDAN VIEW OF THE MACEDONIAN PROBLEM.

BY MUHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH.

I.

THE Eastern question is an old question which appears from time to time in new guises. During a large portion of the last thirteen centuries, the Muslims, equipped with light and learning, did achieve great victories over the Christians, and they remained triumphant till the time of the Renaissance, when Western Europe suddenly awoke from the deep slumber of ignorance and lethargy. On the other hand, the Islamic unity having been impaired about the middle of the thirteenth century by the invasion of the Mongol hordes who deluged Asia with human blood, the Islamic countries have been ever since continually moving downward on an inclined plane.

The slow progress maintained in the process of pulling down the once lofty and now crumbling edifice of the Ottoman Empire, is due to the conflicting interests of the great Powers of Europe. The geographical position of Constantinople is such that the possession of it by a great Power with a strong navy would upset the balance of power in the Continent of Europe. If the Russian Eagle were allowed to float over the battlements of the Bosphorus, the very existence of Austria-Hungary would be in danger, the Balkan principalities would cease to exist, and the Mediterranean would be transformed into a Russian lake. In that case, the position would become untenable, even for Germany and England. Hence Russia is biding her time and patiently waiting for the psychological moment; when the long expected final crash of the Dual Monarchy occurs, she will pounce upon her long coveted prey. Meanwhile, other forces are let loose, which are operating effectively, and keeping Turkey and the principalities of the

Balkan Peninsula in a state of turmoil, so that they may not become powerful and may drag along a precarious existence. In order that the American public, which is clamoring for the adoption of swift measures for wiping out Turkish dominion from the map of the globe, should understand the real situation, it seems necessary that a short description should be given of certain forces which are hard at work at that southeastern corner of the Continent and which are responsible for these periodical explosions. Religion and diplomacy, on the one hand, and economic and political forces, on the other, are contributing their share to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

Islam as a religious institution is cosmopolitan, and its polity was originally democratic; but, when its democracy was upset by the imperialist Omayyad caliphs, the missionary character of Islam was also neglected. Nay, in the time of some of the Omayyad caliphs, the Christians and the Jews were forbidden to become Muslims. This was carried to such an extent that the Caliph Omar-bin Abdul Aziz wrote to his governor rebuking him for doing so. His governor replied that, if these people were allowed to become Muslims, there would be a considerable loss of taxes. To which Omar replied thus: "Let them become Muslims, in spite of the loss of revenue; for Mohammed was sent as a guide to the right path, and was not sent as a collector of revenue." Similarly, the Turks, when they established their empire in Europe, never thought of organizing a missionary institution to convert their non-Muslim subjects to Islam. On the contrary, they allowed the conquered nationalities to preserve their religion, their language, their property and all their goods, granting them, besides, the privilege of directing at their pleasure the affairs of their community, of organizing as seemed good to them their schools, over which the Turkish government never exercised any control. Moreover, the Sublime Porte, by an anomaly, granted more liberty and greater means of instruction to the Christian races than it allowed to Muslims. This state of things continued to exist till the eighteenth century, during which Europe made strides in the path of progress and became organized, while Turkey remained all the while stationary. Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic Church, having lost England and some Continental countries through the Reformation, had inaugurated missionary enterprises in Asia and Africa, in order to make

up for its loss in Europe. Later on, the Protestant and other churches followed the Roman suit, and organized their own missions, too. They all found a good field in the Turkish Empire, since the birthplace of Christ and Christianity was in the hands of the Turks. Naturally, the Christian races of Turkey, having studied their national histories, literatures and their respective languages, and having been imbued with seditious sentiments through the influence of foreign missionaries, were filled with separatist ideas, aspired to independence, formed secret societies, intrigued with the Christians of the Continent, and brought anew to prominence the question of the Cross *versus* the Crescent. Consequently, Russia, France and England assumed the rôle of protectors of the Christians in the East, and religion began to serve the purpose of a screen for political and diplomatic games.

II.

There is no spot on the face of the earth where diplomacy, regardless of all ethical and religious obligations, plays such a fast and loose game as it does in Constantinople. Men of great knowledge and ability, who represent great Powers, do not hesitate to act without scruple, if they can achieve a diplomatic point. Each Embassy at Constantinople, with a heavy purse of secret-service money at its disposal, is a centre of peculiar activities. These great diplomats of Europe, although each pulling the strings to his own country's advantage, are agreed on one thing, that whenever the Turkish government introduces a measure which is calculated to promote the welfare of the Empire, they must manage to stop it, whether by persuasion or by threat. In the old days of the Grand Turk, it was customary to ask for concessions as a favor from the Padishah; but now, when the Turk has become weak, those ancient stipulations have become as the law of the Medes and Persians that can never be altered. For example, the fiscal arrangements of Turkey require to be reorganized to help the trade and industries of the country; but Turkey can do nothing in that direction, because the European governments are opposed to any kind of alteration in her fiscal arrangements. The whole Continent of Europe has adopted protection, but Turkey is obliged to remain, practically, a free-trading country, and to keep an open door for the products of the whole world. It was not long ago that the government of the Sultan wanted to

change the duty on foreign goods from eight per cent. to eleven per cent, *ad valorem,* but it was prevented from doing so, because of the unanimous opposition of the Ambassadors of the great Powers. This policy of obstruction on the part of the Continental Powers has ruined the industries of the Ottoman Empire, and is keeping Turkey perpetually verging on the border of bankruptcy. In short, European diplomacy at Constantinople is ever busy in encroaching upon the sovereignty of the Turkish government, by acquiring new concessions and by putting obstacles in the way of improvement and reform, and, at the same time, it employs itself in denouncing the maladministration of Turkey. Diplomacy, which has become a scientific art and one of the most honorable professions in our times, has two phases; one is exposed to the gaze of mankind, and is sublimity and charm itself; the other is concealed from the public view, and is the embodiment of meanness and ugliness; just as the teeth of an elephant that are visible, are different from those that are used in chewing the fodder.

III.

At no time in the history of the past did capitalists hold individuals and nations in the hollow of their hands so completely as they do now. The concentration of huge masses of wealth within a few narrow circles, has not only enabled the hoarders of money to exploit the laboring classes, but it has also endowed them with power to enslave communities, annex territories and dominate the world. The governments of the great Powers have to humor them to win their favor, while little kingdoms and republics are never done dancing attendance upon them. A revolution, whether in the South-American republics or in the Balkan states, is a harvest time for the capitalists, when they can strike hard bargains and tighten the rope of their control upon the neck of the finances of the indebted country. The constant strain on the resources of Turkey caused by ceaseless wars, insurrections and rebellions, has plunged her, head and shoulders, into debt. Every exigency, as it arises, compels Turkey to borrow more money and grant greater concessions. The mobilization of troops and the quelling of risings in her dominions are telling severely on her resources; and the nerves of her financial system are getting shattered thereby day after day. Movements, like the present revolt in Macedonia, not infrequently receive countenance from

financial agencies, which often act as auxiliaries to political aggrandizement on the part of European Powers. In short, the game so successfully played by British capital in Egypt is repeated with no less success upon Turkey, with the avowed object of reducing the Sultan into another Khedive under the protection of united Europe, so long as the actual division of the Ottoman Empire is not deemed advisable.

IV.

The political game of which the Ottoman Empire has been for a century and is, at present, a chessboard, is an extremely complicated affair. Every great Power in Europe takes part in the game. Russia, England, Austria and France have been playing for some time the prominent rôle, and of late years Germany has been added to the number. Whenever it suits any of these Powers to let loose the dogs of feud in the Turkish Empire, in order to divert the attention of the public from a certain point which it is the object of that Power to achieve, it only requires that a signal be made, and the rest of the work is done by revolutionary societies. Thus, a rebellion of the Armenians of Sassoon in 1894 was used to secure a short lease of life to the Rosebery Government, after the defeat of the Irish Home-Rule bill, by diverting the attention of the British public from home affairs to foreign affairs. But it was a sad experiment, for dangerous passions were excited which did not subside for over three years, and in their peculiar course of development resulted in real bloodshed in Anatolia and Constantinople in 1895 and 1896, respectively. The object aimed at was twofold: to retain office with an insignificant majority, and, by appointing a joint commission of inquiry into the Sassoon affair, to raise a wall of autonomous Armenia against the onward policy of Russia into the valley of the Euphrates. But Prince Labanoff, then minister of foreign affairs in Russia, proved to be more than a match for Lord Rosebery, and his successor, Lord Salisbury; he announced "Hands off," gave an ugly rebuff to British statesmanship and alienated Turkey forever from her so-called traditional ally, England, which was ruining her under the guise of a friend. Immense was the disappointment of the Armenians, who were first urged on to rebellion by the British pulpit, platform and press, and then ignominiously betrayed at the critical moment. Then England took her revenge upon Turkey, by

fomenting trouble in the island of Crete and encouraging the Greeks to land soldiers there, which resulted in the Græco-Turkish war of 1897, and in the final separation of the island from the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, England, thus keeping the Sultan—the Suzerain of Egypt—busy, and also keeping the European Concert engaged in blockading Crete, had an easy task on the White Nile and conquered the Egyptian Soudan. Meanwhile, Austria got an opportunity to blackmail Turkey over a trifling incident at Mersina, and by the threat of bombarding Smyrna exacted a large sum of money from the Greek indemnity and inflicted humiliation upon a Turkish official, simply to mar the effect of the victories of the Ottoman troops on the battle-fields of Thessaly. Later on, France also acted in similar fashion on behalf of some Turkish subjects who had become French citizens by naturalization, and made the question of the quay at Stamboul a pretext for doing so. Thus, the work of crippling the finances of the Turkish Empire and paralyzing her government is going on relentlessly, year in and year out; and the present revolt in Macedonia is, as pointed out above, a part of the programme.

V.

These formidable forces working together might baffle the wit of any government, great or small, and fill the men at the helm of affairs with apprehension that would make life unbearable. But the case is different with the present Turkish régime. Surrounded by enemies on all sides, the Sultan and his advisers, after the fashion of the ostrich, simply ignore the presence of any danger at all, scandalously neglect the defences of the Empire, and studiously pursue the most retrogressive policy imaginable. The whole authority is centred in the person of the Sultan Abdul Hamid, who directs the government of the vast Empire from within the precincts of the Yildiz Kiosk. He is surrounded by a camarilla which is in the pay of foreign Powers, and keeps him ignorant of the real state of things within the country and without. The ministers of the Sultan, to begin with, are not the best specimens of the Turkish race, and on the other hand they hold portfolios which carry no authority with them. This concentration of the administrative authority in one individual, there is no doubt, has exposed the country to the intrigues of foreign nations, and encouraged the secret societies to carry on a revolu-

tionary propaganda within the Empire. In fact, there never has been a government in Turkey that was so accommodating to foreign intrigues and so inviting to rebellion within its own dominions. The dishonest men around the Sultan, unfortunately, have no regard either for the welfare of the country or for his throne. It is a matter of common knowledge in Constantinople that, at the critical moment before the declaration of war with Greece in 1897, the information in regard to the gravity of the situation sent by Edhem Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman troops at Elassona, was withheld from the knowledge of the Sultan by the palace clique, which was hand in glove with the Prime Minister of Greece; and it was with difficulty that the Minister of War brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty. Similarly, at the beginning of the present rebellion in Macedonia, when General Chevket Pasha, the commander of the flying column in the vilayet of Adrianople and Inspector-General of the Bulgarian frontier, observing the crimes committed by the insurgents all over the vilayet, sent information to Constantinople and asked for instructions, he received only vain and absurd replies. Finally, when he reported the seriousness of the situation, and pointed out the remedy from a military point of view, he was exiled to Aleppo, for Tah-sin Pasha or Izzet Pasha, as it is said, represented him to the Sultan as a "pronunciamiento general." Had Chevket Pasha's advice been accepted and the rebellion put down at its commencement, the Sultan would not have been obliged to mobilize 400,000 troops in Macedonia.

When the Sultan Abdul Hamid came to the throne, twenty-seven years ago, Turkey had a powerful fleet, up to date, then; but the present régime has left it to the mercy of barnacles, all these years, to rot in the harbors of the Bosphorus. So, to-day, the same mighty war-ships which were once the pride of the Ottoman Empire have become utterly worthless, and have acquired the appropriate name of "the lame ducks," while the Turkish maritime provinces are deprived of the means of naval defence. Therefore, it has come to pass that the Black Sea is teeming with the finest Russian war-ships, while the Turkish fleet does not exist.

The position of the Muslims in Turkey is really pitiable in the extreme. They are, so to speak, between the devil and the deep sea. Their own unsympathetic government rides roughshod over them, while the whole of Christendom looks upon them as brutes

incarnate. No more chivalrous and dignified people can be found on the face of the earth than the Turkish Muslims. They are God-fearing and law-abiding people. To an ordinary Muslim, his religion is a part of his life, and he believes that he is responsible for his deeds to his Creator. The atrocities that are, through political bias, attributed to him, are things that he would simply never do. The Muslims of Turkey know, to their chagrin, that the whole Christian world is hostile to them on the ground of difference of religion, and that, if they were to make a revolution to upset this iniquitous régime, the European Powers would find in it an excuse to intervene and destroy the independence of their country. For, when in 1876 the reform party succeeded in establishing a constitutional government, Russia immediately declared war against Turkey. So they are resignedly waiting for better times, believing that the Sultan and his corrupt courtiers are not immortal beings. It is also a fact that the present administration of Turkey, tyrannical as it is to the Muslims, religiously avoids the oppression of either the Christians or the Jews of the country, because these have foreign missionary friends at home and other sympathizers abroad, who can make the welkin ring with their grievances. Of course, when a rebellion by Christians actually takes place, then the Turkish government is obliged to suppress it with a heavy hand.

These are the circumstances and causes that are looming up large on the horizon of the Ottoman Empire, and tending concurrently to the one end, that is, the disappearance of the Turkish rule from Europe. The most potent of these causes is the impotency of the Turkish government to ward off dangers. Nay, the present policy of the Turkish government seems, to an impartial observer, to be one which is materially helping on its own destruction. The serio-comic remark made by a Turkish Ambassador, to the amusement of his diplomatic colleagues, who were describing the strength of their own respective countries, was never so true as it is to-day. The Ambassador said: "Gentlemen, you are speaking of the strength of your countries; but I tell you that my country is the strongest of all, for it has been more than a century that the Turkish government has been trying to destroy itself, and it has not succeeded yet." It is humiliating for a Muslim to admit it, but this has been true of the Turkish government for the last quarter of a century.

VI.

There is a medley of race interests in Macedonia. The small races, such as the Wallachians, Roumanians and other remnants scattered over the country, may be left out of account, for their influence is inconsiderable. The Turks, Bulgarians, Greeks, Servians and Albanians are the rival races. The Turks, who are the ruling race, do not form more than one-sixth of the population of Macedonia. But the Bulgarians are more numerous than other races, and they consequently excite the animosity and jealousy of the Servians, Greeks and Albanians. Macedonia is, says a writer, a realm of rival propaganda, easy conversions of faith, and rapid transfers of nationality. The Austrians are conducting from Novi Bazar an active propaganda among the Albanians, to win their friendship, and are operating to a considerable extent through the Roman Catholic Church. The Servians are at work in the same way among the Bulgarians and other races. The Servians know that their fate will be sealed and that they will be hemmed in, if Macedonia is annexed to Bulgaria. The Greeks hate the Turks less than they do the Bulgarians. They know that the Turks, if they remain in Europe for years or generations, will never make another aggressive movement, but must remain on the defensive. But, with Macedonia controlled by the Bulgarians, the Greeks cannot hope to increase their power. Of all these movements in Macedonia, that of the Bulgarian element has been most active, under the leadership of Boris Sarafoff, a Bulgarian by descent. His revolutionary committee has been sowing the seeds of rebellion against Turkey in Macedonia, during these last ten years, with great success. Sarafoff and his committee have been smuggling arms and dynamite from Bulgaria into Macedonia for some time past, and preparing for a determined revolt. This revolutionary movement has the thorough sympathy of the Bulgarians. It has its headquarters and has long been managed in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria. The tactics of Sarafoff and his revolutionary bands are very simple. They march through the length and breadth of the country with rapine and plunder, burning Turkish and Greek villages, murdering men, women and children, and committing all sorts of atrocities, in the hope of goading the Turks to inflict dire vengeance in the form of reprisals. They have carried destruction and death into the towns and villages which are inhabited by the Greeks and Wallachs, and

destroyed twenty Turkish villages and much government property. And when reprisals occur on the part of the Turks, then Sarafoff and his committee send out harrowing accounts of the Turkish barbarity to the European press, in order to gain the sympathy of the Christian world, and also money to prolong the struggle. Their object in prolonging the struggle is to force Bulgaria to wage war against Turkey, and thus compel Europe to allow Bulgaria to have control over Macedonia, as it did practically allow the Greek influence to prevail in the isle of Crete after the Græco-Turkish war in 1897, by appointing Prince George of Greece as the Governor of the island.

But all this speculation on the part of the Macedonians and Bulgarians is like building a castle in the air. The only Power that would be glad to see Bulgaria annex Macedonia and, having access to the Mediterranean, become a powerful buffer-state south of Russia, is England. It would be even more agreeable to British statesmanship to embroil Russia and Turkey in war, on the present Macedonian embroglio. This possibility—which is very remote—of the roar of cannon and the clash of arms between Russia and Turkey, England would have tried to bring into reality under the pretext of humanitarianism, just now, as she succeeded in doing in 1877, had the concentration camps in South Africa not exposed the hollowness of her shibboleths. The nonconformist press in England, which is so loud in its denunciation of the Turks and enunciation of the modes of vengeance to be inflicted upon them by proxy, cannot deceive any of the great Powers of Europe at this late hour of the day. There is, perhaps, but slight possibility of Bulgaria's being misled by the sophisticated radical press of England, which is inciting her to commit suicide. The views of the Austrian and German governments, on this subject, leave nothing to be desired in the way of frankness. They have warned Bulgaria, and other principalities, to the effect that the aspiration of territorial extension on the part of the Balkan states would never be tolerated by Austria and Germany. Germany has great financial interests in the Ottoman Empire, and therefore it is to her advantage that Turkey should not become bankrupt. Germany is playing a leading part, at present, in Balkan and Danubian affairs, though unostentatiously. As regards Russia, she would be the last to allow the annexation of Macedonia by Bulgaria. That would practically mean the un-

doing of what she has been strenuously doing in the Balkan peninsula, through panslavonic propaganda, for over half a century. Her sacrifices of money and men in the last Russo-Turkish war, were not incurred to make Bulgaria or any other Balkan principality so powerful as to be antagonistic to her imperial interests. Although Russia is not going to concede to Bulgaria any territorial extension, still the present conflagration in Macedonia and excitement in Bulgaria are standing her in good stead, in respect of her policy in the Far East, where she is massing troops and fortifying her position, while men's minds are occupied with the thoughts of the possible incalculable dangers that may suddenly spring upon them any moment in the Near East.

This vexed problem of Macedonia may be solved in one of three ways. The first, which would be the least evil of all for Turkey, is that she should suppress the present rebellion in Macedonia within a reasonable period, without coming into collision with Bulgaria or any other Power. In this case, she would be obliged only to introduce, in that vilayet, certain reforms which are presented to her by Austria and Russia. The second, which would be disastrous alike to Turkey and the other small principalities there, is that Turkey and Bulgaria should choose to fight. This would be, perhaps, the last straw on the back of the camel, politically and financially, as far as Turkey and the Balkan states are concerned. Both parties would come out of the war shattered in military prowess and financial resources. Then it would be the opportunity of Austria and Russia to divide the Balkan states and European Turkey among themselves, and keep the Sultan at Constantinople as a mere figure-head, shorn of all the authority which he has proved so utterly unfit to wield. The reserved attitude of the great Powers during the present crisis indicates their expectancy of such an eventuality. The visit of the German Emperor to Vienna, shortly followed by that of the Czar, is portentous of great events. The third possibility, which is a mere pious wish on the part of those who would like to see Turkey revive, is that she should, with all possible haste, extricate herself from this trouble, bring all the small principalities into line, form a confederation on defensive lines, and turn over a new leaf in the administration of the country, in developing the resources of the Empire, in protecting home industries, and in establishing a new era of light and learning, and of prosperity and amity among her

subjects, without distinction of creed and race. This is not a sheerly chimerical idea, as it might appear to the ordinary thinker to be. Such a step would not be outside the pale of practical politics, if the man at the head of affairs at the Golden Horn were a real statesman. This one step would change the whole course of history in Europe and Asia, notwithstanding the obstacles and intrigues mentioned in the beginning of this article. For common-sense and a proper instinct of self-preservation ought to suggest to the war-lord of the imperial Ottoman hosts, the wisdom of grouping around him all the smaller states that have been carved out of his dominions; with their united strength, they could simply defy all their enemies, for in the present condition of Europe, social and economic, no government could dare to commence a war in which it was not absolutely certain of success; and no European Power single-handed could face such a Power as Turkey and the Balkan states combined.

But, alas! the Sultan Abdul Hamid and his satellites are not the men to whom such an idea could ever appeal. The infatuation of the man fills one with amazement. No man ever had such golden opportunities of attaching the three hundred millions of Muslims to his throne, and thereby becoming one of the greatest sovereigns on the face of the earth, as he had when he ascended the proud throne of the Ottoman Turks, and no man ever let slip such opportunities, without taking the slightest advantage of them, as he has done during these last twenty-five years. It is through his incapacity that one of the most glorious religions, established by the most illustrious among the prophets, is held up to ridicule to-day by a godless world of infidelity. It is through his ineptitude that the Muslims, who are honest, sober and dignified people, are represented with impunity throughout the civilized world as barbarians and savages. If the Sultan could only make peace with his own subjects and act according to the dictates of common-sense, he would find his position considerably strengthened, and many difficulties which are of his own creation would disappear. It seems ordained, however, that Abdul Hamid II. is to see the end of the Ottoman Empire as it was when he received it—to see it destroyed by his own hand.

MUHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH.

THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF FOREST RESERVATION.

BY HENRY MICHELSEN.

MR. JAMES P. KIMBALL writes in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for August on "Aggressive Forest Reservation." The allegations of the article, while partially correct, are made from the standpoint of an opponent of reserves; and, while the intent of the writer is undoubtedly consistent with good citizenship, it may be pointed out that the grievances complained of, though by no means imaginary, are not so serious as to overbalance the good done by the preservation of forests in high altitudes.

The high character of the author and his intimate knowledge of Western affairs, entitle his opinions to great respect. The purpose of this article is to discuss possible errors of statement, and to correct impressions caused by complaints of a strictly local nature.

The laws under which forest reserves have been established are the following:

The Act of March 3, 1891, (26 Stat., 1095): Section 24 thereof authorizes the President of the United States to establish public forest reserves.

The Act of June 4, 1897, (30 Stat., 34-36), provides for the administration of forest reserves created under section 24 of the act of March 3, 1891.

The Act of February 28, 1899, (30 Stat., 908), authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to rent or lease suitable spaces and portions of ground near, or adjacent to, mineral, medicinal, or other springs within public forest reserves.

The Act of March 3, 1899, (30 Stat., 1095), "Sundry Civil;" the Act of February 9, 1900, (31 Stat., 21), "Urgent Deficiency;" and the Act of June 6, 1900, (31 Stat., 614) "Sundry Civil," contain the following provision:

"Provided Further, That forest agents, superintendents, supervisors, and all other persons employed in connection with the administration

and protection of forest reservations shall, in all ways that are practicable, aid in the enforcement of the laws of the State or Territory in which said forest reservation is situated in relation to the protection of fish and game."

The Act of March 3, 1899, (30 Stat., 1097), "Sundry Civil," provides, "That hereafter all standard, meander, township, and section lines of the public land surveys shall, as heretofore, be established under the direction and supervision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, whether the lands to be surveyed are within or without reservations, except that where the exterior boundaries of public forest reservations are required to be coincident with standard, township, or section lines such boundaries may, if not previously established in the ordinary course of the public land surveys, be established and marked under the supervision of the Director of the United States Geological Survey whenever necessary to complete the survey of such exterior boundaries."

The Act of March 3, 1899, (30 Stat., 1233), "Deficiency," provides, "That in the form provided by existing law the Secretary of the Interior may file and approve surveys and plans of any right of way for a wagon road, railroad, or other highway over and across any forest reservation or reservoir site when in his judgment the public interests will not be injuriously affected thereby."

The Act of May 5, 1900, (31 Stat., 169), amends act of February 24, 1897, (29 Stat., 594), entitled "An act to prevent forest fires on the public domain."

The Act of June 6, 1900, (31 Stat., 614), provides, "That all selections of land made in lieu of a tract covered by an unperfected *bona fide* claim, or by a patent, included within a public forest reservation, as provided in the act of June fourth, eighteen hundred and ninety-seven, entitled 'An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, and for other purposes,' shall be confined to vacant surveyed non-mineral public lands which are subject to homestead entry not exceeding in area the tract covered by such claim or patent: Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect the rights of those who, previous to October first, nineteen hundred, shall have delivered to the United States deeds for lands within forest reservations and make application for specific tracts of lands in lieu thereof."

The Act of June 6, 1900, (31 Stat., 661), amends certain provisions in the Act of June 4, 1897, (30 Stat., 35), respecting sale of forest reserve timber.

With the agriculturalists of the West forest preservation is not a cult, but a matter of dire necessity. The very origin of the law proves this. But for the efforts of the United States Government to retain at least a part of the forest at the headwaters of the rivers, irrigation would have been a thing of the

past. The scantily timbered highland areas of the Rocky Mountains cannot bear the wasteful lumbering, followed by fires, which has been practised until the greater part of this territory has become a mountain desert; and cities, as well as farm lands, see their water supplies cut off in the early summer of each succeeding year, the irrigation seasons becoming shorter as each lustre rolls by, and the supply of drinking water for the growing cities at the foot of the Sierra becoming more scant as the needs of their populations grow greater.

It may be affirmed by interested persons that the denudation of the Rocky Mountains would in no wise decrease the natural storage capacity of the high altitudes. Mr. Kimball speaks of "ranges at elevations too high for entry or improvement, but perennially renewed under unfailing precipitation." It may be true of the western slope of the Teton Range of Wyoming that precipitation is unfailing, but this is not so as regards the eastern slopes of the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico, where the snow-fall is becoming more and more intermittent, and the peaks often are bare in March or April. An abrogation of the forest reserve laws, which would permit a denudation of the mountains below timber line, thus destroying the natural storage-reservoirs, would not be hailed with pleasure by the farmers of any of the Western States, but would be most strenuously resisted.

The purpose of the law as defined in the Act of June 4, 1897, is "to improve and protect the forest within the reservation; or to improve favorable conditions of water-flows, and to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States." No one familiar with conditions in the arid West may say that such a law was not needed. Nor can it be contended that the nation, in which the title to these lands is vested, was not right in segregating therefrom certain portions for the very great benefit of those who have put homes into the heart of the desert, and who have founded great cities and mighty commonwealths where the nomadic tribes of the aborigines experienced difficulty in their search for a scanty support. Having set apart these mountainous forest lands for these beneficent purposes, the nation was further bound to entrust the execution of its laws, under proper safeguards, to the constitutional adviser of the President, to whose care the administration of Interior affairs has been committed from the very inception of the gov-

ernment. That the reserve laws have in all cases been executed in accordance with the benevolent intent of the statute is not claimed. Mistakes have been more or less frequent. There have been changes in officials, as there have been changes in the Federal administration, but the result as a whole has been to enlarge the irrigated area upon the plains formerly arid, to establish new agricultural industries (notably that of the sugar beet), to aid the sheep-grower in providing feeding establishments for many millions of his lambs, and to enable the cattle-grower to winter his stock by enormously enhancing the crop of native and cultivated grasses.

As an offset to these benefits, we have the necessity, arising from the very nature of the case, of meeting the complaints of those who have settled within the areas set apart for reserves. It is true that the nation offers, in the Act of June 4, 1897, that in cases in which a tract covered by an unperfected *bona fide* claim, or by a patent, is included within the limits of a public forest reservation, the settler or owner may relinquish the tract to the Government and select in lieu thereof a tract of vacant land open for settlement, not exceeding in area the tract covered by his claim or patent. It is also true that, under this clause of the act, the settlers making the exchange have, in nearly all cases, obtained for their government scrip a much larger price than they would have received under a private sale. But this does not obviate the fact that, in order to establish a forest reserve, it is necessary to maintain the tree-growth upon the area thus set apart, and that, if claims are relinquished, the lands will probably be reafforested. Now, the extent of these relinquishments is much commented upon. In the Plum Creek Reserve, which embraces 180,000 acres, the relinquishments to date have been 9,420 acres, approximately five per cent. In the South Platte Reserve, which contains 683,520 acres, 18,520 acres have been relinquished, or barely two and seven-tenths per cent. It is submitted that the sufferings of so small a minority, which is well paid for its holdings, as is universally acknowledged, are not so great as to necessitate a change either in the law or in the methods of its administration.

Egress and ingress of actual settlers residing within the boundaries of forest reserves, or transit across the same to and from their properties or their homes, are guaranteed by the law. It is

also lawful for any person to prospect, locate and develop the mineral resources of the reserves, provided always that the necessary rules and regulations are complied with. And, since mining requires the use of timber, each locator may utilize such timber as he finds upon his own claim, and even obtain more under the proper application and permit. That companies are barred from the free use of timber within the reserves is a matter of necessity; were it otherwise, there would be but little timber preserved.

All water within the forest reserves may be used for domestic, milling, mining or irrigation purposes under the laws of the State wherein such reservations are situated, or under the laws of the United States and the rules and regulations established thereunder.

Stock grazing is allowed, under permits emanating from the Secretary of the Interior. The rules under which these permits are being granted have proven so beneficial, that a very pronounced difference is observable in the stand of the grasses on a properly regulated forest reserve and those on the public lands outside of it; and it has been acknowledged, time and again, that, if ever the public grazing domain is to be made useful to its fullest extent, it must be done upon the basis of the principles followed out in the management of the forest reserves. It may be permissible to detail very briefly the practice followed.

At the end of every grazing season, the stand of the grasses and the general condition of the range are ascertained. In Colorado, the matter is then discussed at public meetings between the stock-growers and the government officials. Where the growth of grasses is thin and scant, the number of head is reduced; where an increase of numbers pastured is admissible, an increase is allowed. The range is then divided in such a manner as to give preference in the following order: *(a.)* Stock of the reserve residents; *(b.)* stock of persons owning farms or ranches in the reserve, but not residing thereon; *(c.)* stock belonging in the vicinity of the reserve, known as "neighboring stock"; *(d.)* stock coming from a considerable distance from the reserve.

The aim being to allow each settler in the reserve a sufficiency of winter range and to keep the outsiders from intruding upon it, much bickering occurs at these meetings; but the result is, on the whole, that each man obtains his home range, which he may again receive during the succeeding year, as it is easier to

retain the cattle upon the lands to which the animals have become accustomed. It is thus made the interest of each owner to improve, as much as possible, the stand of his grasses. Arrangements are also made, under the laws of the State and the rules of the County and State Associations, for the return of the stray stock to the proper owners. These meetings have been found to be of the greatest value to all interested, and have done more to keep the peace between cattle men and sheep men than is at present understood. And they have obviated a good deal of talk about an arbitrary management of forest reserves. Of course, so long as self-interest shall actuate mankind, there will be disputes between herd owners as to range area. From the days of the Patriarchs to the present time, there have been difficulties to be overcome, boundaries, and rights to springs and water courses to be adjusted; but, upon the whole, it is properly claimed that the system adopted is fair, and that, if carried out without too much rigidity, it must succeed in settling, in an equitable and perfectly legal manner, the disputes which naturally arise.

Sheep and goats have been excluded from many reserves, because of the damage done by these animals to the young growth. Sheep men, of course, deny the justice of the stand taken, or the fact that any damage does occur. But the appearance of any sheep country demonstrates the fact that, wherever the herds are allowed to roam, the hillsides do become bare, and that the reproduction of timber ceases. In Colorado, a practical method appears to have been found of avoiding an unjust discrimination. Flock owners usually keep their herds within their own territory until the lambing season is over; they then drive them through the reserve to the ranges upon public lands above timber line, where the grasses are very nutritious, and where may be found the natural home of the wild sheep. It is thought that in this manner the highlands may be utilized without detriment to the interests of the country at large; it is certain that nothing has been heard lately of range wars between cattle men and sheep men.

As to game preservation, the law prescribes that forest officers of the United States must enforce the State game laws. This is supposed to mean that if a violation of the game or fish laws comes to the notice of a United States ranger, he must report the fact to the nearest State game warden. Forest officers have no

power to make arrests, and it is much to be hoped that no such power may ever be conferred upon them. A forester has too much to do to trouble about game, and the hunting season usually brings into the mountains such a number of campers as to make the watching of their fires a grievous burden to him. In the Eastern Colorado reserves, rangers do not carry firearms; the land is considered the heritage of the people at large, to be exploited under the proper regulations for the benefit of those entitled to them, the few game animals being entirely under the care of the State laws.

Roads and trails are being made, under the rules laid down by law, wherever necessity arises. State and county roads traverse the Colorado reserves from end to end. While illegal cutting of timber is prohibited, fifty per cent. more free-use permits have been issued than have been taken advantage of. Mr. Kimball says that "to the accepted theories of forest protection and the avowed purposes of forest reservation, no popular objection is seriously opposed." It is sought, here, to demonstrate that an effort, at any rate, is being made to carry out the law in letter and in spirit, and that there is little occasion in fact for the anticipations of evil in which Mr. Kimball indulges. In Colorado, the Federal and State authorities work in harmony, and there has been no friction. The State has endeavored to make its regulations conform to the forest rules of the Interior Department, and that action, being voluntary, certainly indicates that there is no absolute harshness in these forest rules. And the Agricultural Department is now engaged in important work to determine the value of the State timber lands. It would not be very difficult to establish similar relations elsewhere.

If the forest reserve regulations are to be embodied in concrete form in specific legislation, it is thought that but little change can be made in these rules as they now stand.

HENRY MICHELSEN.

IS FOOTBALL GOOD SPORT?

BY GEORGE E. MERRILL, PRESIDENT OF COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

WHEN thirty thousand people are willing to forsake comfortable homes and profitable business to sit several hours upon boards in chill November winds to witness a football-game between rival colleges, no one can doubt that the game is eminently successful as an entertainment. Few persons who know the game will deny that, also, it has excellent qualities as sport, for "sport" and "entertainment" are by no means equivalent terms. There are many champions of the game who contend that it is the noblest of all sports; but it would seem that some of the qualities urged for its maintenance in this high position should be regarded as elements in an interesting game rather than as elements in good sport. Apparently, a certain glamour hangs over the game so that it is not judged fairly, and certain features that would not be tolerated for a moment in other games are here regarded as essential. Perhaps previously published discussions of football have been diverted from this aspect of the subject by what has seemed to be the greater importance of the relations of the game to scholarship and the physical and moral life of the student; but, even in these respects, any defects of the game, regarded simply as good or bad sport, are not insignificant. It is the proposal of this brief paper to note some of these defects, long apparent to one who has had some exceptional opportunities for observing the game from the outside.

First of all, mention must be made once more of the physical danger of the game as it is now played. I name this first, not because I consider it the most important objection, but to give it its due place and dismiss it, as having already been amply discussed by others. It has its bearing, however, in any consideration of the game simply from the point of view of sport. Any

game that calls for the presence of surgeons, and that results in so many fatalities as occurred last season, is too serious to be called "sport." It has never been considered that hunting is good sport for the wild creatures hunted, and now it is coming to be doubted whether it can be considered good sport even for the hunter, since he seems about as likely to be killed by a fellow hunter by accident as to kill the game! This is not sport but murder. And is it not equally true that a game that sends a dozen young men to death in a season is getting beyond the definitions of true sport? Is not such a game what President Eliot calls it, "war"? And is not Professor Hollis right when, in a recent article, he indicates that no mere sport should thus put life in peril? Professor Hollis says:

"There is always the risk of serious injury to the participants. No season passes without many of them being in the doctor's hands for bruises, sprains, and broken or displaced bones. Frequently, in the heavy games, players have to be carried off the field, sometimes unconscious. Often, in stopping a play, the side on the defensive take chances with their own lives and with those of their opponents, justified only in certain professions like fire-protection, life-saving, seafaring, and railroading."

In other words, business, occupation for the good of society, necessary and unavoidable, may justify such risks, but they do not belong to good sport. The "Journal of the American Medical Association" gives the number of deaths from football accidents in the year 1902 as twelve. Several other cases of injury may have resulted in death, and over eighty cases of very serious injury are on record. One may willingly admit that such a game, just on account of its risks, is likely to foster courage to a marked degree. It is a "manly" game. It is not a game for boys. It is well that the game prepares men for hardship, producing, through its severe training, fine specimens of manhood that can endure a good deal of battering without fatal results. It is good to believe that many of the injuries sustained, particularly those of a permanent or fatal character, are confined to the teams of preparatory schools or of colleges so ill-equipped that proper training has been impossible. It is good that the game demands self-control under the most intense excitement; that it trains the judgment in quick and accurate decision; that it cultivates observation, gives power to detect, remember, anticipate, interpret and thwart the plans

of opposing minds; inculcates prompt obedience; and so preoccupies the attention of all students, to the exclusion of much that was formerly mischievous in college life, that it has become the ally of good order and reasonable living. All these good things have been sufficiently recognized, and we should regret to see the game abolished. But we should not regret to see it made less dangerous and better sport.

Can any game be reckoned as good sport, which depends so much upon conditions of mere inequality in the weight, the corporosity, of the players? The eleven that can tip the scales with the biggest weight on the beam, has everything in its favor. Ten pounds extra to a man almost surely will win the game. Skill alone has little chance against beef. One is reminded of Napoleon's brutal definition of the French people as so much "food for the cannon." On the gridiron, the more flesh the better, if it is of the right sort. Even in this sense the game is "manly," for every inch of height, every span of girth, every ounce of bone and muscle counts. But is it good sport when mere matter is so important? Shall we give unhesitating and unstinted admiration to a game that hurls upon one party an overwhelming mass of matter possessed by the other party, by brute force accomplishing no small part of the desired end? I am quite sure that the best sportsmen would wish to minimize this element in the game and emphasize skill.

A third objection to football as sport lies in the fundamental principle of it,—the stopping of good play by opposition and interference. I am embarrassed by the technical use of the term "interference." I shall not employ the word in its technical sense, but use it to mean any and all attempts to break up and prevent good play. In this respect how different is this game from almost any other? Baseball resents as foul any attempt to spoil the play of an opponent. What would baseball be if the man running the bases were to be tripped up? What, if the batter could have his bat lassoed in some way just before striking? All plays are made as difficult as they can be made by the skill of the opposing side, but every play is allowed to proceed to its finish without interruption. The pitcher's curve of the ball (a ball, by the way, perfectly spherical, and not the irregular, baffling, unscientific thing of the gridiron) can be met only by the judgment of the striker; the run to the base can be defeated only

by the superior quickness of the ball through the muscular arm and the unerring eye; the catch in the field can be perplexed by no second ball hurled at the player, and his triumph can only be lost by his own lack of skill. Billiards may give another illustration. The hard table, the evenly elastic cushion, the perfect ball, are all at the exclusive service of the player. Imagine what sort of a game billiards would become, if an opponent were permitted to interpose his cue between the moving ball and the cushion, or otherwise spoil the shot. In racing, the weights are equalized as far as possible; it would not be good sport if they were not; and the slightest touch of interference round the track is a foul sufficient to bar the horse. In track athletics it will hardly do to push an extra hurdle before the racer. The pole vault would not be in high esteem, if a rival were suffered to catch the vaulter round the waist as he rises from the ground. It is hardly necessary to continue imagining such cases. Is not football the only American game where the assured completion of a play is not an element in the sport? And is it good sport when the highest skill is balked by the interposition of some force which is destructive, not of final results, but of processes? In other words, is it good sport when skill is not allowed to carry out its effort to the very highest possible result? He who prefers a game that matches skill with skill to the utmost, and that comes to its end only by the comparison of perfected results, is a better lover of good sport, than he who would see skill never allowed to finish its work.

Another very serious charge against football as sport lies in the mere chance of time that closes the first half, and remands the game to a practically new beginning with the beginning of the second half. Harvard may be upon the point of scoring, a touch-down is not merely in sight but almost within grasp, but the minute arrives and time is called, and all the splendid play counts for naught in the result of the game. With the second half, no credit remains for the crimson so near to victory in the first half; and then Yale fights through the second half with equal skill, only, perhaps, to lose it all within a foot of the goal because another fateful minute has arrived. If we could be sure of such an equality in the game as we have imagined, it might be said that the chance is the same for each side. But, even then, the objection would lie that in neither half would justice be done—it would be only two cases of injustice. Let one of the students

work faithfully through a term in college, and then be called off by illness or some other compelling cause; he will loudly complain of injustice if, at the beginning of the next term, he is allowed no credit for his past good work, and is made to do it all over again. Is it good sport, when the most magnificent endeavor is negatived by the hand of the clock? It seems almost as foolish as the action of the universities in refusing an honorary degree to a great man, because he cannot be present at the Commencement to receive it. A great university seeks to honor by a great degree a great man for what it recognizes as great achievements. But the great man happens to be ill, or, as in a recent noteworthy case, he gives one more proof of his real greatness by remaining at the bedside of his wife in her desperate illness, or his train breaks down fifty miles away, and the great university is balked in its great purpose. To some this may seem unobjectionable! To others it will always seem the opposite, a travesty upon all right and seriousness of purpose. In football, at any rate, so much more important, it would seem that such fortuitous results should be eliminated. The mere lapse of time should not negative results that have been fairly and honorably won. The time limit thus applied to any other game would be recognized at once as a serious defect. Can there be any valid reason why the second half should not begin where the first half leaves off? Or, if a change in this respect would practically destroy the game, can no system of credit be devised by which the advantages won in the first half may have their fair share of influence upon the result?

Another question may be asked about the introduction of substitutes. Is it good sport to introduce fresh men into a game, when players are either injured or exhausted to such a degree that, for the preservation of life, or for the almost equally important winning of the game, they must be removed from the field? Is it fair to put a new player, wholly unwearied, into the place of a man who has fought through a game till it is nearly finished, thus giving fresh strength to a team and introducing new elements of skill? Judging the matter simply as sport, would it not be better to let the exhausted man die on the field, or at least for the purposes of the game to consider him dead, using substitutes only to remove the body? This would give all credit to those who have succeeded in disabling the player; it

would keep the superiority upon the side that has won it; it would avoid unfairness in bringing fresh men into competition with men wearied nearly to the point of exhaustion; it would make the progress of the game swifter and more exciting. But, all other points apart, it may be urged with confidence that the single element of unfairness in bringing fresh players into a game to contend with wearied men is fatal to the game as good sport.

Another and, so far as this paper will allow, a final objection to football as sport is the great inequality in the scores that almost always is to be marked through any season. Given a list of games between colleges, small or large, a great majority of the scores will show such inequalities as 21 to 0; 56 to 0; 45 to 6, etc. With great rarity ties are recorded, and of hardly less exceptional record are the games that show any approach to equal skill and strength. This is partly due to the objections already considered. The record of Colgate University for the season of 1902, which naturally is at the hand of the writer, is a good example:

Colgate	24	Colgate Acad.	0	Colgate	29	Rensselaer P. I.	0
Colgate	0	Cornell	5	Colgate	50	Hobart	0
Colgate	36	St. Lawrence	0	Colgate	5	Williams	16
Colgate	0	Syracuse	23	Colgate	22	Rochester	0
		Colgate	11	Hamilton	11		

Here are nine games. One is a tie. One shows a result of 0 to 5; another of 5 to 16. Six out of the nine record 0 for the defeated team, and the scores for the victors run from 22 to 50. Is this really good sport, judged simply as sport?

But, lest this showing should not be deemed sufficiently representative, let us take a list of games played on November 15, 1902, by colleges of all sizes and of varied athletic standing:

Yale	12	Princeton	5	Vermont	29	Union	0
Harvard	16	Dartmouth	6	New York	18	R. P. I.	5
Carlisle	5	Pennsylvania	0	Tufts	11	Holy Cross	5
Cornell	28	Lafayette	0	Maine	11	Bowdoin	0
Amherst	29	Columbia	0	Georgetown	12	N. Carolina	5
Bucknell	23	Annapolis	0	Dickinson	10	Lehigh	0
Brown	11	Springfield T.S.	0	Carthage A. C.	12	Hobart	0
West Point	46	Syracuse	0	Northwestern	11	Wisconsin	0
Williams	28	Wesleyan	5	Michigan	21	Chicago	0

One week later the following games were played:

Yale	23	Harvard	0	Swarthmore	22	Haverford	0
Hamilton	42	Rochester	0	Bucknell	17	Baltimore M.C.	5
Dartmouth	12	Brown	6	Virginia	6	Carlisle	5
Johns Hopkins	17	Maryland A.C.	0	Michigan	66	Oberlin	0

Here are results from twenty-six gridirons. Seventeen give the defeated no score, while the victors range from five to sixty-six. In the remaining nine games, six to five is the closest score, eleven to five the next, while the others mark a variation from twenty-eight to twelve for the winners and six to five for the losers.

Of course, these scores do not represent any such inequality as would be shown if they were counted by units. When a touchdown means five and a goal one, the inequality in the results is proportionally diminished. But, with such allowances made, the question yet seems to be pertinent: Is this good sport? Far better is the unit counting of baseball, and far better is the result in that and nearly all games. I have before me the records of this college in baseball covering the seasons from 1886 to 1902. Without attempting to give the scores for this whole period, I will only say that they are fairly represented in respect of the scores by the records of the last two seasons, which may be given:

Colgate	7	Opponents	8	Colgate	14 Opponents 8
Colgate	10	Opponents	5	Colgate	9 Opponents 6
Colgate	17	Opponents	3	Colgate	6 Opponents 5
Colgate	7	Opponents	1	Colgate	2 Opponents 7
Colgate	16	Opponents	9	Colgate	7 Opponents 14
Colgate	7	Opponents	5	Colgate	4 Opponents 14
Colgate	11	Opponents	1		

In this table the largest inequality is eleven to one, larger than that in any football-game of the preceding table in which the defeated made any score at all. But the table presents a far fairer record in general than the football-table, with its seventeen games with no score for the vanquished, and with the victors ranging from five to sixty-six. Basket-ball, though with a different method of counting, offers similar results.

Perhaps any changes in the game of football, in the directions indicated as desirable in order to improve its character as sport, might be fatal to the game. Of that I must leave others to judge. But it would seem that a word of warning and protest should be heard, and that any game that has so many elements of unfairness and unfitness should not occupy the first place in the esteem of American youth. Fair play is one of the ideals of Americans. It would seem that our inventive genius should be equal to the task of discovering some way of relieving this great game of the objections that are so evident. The athletic ambitions of the college student at present are in football to a large de-

gree. It is a pity that these ambitions cannot be centred upon a sport in which the element of chance shall be eliminated as far as possible, skilful and strenuous effort meet no interference, the common conditions of fairness be preserved, results that have been honorably won receive due credit, and the final scores be measurably close.

GEORGE E. MERRILL.

A UNIQUE MUNICIPAL CRUSADE.

BY FRANCES WESTON CARRUTH.

How a contagious eye-disease may for years escape the authorities, and, brought in by immigrants, unsuspected and undetected, become a menace to the sight of a nation, is being illustrated in the United States, where, unrealized by the public at large, trachoma, insidious and loathsome, is rampant among the poor of the seaboard cities.

A condition of the eyelids peculiar to the people of the Orient, the Russian and Polish Jews, and the Italians, who, in such vast numbers have recently poured into the United States, the cause of trachoma is filth; its danger lies in infection by contact. It is trachoma which has made Egypt and India nations of sore-eyed people. Travellers in the Orient are familiar with the repulsive condition of the visual organs of the majority of the natives, who, through ignorance and a lack of cleanliness, breed the disease which, when it does not actually cause blindness, weakens the sight and incapacitates its victims for life. Among the Orientals, it is not uncommon to see the eyes of sleeping children a mass of dirt and flies, ignored, if observed, by the careless mother. Indifference to these conditions may be the attitude of the traveller of whatever nationality in foreign lands, but the subject becomes one of vital importance when it is realized that, migrating to any country of the world, one of these eye-diseased persons, be he from eastern or northern lands, may infect and imperil the sight of an entire community.

It is a matter of history that Napoleon's army in the Egyptian campaign became widely afflicted with the malady, and it is believed that through these returning soldiers the evil was spread on the Continent of Europe.

In the United States, the aliens among whom trachoma is

prevalent are massed in the great tenement localities of the large cities, where the congested conditions of living offer fertile soil for the propagation of the disease. There they spread the infection through their families, the tenements, the factories, the schools, the playgrounds and the streets—wheresoever they come in contact with humanity. A few years ago, instructions were issued by the Government forbidding the landing in the United States of immigrants afflicted with the disorder; and it was thought that effectual precautions had thus been taken to extirpate a disease the general prevalence of which was not then suspected. But, important as was this edict of the Government, as great a danger lay within as threatened from without. The malady had been many years flowing into the country, steadily increasing, numbering its victims by the thousands, developing with astonishing rapidity among children, working evil to them unobserved, largely because, in its incipiency, it makes no outward sign.

Owing to these conditions, there has arisen a situation the gravity of which presents a new problem, not alone to the seaboard cities of the United States, but to the large urban communities from one end of the country to another. This is, How shall trachoma be stamped out of the nation? It becomes the duty not only of the Government but of municipalities to solve this vital question.

Greater New York, containing, unquestionably, the preponderance of aliens afflicted with the disease, is making, along original lines, a noteworthy experiment which furnishes interesting material for study and emulation. The municipality strikes at the root of the evil by attacking it in the public schools, where promiscuous association exposes all classes and races to the danger of the disease. To protect the eyesight of these public-school children, New York is engaged in one of the most picturesque fights in the history of civic sanitary effort, and one that is unique; for New York is the only city in the world which has ever undertaken an organized fight against trachoma, more than 17,000 cases of which were found, upon investigation, in last years' inspection of the schools.

Trachoma, which is caused by personal untidiness, spreads by contact, and it is extremely difficult for any but oculists to recognize the disease. In these facts lay the danger that awoke the

New York Board of Health to a sense of the gravity of the situation, in which the 500,709 school children of Greater New York were exposed to a malady that, in its advanced form, produces blindness. And so there was begun in September, 1902, a war of extermination, for the conduct of which, the Board of Health having already demonstrated the need for action, the city in January, 1903, made an appropriation of $20,000. An experimental campaign—for there were no precedents to follow—it has resulted, in a year, in the control of the disease, and in the cure of thousands of cases without interference with the education of the children. Nor is this all. Not one of the least important triumphs is its educational influence; it has brought practical sanitary knowledge to many a tenement home in which ignorant parents, learning to care for their children's eyes, have become alive to the need of hygienic conditions generally, and the value of soap and water frequently applied.

A year and a half ago, the authorities had no suspicion that the eyes of the pupils in the public schools were exposed to and affected by a contagious disease. But, in the clinics throughout the city, oculists were treating such a vast number of trachoma patients of all ages that Dr. Richard Derby, the eminent oculist and Consulting Ophthalmologist to the Board of Health, concluded that there must be many cases of the disease among the school children; and at his suggestion, made in June, 1902, just as the schools were closing for the summer vacation, Dr. Ernst J. Lederle, Commissioner of Health, ordered sixteen oculists to make a general examination of eyes in the schools. This was done, with the result, astonishing to the authorities, that 6,000 cases of trachoma were found in twenty-six schools, the preponderance of it among Yiddish and Italian boys, who had spread the contagion among their class-mates of both sexes and all nationalities, the negro children only being exempt. Why the ebony-skinned school children, and their parents as well, alone should prove immune is a fact which science is puzzling over.

Investigation having brought these facts to light, Commissioner Lederle at once caused trachoma to be put on the sanitary-code list of infectious communicable diseases, thereby giving the city authority to control persons affected by it. This important step having been taken, the Health Department proceeded to plan, during the summer, a vigorous campaign, which was begun as

soon as the schools opened in September, Dr. William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools, co-operating heartily with the Health Commissioner. Medical inspectors, nurses in the schools, teachers, oculists, parents, and the "little mothers" of the tenements were suddenly banded together in a common cause—to discover and cure diseased eyes and shield healthy ones from contagion. Few cases were reported among the babies, trachoma being found to develop usually when the child is between seven and eight years of age. A disease of the inner surface of the eyelids, commonly called "granular lids," in its mild form it is neither irritating nor apparent beyond a slight discharge, recognizable by the professional eye, but unheeded by the majority. In its virulent form, lids are heavy and swollen, the discharge repulsive—an alarming stage, when, if neglected, the lids and lashes turn inward, inflaming the cornea and causing blindness.

More children were found to be affected than the already overworked eye-clinics of the city could begin to attend to. To get and keep them under treatment (there is no danger of contagion from cases under treatment, so that exclusion from school is unnecessary, except for a short time in cases which have to be operated upon), the Board of Health, with the co-operation of Dr. John W. Brannon of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals, secured the old Gouverneur Hospital then just about to be torn down, and, on December 6th, opened in the heart of the Yiddish quarter, where it was most needed, a trachoma hospital under the supervision of Dr. Herbert W. Wootton, exclusively for the treatment of school children. Of the 17,000 cases found in the schools last year, 14,000 were treated at Gouverneur, which discharged 3,500 of that number cured.

A most encouraging feature of the Gouverneur work is that there was no cessation of it during the summer months. All through the vacation, children who had been patients continued to come for treatment, and many of them brought their companions suffering from "sore eyes." Parents and "little mothers," beginning to realize the nature of trachoma and the dire consequences of its neglect, became self-imposed inspectors, and greatly aided the work by their vigilant watch over the children to see that they attended the dispensary. Between two and three hundred children a day were treated during the summer months, while the operations averaged six a day. This active

summer crusade did much toward getting the lower East Side of the city under control. In that section, the Board of Health believes it now has under treatment every school child afflicted with the disease.

On the upper East Side, in "Little Italy" and the surrounding districts, where trachoma is particularly prevalent, the Health Department, to fight the disease on its own ground, has this autumn opened a hospital, where the methods so satisfactorily applied at Gouverneur will be pursued. To carry the Health Department's trachoma hospital work through its second year, an appropriation of $21,492 has been made by the city.

In the New York fight against trachoma, the oculists in the eye clinics and the medical inspectors in the schools work together from opposite ends of the line. The inspector sounds the first note of alarm. He it is who discovers the disease and starts the child to the oculist. It is the oculist's business to get the patient back to his studies as quickly as possible. In the up-town schools, where the children are of the better class, the cases of trachoma are mild—rarely is one found there so severe as to require operation. Many of these children go to a private oculist for treatment. The private oculist sometimes differs from the inspector in the diagnosis of the case, and tells the parent that the child is not suffering from a contagious disease. This causes complications; for the parent often brings the child back to school with the oculist's report, and insists that he be allowed to re-enter his class without undergoing treatment. The inspector is as firm that he shall not. To settle such disputed cases, it is now required that the children shall be re-examined at the Department of Health, where Dr. Wootton is in attendance for this purpose daily at the noon hour. His decision is final, and the parent must abide by it if the child is to re-enter school.

Under the present system of inspection, which went into operation in September, 1902, it is impossible for any school child to elude the vigilant eye of the visiting doctor. Heretofore, the teachers were the diagnosticians, the inspector merely examining those children whom the teacher thought to have symptoms of illness. The inability of any but the professional eye to detect trachoma necessitated personal inspection of each pupil by the doctor. To make sure that they should be expert, all the inspectors were specially instructed in the diagnosis of trachoma

previous to the opening of the schools. One hundred and sixty of these inspectors, eight of whom are women, zealous in the cause of stamping out the disease, are on the alert for suspicious symptoms. The method is most thorough and systematic. When, weekly, the doctor visits the class-room, the children are lined up by the teacher and pass before him in single file. Inspection includes the eyes, throat, skin and head. To facilitate the work, each child, as he reaches the doctor, is instructed to prepare for examination by opening his mouth, putting out his tongue, and drawing down his lower eyelids. Any indication of disease causes the pupil to be held for closer examination. If the trouble is in the eyes the doctor quickly determines if the condition be trachoma, in which case the teacher is asked to take down the child's name with a number beside it, the number being taken from a code-card evolved to prevent naming the disease and thus exciting both the child and the class. The pupil then passes on to his seat, and the next in line takes his turn. When general inspection is over, those children whose names have been taken by the teacher are called to the desk, one at a time, and receive instructions from the doctor. In the eye cases, not to alarm them by so unfamiliar a word as "trachoma," they are told simply that they have inflamed lids, and that they must see an oculist. A card, bearing their name and address, is given to them, which they must bring back to school signed by a doctor certifying that they are under treatment. To the child is also given a sealed envelope containing a card for the parent, on which is written the exact nature of the disease, the fact that it is contagious, and the further notice that the child should receive prompt treatment at any city dispensary, or by any physician, and afterward be sent back to school for re-examination by the inspector. If then found free from contagion he may resume attendance.

The child is given two days in which to get under treatment. Children out of school for treatment do not re-enter the class until re-examined by the inspector in his office in the school. If the pupil has his certified card, he is sent off to his class. If he does not have it, he is excluded from school until he brings it. Children under treatment for trachoma are required to have the date of each treatment stamped on the back of their card by the oculist attending them. When the case is one requiring operation, that fact is stamped on the card; so, too, at the proper time, is the

magic word "cured." In this way, the inspector, who has his list of children to be operated upon, and of children under treatment whose cards he examines every day, keeps track of the cases; and so well has this system worked that he can immediately detect and exclude a child who does not obey orders. In the year's work in the schools, the number of listed cases has been decreased from 17,000 to 9,000. No small part of the success of the trachoma fight is due to the card-system evolved by Dr. John J. Cronin, by which he, as Assistant Chief Inspector of the Department of Health, his medical inspectors, the teachers in the schools, and the doctors at the Board of Health clinics, know from day to day the condition of the eyes of every one of the 535,102 pupils registered this year in the schools of Greater New York.

At first, parents did not take kindly to the official announcement that their children were affected by a contagious eye-disease. Few ever had heard of trachoma. It came as a revelation, and the attitude of most was skeptical. Among the better classes, however, explanations were sufficient. Intelligent mothers at once grasped the situation, and were as eager as inspectors and teachers that the children should have the treatment necessary to cure their eyes and meantime continue attendance at school. In some cases, in the more prosperous districts, children seize joyously upon the exclusion card as a pretext for remaining away from school as long as possible; but such cases are investigated by the teacher interested in keeping her class attendance up to a high mark, and the truant, albeit reluctantly, returns.

In the congested districts, the nurses, twenty-six of whom were established by the Board of Health last year in the schools where they were most needed, become active participants in the trachoma crusade, when, visiting the homes after school hours to hunt up excluded cases which have not returned—a list of which the teacher gives the nurse every day—they turn missionaries, and endeavor to enlighten the parents as to what trachoma means.

The tenement mind and the tenement mother are a combination against which it is difficult to prevail. To the ignorant, trachoma was only a new-fangled word for "sore eyes," and sore eyes in their most repulsive form were too common among them to excite interest. When the pupil was excluded from school because of the disease an impression was made, but the process operated to the detriment of the child. Many tenement parents, instead of

getting their offspring under treatment, put them to work, availing themselves of this opportunity to evade the law. One boy, seven years of age, suffering from a virulent case which required immediate operation, was excluded, and failed to make his reappearance at the required time. He was not in his home when the nurse endeavored to find him, and persistent search traced him to a sweat-shop conducted by his father, who had put him to stitching shirts. The father refused to give up the boy. A truant officer was notified. He, unable to prevail, reported the case to headquarters, with the result that the father was summoned to court, and fined ten dollars for breaking the compulsory education law, and the boy was sent to the hospital. The case served as a valuable object lesson for the neighborhood. A ten-dollar fine is the sort of argument that penetrates the tenement mind.

On the children themselves exclusion operates in different ways. Many of the boys and girls aid and abet their parents in their trick of keeping them out to work. These children vastly prefer work to school. Others look at it from a different standpoint. They want to go to school, not because they like to study, but because they thoroughly understand that they have to get a certain amount of education before the law permits them to work. School to them is a means to an end. They rebel against exclusion as an unnecessary loss of time, and when ordered to get under treatment for trachoma they do so without the necessity of official exhortation.

Among the more densely ignorant of the foreign population, the nurses rely on the "little mothers" of the tenements to receive and carry out their instructions. They it is who take the care and feel the responsibility of the younger children, while their knowledge of English, which they gain with astonishing rapidity in the schools, and their quick intelligence, make them capable of understanding and undertaking much that their stolid parents, if perceiving, ignore. Owing to the untidy habits of these people, trachoma spreads rapidly in their homes. In her missionary spirit, the nurse points out the importance of cleanliness, the necessity of frequent bathing of the eyes, gives them a practical demonstration in the home treatment prescribed at the hospital, shows mothers how by carelessness and neglect they pass the disease from one to another. It is a liberal education in hygiene. When the nurse finds the mother with trachoma—and

frequently the mother has the worst case of it in the family,—the nurse persuades her to go to a clinic for treatment, not only to save herself from blindness but to spare the uninfected children. Enlightened in regard to these things, the mothers, particularly the "little mothers," show a disposition to do them. The year's work of the nurses in the tenements has been a wonderful aid. Results are beginning to show satisfactorily in the pleasant relations established, for, by tact, kindness and perseverance, the nurses have won the confidence of the people, most of whom now comprehend the meaning of what the city is trying to do for the eyes of its poor, and show a willingness at least not to retard the work.

As characteristic of the two nationalities, it is interesting to note that many of the Italians are averse to taking their children to a public dispensary, and, poor as they are, prefer to pay a doctor of their own race for treatment; while the Yiddish, keen on the scent of something for nothing, patronize the Gouverneur Hospital with one accord.

Zealous in his war of extermination, the Health Commissioner, as his next step, has, this autumn, inaugurated a system of eye inspection throughout the factories and stores of Greater New York, in order to reach the children who are at work and their parents as well. When found to have trachoma, persons of all ages are required to get under treatment; and, if it becomes necessary, arrangements for treating them at night, after working hours, will be made.

Thus is a progressive municipality conducting within its borders a winning fight, to stamp out a disease the prevalence of which throughout the country will be more generally realized as cities awake to the necessity of arresting the scourge, and determine, as Greater New York has done, that in justice to the eyes of their citizens the healthy should be protected and the diseased cured.

FRANCES WESTON CARRUTH.

A TRAMPWOMAN'S TRAGEDY.

BY THOMAS HARDY.

(The incidents on which this tale is based occurred in 1827.)

I.

From Wynyard's Gap the livelong day,
The livelong day,
We beat afoot the northward way
We had travelled times before.
The sun-blaze burning on our backs,
Our shoulders sticking to our packs,
By fosseway, fields, and turnpike tracks
We skirted sad Sedge-Moor.

II.

Full twenty miles we jaunted on,
We jaunted on,
My fancy-man, and jeering John,
And Mother Lee, and I.
And, as the sun drew down to west,
We climbed the parching Poldon crest,
And saw, of landskip sights the best,
The inn that stood thereby.

III.

For months we had padded side by side,
All side by side,
Through the Great Forest, Blackmoor wide,
And where the Parret ran.
We'd faced the gusts on Mendip ridge,
Had crossed the Yeo unhelped by bridge,

Been stung by every Marshwood midge,
I and my fancy-man.

IV.

Lone inns we loved, my man and I,
My man and I,
King's-Stag, Windwhistle high and dry,[1]
The "Horse" on Hintock Green,
The cozy house at Wynyard's Gap,
The "Hut" renowned on Bredy's Knap,
And many another wayside tap
Where folk might sit unseen.

V.

Now as we trudged—O deadly day,
O deadly day!—
I teased my fancy-man in play
And wanton idleness.
I walked alongside jeering John,
I laid his hand my waist upon;
I would not bend my glances on
My lover's dark distress.

VI.

Thus Poldon top at last we won,
At last we won,
And gained the inn at sink of sun
Far-famed as Marshal's Elm.[2]
Beneath us figured tor and lea,
From Mendip to the Western sea—
I doubt if finer sight there be
Within this royal realm.

VII.

Inside the settle all arow—
Ay, all arow—
We sat, I next to John, to show
That he had wooed and won.
And then he took me on his knee,
And swore it was his turn to be

My favored man, and Mother Lee
Passed to my former one.

VIII.

Then in a voice I'd never heard,
I'd never heard,
My only Love to me: "One word,
My Lady, if you please!
Whose is the child you are like to bear?
His? After all my months o' care?"
God knows 'twas not! But, O despair!
I nodded—still to tease.

IX.

Then up he sprung, and with his knife—
And with his knife
He let out jeering Johnny's life;
Yes; there, at sink of sun.
The slant ray through the window nigh
Gilded John's blood and glazing eye,
Ere scarcely Mother Lee and I
Knew that the deed was done.

X.

The taverns tell the gloomy tale,
The gloomy tale,
How that at Ivel-chester jail
My man, my lover, swung;
Though stained till now by no misdeed
Save one horse ta'en in time o' need;
(Blue Jimmy stole right many a steed
Ere his last fling he flung.[3])

XI.

Thereaft I walked the world alone,
Alone, alone!
On his death-day I gave my groan,
And dropt his dead-born child.
'Twas nigh the jail, beneath a tree,
None tending me; for Mother Lee

Had died at Glaston, leaving me
Unfriended on the wild.

XII.

And in the night as I lay weak,
As I lay weak,
The leaves a-falling on my cheek,
The red moon low declined—
The ghost of him I'd die to kiss
Rose up, and said: "O tell me this!
Was the child mine, or was it his?
Speak, that I rest may find!"

XIII.

O, doubt not but I told him then,
I told him then,
That I had kept me from all men
Since we joined lips and swore.
Whereat he smiled, and thinned away
As the wind stirred to call up day . . . .
—'Tis past! And I alone now stay
Haunting the Western moor.

THOMAS HARDY.

[1]The highness and dryness of Windwhistle Inn was impressed upon the writer two or three years ago, when, after climbing on a hot afternoon to the beautiful spot near which it stands and entering the inn for tea, he was informed by the landlady that none could be had, unless he would fetch water from a valley half a mile off, the house containing not a drop owing to its situation. However, a tantalizing row of full barrels behind her back testified to a wetness of a certain sort, which was not at that time desired.

[2]Marshal's Elm, so picturesquely situated, is no longer an inn, though the house, or part of it, still remains.

[3]"Blue Jimmy" was a notorious horse-stealer of Wessex in those days, who appropriated more than a hundred horses before he was caught. He was hanged at the now demolished Ivel-chester or Ilchester jail above mentioned, that building formerly of so many sinister associations in the minds of the local peasantry. Its site is now an innocent-looking, green meadow.

THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART XI.

XXVIII.

One of the features of the restless afternoon passed by Strether after Mrs. Pocock's visit was an hour spent, shortly before dinner, with Maria Gostrey, whom, of late, in spite of so sustained a call on his attention from other quarters, he had by no means neglected. And that he was still not neglecting her will appear from the fact that he was with her again at the same hour on the very morrow—with no less fine a consciousness, moreover, of being able to hold her ear. It continued inveterately to occur, for that matter, that whenever he had taken one of his greater turns he came back to where she so faithfully awaited him. None of these excursions had, on the whole, been livelier than the pair of incidents—the fruit of the short interval since his previous visit—on which he had now to report to her. He had seen Chad Newsome late the night before, and he had had that morning, as a sequel to this conversation, a second interview with Sarah. "But they're all off," he said, "at last."

It puzzled her a moment. "All?—Mr. Newsome with them?"

"Ah, not yet! Sarah and Jim and Mamie. But Waymarsh with them—for Sarah. It's too beautiful," Strether continued; "I find I don't get over that—it's always a fresh joy. But it's a fresh joy too," he added, "that—well, what do you think? Little Bilham also goes. But he of course goes for Mamie."

Miss Gostrey wondered. "'For' her? Do you mean they're already engaged?"

"Well," said Strether, "say then for *me*. He'll do anything for me; just as I will, for that matter—anything I can—for him. Or for Mamie either. *She*'ll do anything for me."

Miss Gostrey gave a substantial sigh. "The way you reduce people to subjection!"

"It's certainly, on one side, wonderful. But it's quite equalled, on another, by the way I don't. I haven't reduced Sarah, since yesterday; though I've succeeded in seeing her again, as I'll presently tell you. The others, however, *are* all right. Mamie, by that blessed law of ours, *must* have a young man."

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"But what must poor Mr. Bilham have? Do you mean they'll *marry* for you?"

"I mean that, by the same blessed law, it won't matter a grain if they don't—I sha'n't have in the least to worry."

She saw, as usual, what he meant. "And Mr. Jim?—who goes for *him?*"

"Oh," Strether had to admit, "I couldn't manage *that.* He's thrown, as usual, on the world; the world which, after all, by his account—for he has prodigious adventures—seems very good to him. He fortunately—'over here,' as he says—finds the world everywhere; and his *most* prodigious adventure," he went on, "has been of course of the last few days."

Miss Gostrey, already knowing, instantly made the connection. "He has seen Marie again?"

"He went, all by himself, the day after Chad's party—didn't I tell you?—to tea with her. By her invitation—all alone."

"Quite like *you!*" Maria smiled.

"Oh, but he's more wonderful about her than I am!" And then as his friend showed how she could believe it, filling it out, fitting it on to old memories of the wonderful woman: "What I should have liked to manage would have been *her* going."

"To Switzerland with the party?"

"For Jim—and for symmetry. If it had been workable, moreover, for a fortnight, she'd have gone. She's ready"—he followed up his renewed vision of her—"for anything."

Miss Gostrey went with him a minute. "She's too perfect!"

"She *will,* I think," he pursued, "go to-night to the station."

"To see him off?"

"With Chad—marvellously—as part of their general attention. And she does it"—it kept before him—"with a light, light grace, a little free, free gayety, that may well softly bewilder Mr. Pocock."

It kept so before him that his companion had after an instant a friendly comment. "As, in short, it has softly bewildered *you.* Are you really in love with her?" Maria threw off.

"It's of no importance I should know," he replied: "it matters so little—has nothing to do, practically, with either of us."

"All the same"—Maria continued to smile—"they go, the five, as I understand you, and you and Mme. de Vionnet stay."

"Oh, and Chad." To which Strether added: "And you."

"Ah, 'me'!"—she gave a small impatient wail again, in which something of the unreconciled seemed suddenly to break out. "*I* don't stay, it somehow seems to me, much to my advantage. In the presence of all you cause to pass before me I've a tremendous sense of privation."

Strether hesitated. "But your privation, your keeping out of everything, has been—hasn't it?—by your own choice."

"Oh yes; it has been necessary—that is, it has been better for you. What I mean is only that I seem to have ceased to serve you."

"How can you tell that?" he asked. "You don't know how you serve me. When you cease—"

"Well?" she said as he dropped.

"Well, I'll *let* you know. You can be quiet till then."

She thought a moment. "Then you positively like me to stay?"

"Don't I treat you as if I did?"

"You're certainly very kind to me. But that," said Maria, "is for myself. It's getting late, as you see, and Paris turning rather hot and dusty. People are scattering, and some of them, in other places, want me. But if you want me here—!"

She had spoken as resigned to his word, but he had of a sudden a still sharper sense than he would have expected of desiring not to lose her. "I want you here."

She took it as if the words were all she had wished; as if they brought her, gave her something that was the compensation of her case. "Thank you," she simply answered. And then as he looked at her a little harder, "Thank you very much," she repeated.

It had broken as with a slight arrest into the current of their talk, and it held him a moment longer. "Why, two months ago, did you so suddenly dash off? The reason you gave me for keeping away three weeks at that time was not the real one."

She recalled. "I never supposed you believed it was. Yet," she continued, "if you didn't guess it, that was just what helped you."

He looked away from her on this; he indulged, so far as space permitted, in one of his slow absences. "I've often thought of it, but never to feel that I could guess it. And you see the consideration with which I've treated you in never asking till now."

"Now then—why *do* you ask?"

"To show you how I miss you when you're not here, and what it does for me."

"It doesn't seem to have done," she laughed, "all it might! However," she added, "if you've really never guessed the truth, I'll tell it you."

"I've never guessed it," Strether declared.

"Never?"

"Never."

"Well then, I dashed off, as you say, so as not to have the confusion of being there if Marie de Vionnet should tell you anything to my detriment."

He looked, however, as if he still doubted. "You even then would have had to face it on your return."

"Oh, if I had found reason to believe it something very bad, I would have left you altogether."

"So then," he continued, "it was only on guessing she had been on the whole merciful that you ventured back?"

Maria kept it together. "I owe her thanks. Whatever her temptation, she didn't separate us. That's one of my reasons," she went on, "for admiring her so."

"Let it pass then," said Strether, "for one of mine as well. But what would have been her temptation?"

"What are ever the temptations of women?"

He thought—but hadn't, naturally, to think too long. "Men?"

"She would have had you, with it, more for herself. But she saw she could have you without it."

"Oh, 'have' me!" Strether a trifle ambiguously sighed. "*You*," he handsomely declared, "would have had me at any rate *with* it."

"Oh, 'have' you!"—she echoed it as he had done. "I do have you, however," she less ironically said, "from the moment you express a wish."

He stopped before her, full of the disposition. "I'll express fifty."

Which indeed begot in her, with a certain inconsequence, a return of her small wail. "Ah, there you are!"

There, if it were so, he continued for the rest of the time to be, and it was as if to show her how she could still serve him that, coming back to the departure of the Pococks, he gave her the view, vivid with a hundred more touches than we can reproduce, of what had happened for him that morning. He had had ten minutes with Sarah at her hotel, ten minutes reconquered, by irresistible pressure, from the time over which he had already described her to Miss Gostrey as having, at the end of their interview at his own establishment, passed the great sponge of the future. He had caught her by not announcing himself, had found her in her sitting-room with a dressmaker and a *lingère,* whose accounts she appeared to have been more or less ingenuously settling, and who soon withdrew. Then he had explained to her how he had succeeded, late the night before, in keeping his promise of seeing Chad. "I told her I'd take it all."

"You'd 'take' it?"

"Why, if he doesn't go."

Maria waited. "And who takes it if he does?" she inquired with a certain grimness of gayety.

"Well," said Strether, "I think I take, in any event, everything."

"By which I suppose you mean," his companion brought out after a moment, "that you definitely understand you now lose everything."

He stood before her again. "It does come perhaps to the same thing. But Chad, now that he has seen, doesn't really want it."

She could believe that, but she made, as always, for clearness. "Still, what, after all, *has* he seen?"

"What they want of him. And it's enough."

"It contrasts so unfavorably with what Mme. de Vionnet wants?"

"It contrasts—just so; all round, and tremendously."

"Therefore, perhaps, most of all with what *you* want?"

"Oh," said Strether, "what I want is a thing I've ceased to measure or even to understand."

But his friend none the less went on. "Do you want Mrs. Newsome—after such a way of treating you?"

It was a straighter way of dealing with this lady than they had as yet—such was their high form—permitted themselves; but it seemed not wholly for this that he delayed a moment. "I dare say it has been, after all, the only way she could have imagined."

"And does that make you want her any more?"

"I've tremendously disappointed her," Strether thought it worth while to mention.

"Of course you have. That's rudimentary; that was plain to us long ago. But isn't it almost as plain," Maria went on, "that you've even yet your straight remedy? Really drag him away, as I believe you still can, and you'd cease to have to count with her disappointment."

"Ah then," he laughed, "I should have to count with yours!"

But this barely struck her now. "What, in that case, should you call counting? You haven't come out where you are, I think, to please me."

"Oh," he insisted, "that too, you know, has been part of it. I can't separate—it's all one; and that's perhaps why, as I say, I don't understand." But he was ready to declare again that this didn't in the least matter; all the more that, as he affirmed, he *hadn't* really as yet "come out." "She gives me after all, on its coming to the pinch, a last mercy, another chance. They don't sail, you see, for five or six weeks more, and they haven't—she admits that—expected Chad would take part in their tour. It's still open to him to join them, at the last, at Liverpool."

Miss Gostrey considered. "How in the world is it 'open' unless you open it? How can he join them at Liverpool if he but sinks deeper into his situation here?"

"He has given her—as I explained to you that she let me know yesterday—his word of honor to do as I say."

Maria stared. "But if you say nothing!"

Well, he, as usual, walked about on it. "I did say something this morning. I gave her my answer—the word I had promised her after hearing from himself what *he* had promised. What she demanded of me yesterday, you'll remember, was the engagement then and there to make him take up this vow."

"Well then," Miss Gostrey inquired, "was the purpose of your visit to her only to decline?"

"No; it was to ask, odd as that may seem to you, for another delay."

"Ah, that's weak!"

"Precisely!" She had spoken with impatience, but, so far as that at least, he knew where he was. "If I *am* weak I want to find it out. If I don't find it out I shall have the comfort, the little glory, of thinking I'm strong."

"It's all the comfort, I judge," she returned, "that you *will* have!"

"At any rate," he said, "it will have been a month more. Paris may grow, from day to day, hot and dusty, as you say; but there are other things that are hotter and dustier. I'm not afraid to stay on; the summer here must be amusing in a wild—if it isn't a tame—way of its own; the place at no time more picturesque. I think I shall like it. And then," he benevolently smiled for her, "there will be always you."

"Oh," she objected, "it won't be as a part of the picturesqueness that I shall stay, for I shall be the plainest thing about you. You may, you see, at any rate," she pursued, "have nobody else. Mme. de Vionnet may very well be going off, mayn't she?—and Mr. Newsome by the same stroke: unless, indeed, you've had an assurance from them to the contrary. So that if your idea's to stay for them"—it was her duty to suggest it—"you may be left in the lurch. Of course if they do stay"—she kept it up—"they would be part of the picturesqueness. Or else indeed you might join them somewhere."

Strether seemed to face it as if it were a happy thought; but the next moment he spoke more critically. "Do you mean that they'll probably go off together?"

She just considered. "I think it will be treating you quite without ceremony if they do; though, after all," she added, "it would be difficult to see, now, quite what degree of ceremony properly meets your case."

"Of course," Strether conceded, "my attitude toward them is extraordinary."

"Just so; so that it will be hard to see what style of proceeding on their own part can altogether match it. The attitude of their own that won't pale in its light they've doubtless still to work out. The really handsome thing, perhaps," she presently threw off, "*would* be for them to withdraw into more secluded conditions, offering at the same time to share them with you." He looked at her, on this, as if some generous irritation—all on his behalf—had suddenly again flickered in her; and what she next said, indeed, half explained it. "Don't really be afraid to tell me if what now holds you *is* the pleasant prospect of the empty town, with plenty of seats in the shade, cool drinks, deserted museums, drives to the Bois in the evening, and our wonderful woman all to yourself." And she kept it up still more. "The handsomest thing of *all*, when one makes it out, would, I dare say, be that Mr. Chad should for a while go off by himself. It's a pity, from that point of view," she wound up, "that he does *not* pay his mother a visit. It would at least occupy your interval." The thought in fact held her a moment. "*Why* doesn't he pay his mother a visit? Even a week, at this good moment, would do."

"My dear lady," Strether replied—and he had it even to himself surprisingly ready—"my dear lady, his mother *has* paid him a visit. Mrs. Newsome has been with him, this month, with an intensity that I'm sure he has thoroughly felt; he has lavishly entertained

her, and she has let him have her thanks. Do you suggest he shall go back for more of them?"

"Well"—she succeeded after a little in shaking it off. "I see. It's what you don't suggest—what you haven't. And you know."

"So would you, my dear," he kindly said, "if you had so much as seen her."

"As seen Mrs. Newsome?"

"No, Sarah—which, both for Chad and for myself, has served all the purpose."

"And served it in a manner," she responsively mused, "so extraordinary!"

"Well, you see," he partly explained, "what it comes to is that she's all cold thought; so that Sarah could serve it to us cold without its really losing anything. So it is that we know what she thinks of us."

Maria had followed, but she had an arrest. "What I've never made out, if you come to that, is what you think—I mean you personally—of *her*. Don't you so much, when all's said, as care a little?"

"That," he answered with no loss of promptness, "is what even Chad himself asked me last night. He asked me if I don't mind the loss—well, the loss of an opulent future. Which, moreover," he hastened to add, "was a perfectly natural question."

"I call your attention, all the same," said Miss Gostrey, "to the fact that I don't ask it. What I venture to ask is whether it's to Mrs. Newsome herself that you're indifferent."

"I haven't been so"—he spoke with all assurance. "I've been the very opposite. I've been, from the first moment, preoccupied with the impression everything might be making on her—quite oppressed, haunted, tormented by it. I've been interested *only* in her seeing what I've seen. And I've been as disappointed in her refusal to see it as she has been in what has appeared to her the perversity of my insistence."

"Do you mean that she has shocked you as you've shocked her?"

Strether hesitated. "I'm doubtless not so shockable. But, on the other hand, I've gone much further to meet her. She, on her side, hasn't budged an inch."

"So that you're now at last"—Maria pointed the moral—"in the sad stage of recriminations."

"No—it's only to you I speak. I've been like a lamb to Sarah. I've only put my back to the wall. It's to *that* one naturally staggers when one has been violently pushed there?"

She watched him a moment. "Thrown over?"

"Well, I feel so that I've landed somewhere, that I think I must have been thrown."

She turned it over, but as hoping to clarify much rather than to harmonize. "The thing is that I suppose you've been disappointing—"

"Quite from the very first of my arrival? I dare say. I admit I was surprising even to myself."

"And then, of course," Maria went on, "I had much to do with it."

"With my being surprising—?"

"That will do," she laughed, "if you're too delicate to call it *my* being! Naturally," she added, "you came over more or less for surprises."

"Naturally!"—he valued the reminder.

"But they were to have been all for you"—she continued to piece it out—"and none of them for *her*."

Once more he stopped before her as if she had touched the point. "That's just her difficulty—that she doesn't admit surprises. It's a fact that, I think, describes and represents her; and it falls in with what I tell you—that she's all, as I've called it, fine cold thought. She had, to her own mind, worked the whole thing out in advance, and worked it out for me as well as for herself. Whenever she has done that, you see, there's no room left; no margin, as it were, for any alteration. She's filled as full, packed as tight, as she'll hold, and if you wish to get anything more or different either out or in—"

"You've got to make over, altogether, the woman herself?"

"What it comes to," said Strether, "is that you've got morally and intellectually to get rid of her."

"Which would appear," Maria returned, "to be practically what you've done."

But her friend threw back his head. "I haven't touched her. She won't *be* touched. I see it now as I've never done; and she hangs together with a perfection of her own," he went on, "that does suggest a kind of wrong in *any* change in her composition. It was at any rate," he wound up, "the woman herself, as you call her, the whole moral and intellectual being or block, that Sarah brought me over to take or to leave."

It turned Miss Gostrey to deeper thought. "Fancy having to take at the point of the bayonet a whole moral and intellectual being or block!"

"It was in fact," said Strether, "what, at home, I *had* done. But somehow, over there, I didn't quite know it."

"One never does, I suppose," Miss Gostrey concurred, "realize in advance, in such a case, the size, as you may say, of the block. Little by little it looms up. It has been looming for you more and more, till at last you see it all."

"I see it all," he absently echoed, while his eyes might have been fixing some particularly large iceberg in a cool blue northern sea. "It's magnificent!" he then rather oddly exclaimed.

But his friend, who was used to this kind of inconsequence in him, kept the thread. "There's nothing so magnificent—for making others feel you—as to have no imagination."

It brought him straight round. "Ah, there you are! It's what I said last night to Chad. That he himself, I mean, has none."

"Then it would appear," Maria suggested, "that he has, after all, something in common with his mother."

"He has in common that he makes one, as you say, 'feel' him. And yet," he added, as if the question were interesting, "one feels others too, even when they have plenty."

Miss Gostrey continued suggestive. "Mme. de Vionnet?"

"*She* has plenty."

"Certainly—she had quantities of old. But there are different ways of making oneself felt."

"Yes, it comes, no doubt, to that. You now—"

He was benevolently going on, but she wouldn't have it. "Oh, I *don't* make myself felt; so *my* quantity needn't be settled. Yours, you know," she went on, "is monstrous. No one has ever had so much."

It struck him for a moment. "That's what Chad also said."

"There *you* are then—though it isn't for him to complain of it!"

"Oh, he doesn't complain of it," said Strether.

"That's all that would be wanting! But apropos of what," Maria went on, "did the question come up?"

"Well, of his asking me what it is I gain."

She had a pause. "Then, as I've asked you too, it settles *my* case. Oh, you *have*," she repeated, "treasures!"

But he had been for an instant thinking away from this, and he came up in another place. "And yet Mrs. Newsome—it's a thing to remember—*has* imagined, did, that is, imagine, and apparently still does, horrors about what I should have found. I was booked, by her vision—extraordinarily intense, after all—to find them; and that I didn't, that I couldn't, that, as she evidently felt, I wouldn't —this evidently didn't at all, as they say, 'suit' her book. It was more than she could bear. That was her disappointment."

"You mean you were to have found Chad himself horrible?"

"I was to have found the woman."

"Horrible?"

"Found her as she imagined her." And Strether paused as if for his own expression of it he could add no touch to that picture.

His companion had meanwhile thought. "She imagined stupidly —so it comes to the same thing."

"Stupidly? Oh!" said Strether.

But she insisted. "She imagined meanly."

He had it, however, better. "It couldn't but be ignorantly."

"Well, intensity with ignorance—what do you want worse?"

This question might have held him, but he let it pass. "Sarah isn't ignorant—now; she keeps up the theory of the horrible."

"Ah, but she's intense—and that by itself will do sometimes as well. If it doesn't do, in this case, at any rate, to deny that Marie's charming, it will do at least to deny that she's good."

"What I claim is that she's good for Chad."

"You *don't* claim"—she seemed to like it clear—"that she's good for *you*."

But he continued without heeding. "That's what I wanted them to come out for—to see for themselves if she's bad for him."

"And now that they've done so, they won't admit that she's good even for anything?"

"They do think," Strether presently admitted, "that she's on the whole about as bad for me. But they're consistent, of course, inasmuch as they've their clear view of what's good for both of us."

"For you, to begin with"—Maria, all responsive, confined the question for the moment—"to eliminate from your existence and if possible even from your memory, the dreadful creature that *I* must gruesomely shadow forth for them, even more than to eliminate the distincter evil—thereby a little less portentous—of the person whose confederate you've suffered yourself to become. However, that's comparatively simple. You can easily, at the worst, after all, give me up."

"I can easily at the worst, after all, give you up." The irony was so obvious that it needed no care. "I can easily at the worst, after all, even forget you."

"Call that then workable. But Mr. Newsome has much more to forget. How can *he* do it?"

"Ah, there again we are! That's just what I was to have made him do; just where I was to have worked with him and helped."

She took it in silence and without attenuation—as if perhaps from very familiarity with the facts; and her thought made a connection without showing the links. "Do you remember how we used to talk at Chester and in London about my seeing you through?" She spoke as of far-off things and as if they had spent weeks at the places she named.

"It's just what you *are* doing."

"Ah, but the worst—since you've left such a margin—may be still to come. You may yet break down."

"Yes, I may yet break down. But will you take me—?"

He had hesitated, and she waited. "Take you—?"

"For as long as I can bear it."

She also debated. "Mr. Newsome and Mme. de Vionnet *may*, as we were saying, leave town. How long do you think you can bear it without them?"

Strether's reply to this was at first another question. "Do you mean in order to get away from me?"

Her answer had an abruptness. "Don't find me rude if I say I should think they'd want to!"

He looked at her hard again—seemed even for an instant to have an intensity of thought under which his color changed. But he smiled. "You mean after what they've done to me?"

"After what *she* has."

At this, however, with a laugh he was all right again. "Ah, but she hasn't done it yet!"

XXIX.

He had taken the train, a few days after this, from a station—as well as *to* a station—selected almost at random; such days, whatever should happen, were numbered, and he had gone forth under the impulse—artless enough, no doubt—to give the whole of one of them to that French ruralism, with its cool special green, into which he had hitherto looked only through the little oblong window of the picture-frame. It had been as yet, for the most part, but a land of fancy for him—the background of fiction, the medium of art, the nursery of letters; practically as distant as Greece, but practically, also, almost as consecrated. Romance could weave itself, for Strether's sense, out of elements mild enough; and even after what he had, as he felt, lately "been through," he could thrill a little at the chance of seeing something somewhere that would remind him of a certain small Lambinet that had charmed him, long years before, at a Boston dealer's, and that he had, quite absurdly, never forgotten. It had been offered, he remembered, at a price he had been instructed to believe the lowest ever named for a Lambinet, a price he had never felt so poor as on having to recognize, all the same, as beyond any dream of his. He *had* dreamed—had turned and twisted possibilities for an hour; it had been the only adventure of his life in connection with the purchase of a work of art. The adventure, it will be perceived, was modest; but the memory, beyond all reason and by some accident of association, was sweet. The little Lambinet abode with him as the picture he *would* have bought—the particular production that had made him for the moment overstep the modesty of nature. He was quite aware that if he were to see it again he should perhaps have a drop or a shock, and he never found himself wishing that the wheel of time would turn it up again, just as he had seen it in the maroon-colored, sky-lighted inner shrine of Tremont Street. It would be a different thing, however, to see the remembered mixture resolved back into its elements,—to assist at the restoration to nature of the whole far-away hour—the dusty day in Boston, the background of the Fitchburg Depot, of the maroon-colored sanctum, the special-green vision, the ridiculous price, the poplars, the willows, the rushes, the river, the sunny, silvery sky, the shady, woody horizon.

He observed in respect to his train almost no condition save that it should stop a few times after getting out of the *banlieue;* he threw himself on the general amiability of the day for the hint of where to alight. His theory of his excursion was that he could alight anywhere—not nearer Paris than an hour's run—on catching a suggestion of the particular note required. It made its sign, the suggestion—weather, air, light, color and his mood all favoring—at the end of some eighty minutes; the train pulled up at just the right

spot, and he found himself getting out as securely as if to keep an appointment. It will be felt of him that he could amuse himself, at his age, with very small things if it be again noted that his appointment was only with a superseded Boston fashion. He had not gone far without the quick confidence that it would be quite sufficiently kept. The oblong gilt frame disposed its enclosing lines; the poplars and willows, the reeds and river—a river of which he didn't know, and didn't want to know, the name—fell into a composition, full of felicity, within them; the sky was silver and turquoise and varnish; the village on the left was white and the church on the right was gray; it was all there, in short—it was what he wanted: it was Tremont Street, it was France, it was Lambinet. Moreover he was freely walking about in it. He did this last, for an hour, to his heart's content, making for the shady, woody horizon and boring so deep into his impression and his idleness that he might fairly have got through them again and reached the maroon-colored wall. It was a wonder, no doubt, that the taste of idleness, for him, should not need more time to sweeten; but it had in fact taken the few previous days; it had been sweetening, in truth, ever since the retreat of the Pococks. He walked and walked as if to show himself how little he had now to do; he had nothing to do but turn off to some hillside where he might stretch himself and hear the poplars rustle, and whence—in the course of an afternoon so spent, an afternoon richly suffused, too, with the sense of a book in his pocket—he should sufficiently command the scene to be able to pick out just the right little rustic inn for an experiment in respect to dinner. There was a train back to Paris at 9.20, and he saw himself partaking, at the close of the day, with the enhancements of a coarse white cloth and a sanded floor, of something fried and felicitous, washed down with authentic wine; after which he might, as he liked, either stroll back to his station in the gloaming or propose for the local *carriole* and converse with his driver, a driver who naturally wouldn't fail of a stiff clean blouse, of a knitted nightcap and of the genius of response—who, in fine, would sit on the shafts, tell him what the French people were thinking, and remind him, as indeed the whole episode would incidentally do, of Maupassant. Strether heard his lips, for the first time in French air, as this vision assumed consistency, emit sounds of expressive intention without fear of his company. He had been afraid of Chad and of Maria and of Mme. de Vionnet; he had been most of all afraid of Waymarsh, in whose presence, so far as they had mixed together in the light of the town, he had never without somehow paying for it aired either his vocabulary or his accent. He usually paid for it by meeting immediately afterwards Waymarsh's eye.

Such were the liberties with which his fancy played after he had turned off to the hillside that did really and truly, as well as most amiably, await him beneath the poplars, the hillside that made him feel, for a murmurous couple of hours, how happy had been his

thought. He had the sense of success, of a finer harmony in things; nothing but what had turned out, as yet, according to his plan. It most of all came home to him, as he lay on his back on the grass, that Sarah had really gone, that his tension was really relaxed; the peace diffused in these ideas might be delusive, but it hung about him, none the less, for the time. It fairly, for half an hour, sent him to sleep; he pulled his straw hat over his eyes—he had bought it the day before with a reminiscence of Waymarsh's—and lost himself anew in Lambinet. It was as if he had found out he was tired—tired not from his walk, but from that inward exercise which had known, on the whole, for three months, so little intermission. That was it—when once they were off he had dropped; this, moreover, was what he had dropped to, and now he was touching bottom. He was kept luxuriously quiet, soothed and amused, by the consciousness of what he had found at the end of his descent. It was very much what he had told Maria Gostrey he should like to stay on for, the hugely distributed Paris of summer, alternately dazzling and dusky, with a weight lifted for him off its columns and cornices, and with shade and air in the flutter of awnings as wide as avenues. It was present to him without attenuation that, reaching out, the day after making the remark, for some proof of his freedom, he had gone that very afternoon to see Mme. de Vionnet. He had gone again the next day but one, and the effect of the two visits, the after-sense of the couple of hours spent with her, was almost that of fulness and frequency. The brave intention of frequency, so great with him from the moment of his finding himself unjustly suspected at Woollett, had remained rather theoretic, and one of the things he could muse about under his poplars was the source of the special shyness that had still made him careful. He had surely got rid of it now, this special shyness; what had become of it if it had not, precisely, within the week, rubbed off?

It struck him now in fact as sufficiently plain that if he had still been careful he had been so for a reason. He had really feared, in his behavior, a lapse from good faith; if there was a danger of one's liking such a woman too much, one's best safety was in waiting at least till one had the right to do so. In the light of the last few days the danger was fairly vivid; so that it was proportionately fortunate that the right was likewise established. It seemed to our friend that he had on each occasion profited to the utmost by the latter: how could he have done so more, he at all events asked himself, than in having immediately let her know that, if it was all the same to her, he preferred not to talk about anything tiresome? He had never in his life so sacrificed an armful of high interests as in that remark; he had never so prepared the way for the comparatively frivolous as in addressing it to Mme. de Vionnet's intelligence. It had not been till later that he quite recalled how in conjuring away everything but the pleasant he had conjured away almost all they had hitherto talked about; it was not till later, even,

that he remembered that, with their new tone, they had not so much as mentioned the name of Chad himself. One of the things that most lingered with him on his hillside was this delightful facility, with such a woman, of arriving at a new tone; he thought, as he lay on his back, of all the tones she might make possible if one were to try her, and at any rate of the probability that one could trust her to fit them to occasions. He had wanted her to feel that as he was disinterested now, so she herself should be, and she had showed she felt it, and he had showed he was grateful, and it had been, for all the world, as if he were calling for the first time. They had had other, but irrelevant, meetings; it was quite as if, had they sooner known how much they *really* had in common, there were quantities of comparatively dull matters they might have skipped. Well, they were skipping them now, even to graceful gratitude, even to handsome "Don't mention it!"—and it was amazing what could still come up without reference to what had been going on between them. It might have been, on analysis, nothing more than Shakespeare and the musical glasses; but it had served all the purpose of his appearing to have said to her: "Don't like me, if it's a question of liking me, for anything obvious and clumsy that I've, as they call it, 'done' for you: like me—well, like me, hang it, for anything else you choose. So, by the same propriety, don't be for me simply the person I've come to know through my awkward connection with Chad—was ever anything, by the way, *more* awkward? Be for me, please, with all your admirable tact and trust, just whatever I may show you it's a present pleasure to me to think you." It had been a large indication to meet; but if she hadn't met it what *had* she done, and how had their time together slipped along so smoothly, mild but not slow, and melting, liquefying, into his happy illusion of idleness? He could recognize on the other hand that he had probably not been without reason, in his prior, his restricted state, for keeping an eye on his liability to lapse from good faith.

He really continued in the picture—that being for himself his situation—all the rest of this rambling day; so that the charm was still, was indeed more than ever, upon him when, towards six o'clock, he found himself amicably engaged with a stout, white-capped, deep-voiced woman at the door of the *auberge* of the biggest village, a village that affected him as a thing of whiteness, blueness and crookedness, set in coppery green, and that had the river flowing behind or before it—one couldn't say which; at the bottom, in particular, of the inn-garden. He had had other adventures before this; had kept along the height, after shaking off slumber; had admired, had almost coveted, another small old church, all steep roof and dim slate-color without and all whitewash and paper flowers within; had lost his way and had found it again; had conversed with rustics who struck him perhaps a little more as men of the world than he had expected; had acquired at a bound a fearless

facility in French; had had, as the afternoon waned, a watery *bock*, all pale and Parisian, in the café of the furthest village, which was not the biggest; and had all the while not once overstepped the oblong gilt frame. The frame had drawn itself out for him, as much as you please; but that was just his luck. He had finally come down again to the valley, to keep within touch of stations and trains, turning his face to the quarter from which he had started; and thus it was that he had at last pulled up before the hostess of the Cheval Blanc, who met him, with a rough readiness that was like the clatter of sabots over stones, on their common ground of a *côtelette de veau à l'oseille* and a subsequent lift. He had walked many miles and knew not that he was tired; but he still knew that he was amused, and even that, though he had been alone all day, he had never yet so struck himself as engaged with others and in midstream of his drama. It might have passed for finished, his drama, with its catastrophe all but reached: it had, however, none the less been vivid again for him as he thus gave it its fuller chance. He had only had to be at last well out of it to feel it, oddly enough, still going on.

For this had been all day, at bottom, the spell of the picture—that it was essentially, more than anything else, a scene and a stage, that the very air of the play was in the rustle of the willows and the tone of the sky. The play and the characters had, without his knowing it till now, peopled all his space for him, and it seemed somehow quite happy that they should offer themselves, in the conditions so supplied, with a kind of inevitability. It was as if the conditions made them not only inevitable, but so much more nearly natural and right as that they were at least easier, pleasanter, to put up with. The conditions had nowhere so asserted their difference from those of Woollett as they appeared to him to assert it in the little court of the Cheval Blanc while he arranged with his hostess for a comfortable climax. They were few and simple, scant and humble, but they were *the thing*, as he would have called it, even to a greater degree than Mme. de Vionnet's old, high salon, where the ghost of the Empire walked. "The" thing was the thing that implied the greatest number of other things of the sort he had had to tackle; and it was queer, of course, but so it was—the implication here was complete. Not a single one of his observations but somehow fell into a place in it; not a breath of the cooler evening that wasn't somehow a syllable of the text. The text was simply, when condensed, that in *these* places such things were, and that if it was in them one elected to move about, one had to make one's account with what one lighted on. Meanwhile, at all events, it was enough that they did affect one—so far as the village aspect was concerned—as whiteness, crookedness and blueness set in coppery green; there being positively, for that matter, an outer wall of the White Horse that was painted the most improbable shade. That was part of the amusement—as if to show that the fun was harmless; just as it was enough, further, that the picture and the play seemed supremely

to melt together in the good woman's broad sketch of what she could do for her visitor's appetite. He felt, in short, a confidence, and it was general, and it was all he wanted to feel. It suffered no shock even on her mentioning that she had in fact just laid the cloth for two persons who, unlike Monsieur, had arrived by the river—in a boat of their own; who had asked her half an hour before, what she could do for them, and had then paddled away to look at something a little further up—from which promenade they would presently return. Monsieur might meanwhile, if he liked, pass into the garden, such as it was, where she would serve him, should he wish it—for there were tables and benches in plenty—a "bitter" before his repast. Here she would also report to him on the possibility of a conveyance to his station, and here, at any rate, he would have the *agrément* of the river.

It may be mentioned without delay that Monsieur had the *agrément* of everything, and in particular, for the next twenty minutes, of a small and primitive pavilion that, at the garden's edge, almost overhung the water, testifying, in its somewhat battered state, to much fond frequentation. It consisted of little more than a platform, slightly raised, with a couple of benches and a table, a protecting rail and a projecting roof; but it raked the full gray-blue stream, which, taking a turn a short distance above, passed out of sight to reappear much higher up; and it was clearly in esteemed requisition for Sundays and other feasts. Strether sat there and, though hungry, felt at peace; the confidence that had so gathered for him deepened with the lap of the water, the ripple of the surface, the rustle of the reeds on the opposite bank, the faint diffused coolness and the slight rock of a couple of small boats attached to a rough landing-place hard by. The valley on the further side was all copper-green level and glazed pearly sky, a sky hatched across with screens of trimmed trees, which looked flat, like *espaliers;* and, though the rest of the village straggled away in the near quarter, the view had an emptiness that made one of the boats suggestive. Such a river set one afloat almost before one could take up the oars —the idle play of which would be moreover the aid to the full impression. This perception went so far as to bring him to his feet; but that movement, in turn, made him feel afresh that he was tired, and while he leaned against a post and continued to look out he saw something that gave him a sharper arrest.

XXX.

What he saw was exactly the right thing — a boat advancing round the bend and containing a man who held the paddles and a lady, at the stern, with a pink parasol. It was suddenly as if these figures, or something like them, had been wanted in the picture, had been wanted, more or less, all day, and had now drifted into sight, with the slow current, on purpose to fill up the measure. They

came slowly, floating down, evidently making for the landing-place near their spectator and presenting themselves to him not less clearly as the two persons for whom his hostess was already preparing a meal. For two very happy persons he found himself straightway taking them—a young man in shirt-sleeves, a young woman easy and fair, who had pulled pleasantly up from some other place and, being acquainted with the neighborhood, had known what this particular retreat could offer them. The air quite thickened, at their approach, with further intimations; the intimation that they were expert, familiar, frequent—that this wouldn't, at all events, be the first time. They knew how to do it, he vaguely felt—and it made them but the more idyllic; though at the very moment of the impression, as happened, their boat seemed to have begun to drift wide, the oarsman letting it go. It had by this time, none the less, come much nearer—near enough for Strether to fancy the lady in the stern had, for some reason, taken account of his being there to watch them. She had remarked on it sharply, yet her companion had not turned round; it was in fact almost as if our friend had felt her bid him keep still. She had taken in something as a result of which their course had wavered, and it continued to waver while they just stood off. This little effect was sudden and rapid, so rapid that Strether's sense of it was separate only for an instant from a sharp start of his own. He too had, within the minute, taken in something, taken in that he knew the lady whose parasol, shifting as if to hide her face, made so fine a pink point in the shining scene. It was too prodigious, a chance in a million; but, if he knew the lady, the gentleman, who still presented his back and kept off, the gentleman, the coatless hero of the idyl, who had responded to her start, was, to match the marvel, none other than Chad.

Chad and Mme. de Vionnet were, then, like himself, taking a day in the country—though it was as queer as fiction, as farce, that their country could happen to be exactly *his;* and she had been the first at recognition, the first to feel, across the water, the shock—for it appeared to come to that—of their wonderful accident. Strether became aware, with this, of what was taking place—that her recognition had been even stranger for the pair in the boat, that her immediate impulse had been to control it, and that she was quickly and intensely debating with Chad the risk of betrayal. He saw they would show nothing if they could feel sure he hadn't made them out; so that he had before him for a few seconds his own hesitation. It was a sharp, fantastic crisis that had popped up as if in a dream, and it had had only to last the few seconds to make him feel it as quite horrible. They were thus, on either side, *trying* the other side, and all for some reason that broke the stillness like some unprovoked harsh note. It seemed to him again, within the limit, that he had but one thing to do—to settle their common question by some sign of surprise and joy. He hereupon gave large play

to these things, agitating his hat and his stick and loudly calling out—a demonstration that brought him relief as soon as he had seen it answered. The boat, in mid-stream, still went a little wild—which seemed natural, however, while Chad turned round, half springing up; and his good friend, after blankness and wonder, began gayly to wave her parasol. Chad dropped afresh to his paddles and the boat headed round, amazement and pleasantry filling the air meanwhile, and relief, as Strether continued to fancy, superseding mere violence. Our friend went down to the water under this odd impression as of violence averted—the violence of their having "cut" him, out there in the eye of nature, on the assumption that he wouldn't know it. He awaited them with a face from which he was conscious of not being able quite to banish this idea that they would have gone on, not seeing and not knowing, missing their dinner and disappointing their hostess, had he himself taken a line to match. That, at least, was what darkened his vision for the moment; afterwards, after they had bumped at the landing-place and he had assisted their getting ashore, everything found itself sponged over by the mere miracle of the encounter.

They could so much better, at last, on either side, treat it as a wild fable than as anything else, that the situation was made elastic by the amount of explanation called into play. Why indeed —apart from oddity—the situation should have been really stiff, was a question naturally not practical at the moment, and in fact, so far as we are concerned, a question tackled, later on and in private, only by Strether himself. He was to reflect later on and in private that it was mainly *he* who had explained—as he had had moreover comparatively little difficulty in doing. He was to have, at all events, meanwhile, the worrying thought of their perhaps secretly suspecting him of having plotted this coincidence, taking such pains as might be to give it the semblance of an accident. That possibility—as their imputation—didn't of course bear looking into for an instant; yet the whole incident was so manifestly, arrange it as they would, an awkward one, that he could scarce keep disclaimers in respect to his own presence from rising to his lips. Disclaimers of intention would have been as tactless as his presence was, practically, gross; and the narrowest escape they either of them had was his lucky escape, in the event, from making any. Nothing of the sort, so far as surface and sound were involved, was even in question; surface and sound all made for their common ridiculous good fortune, for the general *invraisemblance* of the occasion, for the charming chance that they had, the others, in passing, ordered some food to be ready, the charming chance that he had himself not eaten, the charming chance, even more, that their little plans, their hours, their train, in short, from *là-bas*, would all match for their return together to Paris. The chance that was most charming of all, the chance that drew from Mme. de Vionnet her clearest, gayest *"Comme cela se trouve!"* was the announcement

made to Strether after they were seated at table, the word given him by their hostess in respect to his carriage for the station, on which he might now count. It settled the matter for his friends as well; the conveyance—it *was* all too lucky!—would serve for them; and nothing was more delightful than his being in a position to make the train so definite. It might have been, for themselves—to hear Mme. de Vionnet—almost unnaturally vague, a detail left to be fixed; though Strether indeed was afterwards to remember that Chad had promptly enough intervened to forestall this appearance, laughing at his companion's flightiness and making the point that he had, after all, in spite of the bedazzlement of a day out with her, known what he was about.

Strether was to remember afterwards, further, that this had had for him the effect of forming Chad's almost sole intervention; and indeed he was to remember further still, in subsequent meditation, many things that, as it were, fitted together. Another of them was, for instance, that the wonderful woman's overflow of surprise and amusement was wholly into French, which she struck him as speaking with an unprecedented command of idiomatic turns, but in which she got, as he might have said, somewhat away from him, taking all at once little brilliant jumps that he could but lamely match. The question of his own French had never come up for them; it was the one thing she wouldn't have permitted—it belonged, for a person who had been through much, to mere boredom; but the present result was odd, fairly veiling her identity, shifting her back into a mere voluble class or race to the intense audibility of which he was by this time inured. When she spoke the charming slightly strange English he best knew her by, he seemed to feel her as a creature, among all the millions, with a language quite to herself, the real monopoly of a special shade of speech, beautifully easy for her, yet of a color and a cadence that were both inimitable and matters of accident. She came back to these things after they had shaken down in the inn-parlor and knew, as it were, what was to become of them; it was inevitable that mere ejaculation over the prodigy of their convergence should at last wear itself out. Then it was that his impression took fuller form—the impression, destined only to deepen, to complete itself, that they had something to put a face upon, to carry off and make the best of, and that it was she who, admirably on the whole, was doing this. It was familiar to him of course that they had something to put a face upon; their friendship, their connection, took any amount of explaining—that would have been made familiar by his twenty minutes with Mrs. Pocock if it hadn't already been so. Only, his theory, as we know, had bountifully been that the facts were, specifically, none of his business, and were, over and above, so far as one had to do with them, intrinsically beautiful; and this might have prepared him for anything, as well as rendered him proof against mystification. When he reached home that night, however, he knew he had been, at bot-

tom, neither prepared nor proof; and since we have spoken of what he was, after his return, to recall and interpret, it may as well immediately be said that his real experience of these few hours put on, in that belated vision,—for he scarce went to bed till morning—the aspect that is most to our purpose.

He then knew more or less how he had been affected—he but half knew at the time. There had been plenty to affect him even after, as has been said, they had shaken down; for his consciousness, though muffled, had its sharpest moments during this passage, a marked drop into innocent, friendly Bohemia. They then had put their elbows on the table, deploring the premature end of their two or three dishes; which they had tried to make up with another bottle while Chad joked a little spasmodically, perhaps even a little irrelevantly, with the hostess. What it all came to had been that fiction and fable *were,* inevitably, in the air, and not as a simple term of comparison, but as a result of things said; also that they were blinking it, all round, and that they yet needn't, so much as that, have blinked it—though indeed if they hadn't Strether didn't quite see what else they could have done. Strether didn't quite see *that* even at an hour or two past midnight, even when he had, at his hotel, for a long time, without a light and without undressing, sat back on his bedroom sofa and stared straight before him. He was, at that point of vantage, in full possession, to make of it all what he could. He kept making of it that there had been simply a *lie* in the charming affair—a lie on which one could now, detached and deliberate, perfectly put one's finger. It was with the lie that they had eaten and drunk and talked and laughed, that they had waited for their *carriole* rather impatiently, and had then got into the vehicle and, sensibly subsiding, driven their three or four miles through the darkening summer night. The eating and drinking, which had been a resource, had had the effect of having served its turn; the talk and laughter had done as much; and it was during their somewhat tedious progress to the station, during the waits there, the further delays, their submission to fatigue, their silences in the dim compartment of the much-stopping train, that he prepared himself for reflections to come. It had been a performance, Mme. de Vionnet's manner, and though it had to that degree faltered toward the end, as through her ceasing to believe in it, as if she had asked herself, or Chad had found a moment surreptitiously to ask her, what, after all, was the use, a performance it had none the less quite handsomely remained, with the final fact about it that it was, on the whole, easier to keep up than to abandon.

From the point of view of presence of mind it had been very wonderful indeed, wonderful for readiness, for beautiful assurance, for the way her decision was taken on the spot, without time to confer with Chad, without time for anything. Their only conference could have been the brief instants in the boat before they confessed to recognizing the spectator on the bank, for they had not

been alone together a moment since and must have communicated all in silence. It was a part of the deep impression for Strether, and not the least of the deep interest, that they *could* so communicate—that Chad, in particular, could let her know he left it to her. He habitually left things to others, as Strether was so well aware, and it in fact came over our friend in these meditations that there had been as yet no such vivid illustration of his famous knowing how to live. It was as if he had humored her to the extent of letting her lie without correction—almost as if, really, he would be coming round in the morning to set the matter, as between Strether and himself, right. Of course he couldn't quite come; it was a case in which a man was obliged to accept the woman's version, even when fantastic; if she had, with more flurry than she cared to show, elected, as the phrase was, to represent that they had left Paris that morning, and with no design but of getting back within the day—if she had so sized-up, in the Woollett phrase, their necessity, she knew best her own measure. There were things, all the same, it was impossible to blink and which made this measure an odd one—the too evident fact, for instance, that she had not started out for the day dressed and hatted and shod, and even, for that matter, pink parasol'd, as she had been in the boat. From what did the drop in her assurance proceed as the tension increased—from what did this slightly baffled ingenuity spring but from her consciousness of not presenting, as night closed in, with not so much as a shawl to wrap her round, an appearance that matched her story? She admitted that she was cold, but only to blame her imprudence, which Chad suffered her to give such account of as she might. Her shawl and Chad's overcoat, and her other garments, and his, those they had each worn the day before, were at the place, best known to themselves—a quiet retreat enough, no doubt—at which they had been spending the twenty-four hours, to which they had fully meant to return that evening, from which they had so remarkably swum into Strether's ken and the tacit repudiation of which had been thus the essence of her comedy. Strether saw how she had perceived in a flash that they couldn't quite look to going back there under his nose; though, honestly, as he gauged deeper into the matter, he was somewhat surprised, as Chad likewise had perhaps been, at the uprising of this scruple. He seemed even to divine that she had entertained it rather for Chad than for herself, and that, as the young man had lacked the chance to enlighten her, she had had to go on with it, he meanwhile mistaking her motive.

He was rather glad, none the less, that they had in point of fact not parted at the Cheval Blanc, that he had not been reduced to giving them his blessing for an idyllic retreat down the river. He had had in the actual case to make believe more than he liked, but this was nothing, it struck him, to what the other event would have required. Could he, literally, quite have faced the other event? Would he have been capable of making the best of it with them?

This was what he was trying to do now; but with the advantage of his being able to give more time to it a good deal counteracted by his sense of what, over and above the central fact itself, he had to swallow. It was the quantity of make-believe involved, and so vividly exemplified, that most disagreed with his spiritual stomach. He moved, however, from the consideration of that quantity—to say nothing of the consciousness of that organ—back to the other feature of the show, the deep, deep truth of the intimacy revealed. That was what, in his vain vigil, he oftenest reverted to: intimacy, at such a point, was *like* that—and what in the world else would one have wished it to be like? It was all very well for him to feel the pity of its being so much like lying; he almost blushed, in the dark, for the way he had dressed the possibility in vagueness, as a little girl might have dressed her doll. He had made them—and by no fault of their own—momentarily pull it for him, the possibility, out of this vagueness; and must he not therefore take it now as they had had simply, with whatever thin attenuations, to give it to him? The very question, it may be added, made him feel lonely and cold. There was the element of the awkward, all round, but Chad and Mme. de Vionnet had at least the comfort that they could talk it over together. With whom could *he* talk of such things?—unless indeed always, at almost any stage, with Maria? He foresaw that Miss Gostrey would come again into requisition on the morrow; though it was not to be denied that he was already a little afraid of her "What on earth—that's what I want to know now—had you then supposed?" He recognized at last that he had really been trying, all along, to suppose nothing. Verily, verily, his labor had been lost. He found himself supposing everything.

To be continued.

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THE VALUE OF THE VENEZUELAN ARBITRATION.

BY WAYNE MACVEAGH.

THE question now awaiting decision by the Hague Tribunal happens to be of such a character that the way in which it is decided is of infinitely less importance than the fact of its submission to that Tribunal for decision. The counsel for Venezuela and the United States have earnestly argued that the question resolved itself into this exclusively ethical question: Were the acts of the Allied Powers—Great Britain, Germany and Italy—in blockading the ports, bombarding the forts and seizing and sinking the gunboats of Venezuela, rendered just and necessary by the conduct of the latter Power; or were these Allied Powers required by the conventions of the Hague Conference, to which they were parties, to submit their claims for alleged injuries done and debts owing to their subjects to impartial investigation and adjudication, before enforcing their payment from a defenceless nation at the cannon's mouth; and, even if such claims had been thus adjudicated, which they were not, were the Allied Powers further required by the provisions of those conventions to persistently seek to induce Venezuela to accept mediation or arbitra-

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tion, before employing their vast superiority of strength to extort from her compliance with their demands?

This question was presented in an elaborate brief and other printed documents, and was also urged upon the Tribunal in an elaborate oral argument, at its first session in October; and it was enforced in a second oral argument on the reassembling of the Tribunal. It has been very ably and very vigorously contested by the counsel for the Allied Powers; and when the decision is announced it will be cheerfully acquiesced in, on both sides of the Atlantic, because it will be recognized as the decision of absolutely impartial and disinterested jurists. Therein consists the signal superiority of the Hague Tribunal over arbitral commissions whose members, or a majority of them, may be supposed to represent the wishes of the different parties to the controversy. The decision of such a commission, however impartial its members may really be, almost always gives rise to criticism and dissatisfaction on the part of the losing party. This fact has been signally illustrated in the attitude of a portion of the press of Venezuela towards the awards of the Mixed Commissions which recently sat at Caracas, and of a portion of the press of Canada towards the award of the Commission in the matter of the Alaskan Boundary.

It ought also to be clearly understood that the Venezuelan arbitration presents no question as to the amounts claimed by her different creditors, nor any other question of a commercial character. No matter what the decision may be, the creditors of Venezuela are to be paid and to be paid in full. The only question awaiting decision is as to the order of their payment. Great Britain, Germany and Italy claim that their conduct towards Venezuela was so just and so necessary as to entitle their claims to be paid before any payment is made to her other creditors. Venezuela and the United States, with the other creditor nations, assert the contrary. They contend that the conduct of the Allied Powers was in direct contravention, both of the spirit which animated the Hague Conference, and of the conclusions as to the duties of nations towards each other which were embodied by it in its conventions, which have received the assent of almost every civilized state and have thus become an integral part of the law of nations.

It was to be expected that any international procedure in

which a South-American republic was one of the principal parties, and to which it gave its name, would be treated with comparative indifference, not only in Europe, but also by the greater number of citizens of the United States; and it is, doubtless, for this reason that the Venezuelan arbitration at the Hague has not attracted the attention to which its intrinsic importance entitled it. Indeed, the mere fact that one of the principal republics of Central and South America appeared voluntarily at the bar of that high court of international justice and international peace, is of itself a striking occurrence, and one possibly fraught with very considerable consequences to the future welfare of mankind. That vast, rich and fertile continent, ever since the overthrow of the Spanish dominion, has remained a comparatively unknown land, except for the incursions of an enterprising commerce seeking new countries as the scene of its exploits, of travellers in pursuit of material for books of travel, and of occasional visits from the war-ships of great Powers visiting its harbors from time to time on peaceful or warlike errands. It has been felt quite safe, in many international relations, to ignore the existence of the Central and South-American republics; and to such extent was this indifference carried that, when the Hague Conference itself was called, all those republics, with the single exception of Mexico, were ignored in the invitations to it, although Roumania, Bulgaria, and Siam were included in those invitations. Of recent years, however, the territories of those republics have very naturally appeared increasingly inviting to the governments of some of the overpopulated countries of Europe; and now that almost all other habitable quarters of the globe have been substantially divided into Crown Colonies or spheres of influence, the eyes of more than one great European nation might be expected to be turned toward those extensive and thinly peopled regions, capable, as they are, of maintaining great populations, possessing virgin forests, fertile soils, and untold mineral resources; and enjoying a variety of climate suited to the production of almost every article of food and commerce. In Germany, especially, a very considerable literature has appeared, during the last decade, urging a vast increase in the German fleet, and, in some instances, alluding to the necessity which may soon confront Germany of seeking new colonies for her surplus population in Central or South America, although, of course, the German government is

not responsible for such publications. The problems presented, therefore, by those republics to-day are of signal importance to the peace of the world; and that importance is sure to increase rather than to diminish, unless some satisfactory method for the settlement of those problems is discovered; and the Hague Tribunal seems to offer the best practicable method of settling some of those questions. It must always be remembered that the United States, in giving its adhesion to the conventions of the Hague Conference, made the following important and explicit reservation: "Nothing contained in these conventions shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not entering upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in, the political questions or internal administration of any foreign state, nor shall anything contained in the said conventions be construed so as to imply the relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude towards purely American questions." The scope and meaning of this reservation are perfectly apparent; but, quite outside its scope and meaning, questions of great difficulty may arise at any time between one of the republics of Central or South America and some more or less powerful European nation, of a character peculiarly fitted for determination by the Hague Tribunal.

It was, therefore, a matter of the greatest possible importance, not only for the United States, but also for the future dignity and usefulness of the Hague Tribunal itself, that one of the leading South-American republics should voluntarily cross the sea and appear at its bar, to submit for its decision a question of international law, as such law has been enlarged and ennobled by the provisions of the conventions of the Hague Conference. Those conventions must be regarded as having introduced distinctly new principles into the law of nations; for the law of nations has always been regarded as consisting of the sum of those usages which the great majority of the civilized states of the world have agreed to be binding upon themselves in their relations with each other. Twenty-six of those nations participated in the Hague Conference, and the conclusions there reached were accepted by them; and the republics of Central and South America subsequently gave their adhesion also to those conclusions. The appearance of one of the Central or South-American republics before the Hague Tribunal would, of course, be far more significant if, among her antago-

nists before the Tribunal, were such great and powerful European monarchies as Great Britain, Germany and Italy, while ranged by her side were her sister American republics of the United States and Mexico. It is true that the good offices of the Hague Tribunal had already been invoked for the settlement of a controversy involving a considerable amount of money to which Mexico and the United States were parties; but no occasion had yet arisen for invoking the good offices of the Tribunal for the decision of any far-reaching and ethical principle of the law of nations as amplified by the Hague conventions. It must also be remembered that the presentation and decision of such a question would not have quite the same moral significance for the rest of the world if it had arisen between two European states, as it possesses when presented by three American republics on the one side and three European monarchies on the other; for such an array of nations at the bar of the Tribunal offers to the whole civilized world the most striking object lesson of the acknowledged dignity and worth of the Tribunal, and of its immeasurable future usefulness. Then, too, the question presented for decision equally tended to elevate and dignify this august Tribunal of international arbitration; for the question presented was not a commercial question, nor one involving the ascertainment of a disputed boundary, nor whether a claim for compensation in money presented by one country against another was valid or not. Such questions are, doubtless, always interesting to the immediate parties, and they are capable of assuming an importance beyond the parties to them, in adjusting causes of irritation which might otherwise lead to conflict. But they are not of the same class of questions as those which involve ethical considerations; for the reason that the decision of the latter class of questions by the Hague Tribunal will undoubtedly exercise a very great influence upon the relations hereafter existing between nations, and ought powerfully to aid in the peaceful solution of very many controversies. It so happened that the Venezuelan arbitration was signally fitted to bring into bold relief the competence of the Hague Tribunal to act as a modifying and controlling influence upon the angry passions of states; and to persuade them of the wisdom and necessity of taking care that the attitude they assumed toward each other was in accordance with the noble and humanitarian objects which actuated the Emperor of Russia in calling the Hague Conference,

which entered into all the discussions of the delegates to it, and which were embodied in their conclusions.

The present arbitration arose out of the question as to how the moneys set apart by Venezuela for the liquidation of her debts should be distributed. The three great Powers which had joined together in making war upon her claimed that, as their action had extorted the fund in question, they were entitled to be paid in full before any other of her creditor nations, which had not made war upon her, received any payment upon their respective claims. Venezuela replied to this demand by utterly denying that the war thus waged upon her by the Allied Powers entitled them to such preference; and she insisted that all her creditors should be paid upon a basis of exact equality. As this absolute conflict of opinion was found incapable of amicable adjustment, the Allied Powers proposed to refer it to the arbitrament of President Roosevelt; but President Roosevelt, while expressing his appreciation of the confidence thus reposed in him, declared that in his judgment it was far better for all parties that the question in dispute should be referred for decision to the Hague Tribunal. This suggestion was adopted, and protocols were subsequently signed between Mr. Bowen, as the representative of Venezuela, and the Ambassadors of the Allied Powers, referring that single but very distinct and very important question for decision to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague. That single, distinct and very important question is, in the opinion of the counsel for Venezuela and the United States, whether, under all the circumstances attending the transactions, Great Britain, Germany and Italy are entitled,—when their conduct is judged by the provisions of the Hague conventions to which they were voluntary parties,—to be first paid, remitting the other creditor nations of Venezuela, who did not make war upon her, to receive payment only after the claims of the Allied Powers have been satisfied. It will be at once recognized that there is thus presented for decision no question respecting the amounts of the claims to be paid, nor any question as to the sources from which such payments are to be derived, nor any question whatever of a pecuniary or commercial character; but, simply and exclusively, this ethical question: Was the war made upon Venezuela by these Allied Powers, under all the circumstances then existing, when tested by the principles of the Hague conventions, so just and so necessary as to entitle them

to an award of merit, in the form of preferential payment of their claims, for having made it? In other words, Did the conventions of the Hague Conference impose upon these Allied Powers such obligations of seeking to avoid a resort to force,—first, by invoking the mediation of some neutral Power, and, that failing, by persistent efforts to secure a peaceable arbitration of the existing disputes; and, as a preliminary to both of these steps, were they required to have first submitted their claims to impartial investigation and ascertainment? The counsel for Venezuela and the United States claim that the spirit as well as the letter of those conventions did impose such obligations. If the principles of international law, as they exist since the Hague Conference, authorize any number of powerful nations to ally themselves for the purpose of extorting, by force, from any weak and helpless nation, the payment of claims which have never been impartially investigated and ascertained; and if such measures of coercion may be applied without any preliminary steps in the way of mediation or of arbitration, as specified by the Hague Conference, then the counsel for Venezuela and the United States admit that the Allied Powers are entitled to be awarded preferential payment of their claims; for they not only produced the fund to be distributed, but they will be adjudged by such decision to have acted in strict accordance with their international duties, as limited and defined by those conventions. If, on the other hand, the Hague Tribunal should be of opinion that no great and powerful nation, nor any number of them combining together, may now extort, from any weak and defenceless Power, the payment of claims, simply alleged to be due by such powerful antagonists, although disputed by the weaker Power, and never impartially investigated; and that the payment of such claims may not be enforced without persistent efforts to secure mediation or arbitration, or any other method of peaceable adjustment and settlement of such controversy, then the counsel for Venezuela and the United States insist that the Hague Tribunal ought not to award the preferential treatment claimed by the Allied Powers.

It is not the purpose, in this article, to discuss the respective merits of these contentions on the one side or the other, or to attempt, for a moment, to forecast the probable decision of the Tribunal. The importance of a correct decision is not undervalued, and it is earnestly hoped that the contention of the Allied

Powers will be denied; but it is confidently believed that the fact of the submission of such a question to the Hague Tribunal is of far greater future usefulness and importance than any decision of the question itself can possibly be. Thirteen independent nations, seven of them great and leading nations of the world alike in civilization and in military and naval power, have voluntarily been represented in this arbitration; and they have been represented in a controversy concerning, as has already been stated, the ethical scope and meaning of the conclusions reached by the Hague Conference, which prescribe mediation and arbitration before resorting to war. Such a precedent thus set in the face of the world cannot fail to exert a very weighty influence in any future controversy which may arise, either between any two of the nations thus represented, or between any one of those nations and any other nation, or between any other two nations. If Russia and Austria have contributed the services of their most distinguished and learned jurists; and if Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden and Norway in Europe, and the United States, Mexico and Venezuela in America, have appeared by their duly accredited representatives at the bar of the Tribunal, and taken part in the discussion of such a question, it will be increasingly difficult for any nation in the future to refuse to submit her contentions to the same arbitrament,—unless indeed the controversy should involve some well-known and recognized policy of a nation, or one of the essential rights of a sovereign state, or a right to demand redress for some wanton aggression upon the national honor. For the reasons given, it is confidently believed that the Venezuelan arbitration marks an uplifting epoch in the history of the Hague Tribunal, and that its value in increasing the dignity and enlarging the usefulness of that great Court of Peace will be more and more apparent, as the full meaning of the question believed to be involved in it and the full significance of its submission are comprehended, and this without reference to the actual decision in the present case.

On the other hand, the value of this arbitration to the peaceful development of Central and South America may prove to be equally great. It is only necessary, in order to form some estimate of such value, to consider what good results must have followed a resort to the Hague Tribunal by those three great nations

before they sent their allied fleets to the harbors of Venezuela, rather than after they had performed their work of blockade and destruction in those harbors. All the bitter animosities which inevitably linger and rankle in the breast of the weaker Power, after submission has been extorted by superior force, would have been avoided, as well as all doubt as to the justice of the claims thus required to be paid, as Venezuela earnestly and constantly protested that she was not liable to pay them. It must also be remembered that it is always impossible to predict to what lengths such warlike expeditions may be compelled to go, before they receive such submission from the weaker Power as is acceptable to them. Some weak nation, confident in the justice of her cause, might resist long and retreat far inland and refuse to make such submission,—in which case, no matter how excellent were the intentions of the assailing Powers, very undesirable complications might arise, which had not been foreseen.

With the precedent set by the present arbitration, it will be far more easy to avoid such complications in the future, as can be demonstrated by considering the course which can now be followed without wounding the just pride of any country, great or small, weak or strong, whenever a serious controversy arises.

A long-standing, and in some instances rather bitterly waged, controversy exists between the governments of Central and South America and other nations, as to the proper forum for the adjudication of claims presented by foreign residents against the country in which they reside. On the one hand, it is strenuously insisted that foreign residents can claim no other forum than that accorded to native-born citizens, and that the courts which any independent nation establishes to administer justice to her own people should have exclusive jurisdiction over the claims of such foreigners as choose to enjoy her protection, and to avail themselves of such commercial advantages as she may offer,—such being the general rule of the law of nations.

The reply made to this contention is, in substance, an allegation that, in some instances, the judicial tribunals of Central and South America do not offer adequate guarantees that justice will be impartially administered to foreigners. It is asserted that such tribunals are, in some cases, wholly dependent upon the Executive Power, the judges being arbitrarily selected without reference to their experience or reputation as jurists, and exposed

to the chance of arbitrary removal,—not having the protection of a permanent tenure,—so that their decisions may be suspected of being political rather than judicial; and that, for those reasons, foreigners resident in such a country are entitled to invoke the assistance of their diplomatic representative in the settlement of such claims as they present. Now, any student of this controversy cannot avoid reaching the conclusion, that no progress whatever has been made towards an agreement of opinion respecting it, nor is it reasonable to expect either side to voluntarily abandon its position. It belongs, however, to that class of questions which the Hague Tribunal is eminently fitted to hear and decide; and such submission can now be made without wounding the just pride of either contestant; and, while the decision cannot be satisfactory to both parties, it will be a settlement of the question by distinguished and impartial jurists, and will be of great public advantage in furnishing some settled principles for the guidance, as well of persons contemplating a residence in those countries, as of their own governments, thus removing a constant source of more or less acrimonious diplomatic correspondence, which might easily become the prelude to armed intervention.

There is another question upon which opinions are also sharply divided: May a state effectively declare, by constitutional or other enactment, that all disputes respecting concessions granted to foreigners, and all obligations contracted with them by the government, shall be referred only to its own tribunals, whose decisions shall be final and conclusive? Or are the foreigners enjoying such concessions, or holding such obligations, entitled notwithstanding such declaration to invoke the protection of their own government, upon the allegation that justice will not be awarded them in the domestic tribunals? It is reported that this question has, in fact, been recently decided both ways, by the Mixed Commissions at Caracas. If so, the necessity of an authoritative decision by some impartial and disinterested tribunal would seem to be very desirable; and such decision could proceed from no source so likely to secure for it general acquiescence as from the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague.

Another question upon which eminent statesmen and diplomatists have differed is, whether war may be properly waged to compel a foreign state to pay the interest and principal of its

bonded debts or other similar obligations when held by foreigners. Prince Bismarck and Lord Salisbury would seem to have thought war for such an object, unless under very exceptional circumstances, unjustifiable; and Mr. Drago, when Foreign Minister of the Argentine Confederation, addressed an earnest and weighty argument against the practice to Secretary Hay. On the other hand, the financial interests in many countries now exercise such great influence in political affairs that, in the present unsettled condition of the question, it cannot be expected that force will not sometimes be employed for the enforcement of such obligations. It would not be difficult, when a diplomatic controversy on the subject had failed to effect an amicable adjustment, to refer this question also to the Hague Tribunal; and doubtless other questions equally susceptible of such reference will arise from time to time.

It may well happen that no one of these expectations will at once be realized; but the Venezuelan arbitration certainly affords legitimate grounds of hope, to all friends of international peace, that its far-reaching and beneficial example, in ways we know not of and in days we may not see, will assist in persuading nations to seek and find a peaceable adjustment of many of their controversies.

WAYNE MACVEAGH.

MR. MORLEY'S LIFE OF GLADSTONE.—I.*

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.

SINCE the appearance of the first volumes of Macaulay's History there has not been such an event in the publishing world as the appearance of a Life of Gladstone by Mr. Morley. Nor has public expectation been disappointed.

Though I saw a good deal of Gladstone, both in the way of business and socially, I never was nor could have been, like Mr. Morley, his colleague and a partner of his counsels. On the other hand, I lived in the closest intimacy with men who were his associates in public life, and saw him through their eyes.

To me, Gladstone's life is specially interesting as that of a man who was a fearless and powerful upholder of humanity and righteousness in an age in which faith in both was growing weak, and Jingoism, with its lust of war and rapine, was taking possession of the world. The man who, breaking through the restraints of diplomatic prudery, pleaded before Europe with prevailing eloquence the cause of oppressed Italy; who dared, after Majuba Hill, in face of public excitement, to keep the path of justice and honor in dealing with the Transvaal; whose denunciation of the Bulgarian atrocities made the Turkish Assassin tremble on his throne of iniquity; who, if he had lived so long, would surely have striven to save the honor of the country by denouncing the conspiracy against the liberty of the South-African republics; who, if he were now living, would be protesting, not in vain, against the shameful indifference of England to her responsibility for Macedonian horrors: has a more peculiar hold on my veneration and gratitude than the statesman whose achievements and merits, very great as they were, have never seemed to me quite so

* "The Life of William Ewart Gladstone." By John Morley. In three volumes. London and New York: Macmillan, 1903.

great as, in Mr. Morley's admirably executed picture, they appear. Not that I would undervalue Gladstone's statesmanship or its fruits. Wonderful improvements in finance, great administrative reforms, the opening of the Civil Service, the Postal Savings-Bank, the liberation of the newspaper press from the paper duty, the abolition of purchase in the army, the reform of the Universities and of the endowed schools, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the commercial treaty with France, make up a mighty harvest of good work; even if we leave the resettlement of the franchise open to question and carry Home Rule to the wrong side of the account. Very striking is the contrast, in this respect, between Gladstone's career and that of his principal rival, who gave his mind little to practical improvement, and almost entirely to the game of party and the struggle for power. Moreover, Gladstone filled the nation with a spirit of common enthusiasm and hopeful effort for the general good, especially for the good of the masses, to which there was nothing corresponding on the part of his rival for power, whose grand game was that of setting two classes, the highest and the lowest, against the third. Gladstone was, in the best sense, a man of the people; and the heart of the people seldom failed to respond to his appeal.

This man was a wonderful being, physically and mentally, the mental part being well sustained by the physical. His form bespoke the nervous energy with which it was surcharged. His eye was extremely bright, though in the rest of the face there was no beauty or even refinement. His physical and mental force was such that he could speak for four or five hours at a stretch, and with vigor and freshness so sustained that George Venables, an extremely fastidious and not over-friendly critic, after hearing him for four hours, and on a financial subject, wished that he could go on for four hours more. His powers of work were enormous. He once called me to him to help in settling the details of a University Bill. He told me that he had been up over the Bill very late at night. We worked together from ten in the morning till six in the afternoon, saving an hour and a half which he spent at a Privy Council, leaving me with the Bill. When we parted, he went down to the House, where he spoke at one o'clock the next morning. Besides his mountain of business, he was a voluminous writer on other than political subjects, and did a vast amount of miscellaneous reading. As a proof of his powers of

acquisition, he gained so perfect a mastery of the Italian language as to be able to make a long speech in which Italian criticism, could detect only two mistakes, and those merely uses of a poetical instead of the ordinary word.

Like Pitt, Gladstone was a first-rate sleeper. At the time when he had exposed himself to great obloquy and violent attacks by his secession from the Palmerston Government, in the middle of the Crimean War, one of his intimate friends spoke of him to me as being in so extreme a state of excitement that he hardly liked to go near him. Next day, I had business with him. He went out of the room to fetch a letter, leaving me with Mrs. Gladstone, to whom I said that I feared he must be severely tried by the attacks. She replied that he was, but that he would come home from the most exciting debate and fall at once into sound sleep. A bad night, she said, if ever he had one, upset him. But this was very rare. He chronicles his good and bad nights, showing how thoroughly he felt the necessity of sound sleep. In extreme old age, he could take long walks and fell trees, he conversed with unfailing vivacity, doing a good deal of work at the same time, and seemed to be the last of the party in the evening to wish to go to bed.

The hero was fond of dwelling on his Scotch extraction—in fact, of rather thrusting it in the face of England. His domicile, however, was Liverpool, and his father was a West-Indian proprietor and slave-owner; a circumstance perhaps not wholly without influence on one or two passages of his life. To his Scotch shrewdness and aptitude for business, Eton and Oxford added the highest English culture. Eton in those days would teach him only classics. But there was a good deal of interest in public affairs among the boys, many of whom were scions of political houses. There was a lively debating club of which Gladstone was the star. At Oxford, he added mathematics to classics, taking the highest honors in both. There, also, he was the star of the debating club. It was a fine time for budding debaters, being the epoch of the great struggle about the Reform Bill. Gladstone led vehemently and gloriously on the Tory side. The result was that his fellow collegian, Lord Lincoln, introduced him as a most promising recruit to his father the old Duke of Newcastle, the highest of Tories, and Gladstone was elected to Parliament for Newark, a borough under the Duke's influence. I have

read the correspondence, and there is nothing in it derogatory to the young man's independence.

Oxford was the heart of clericism as well as Toryism, and the advance of Liberalism threatened the Anglican State Church, as well as the oligarchy of rotten boroughs. The Tractarian movement of sacerdotal reaction was already on foot. Gladstone imbibed the ecclesiastical as well as the political spirit of the place, and formed a friendship, which proved lasting, with the authors of the ecclesiastical reaction. He published a defence of the Anglican State Church, which, as we know, was terribly cut up by Macaulay. The Reviewer, however, ends with a defence of religious establishments really weaker than anything in Gladstone. The State, according to Macaulay, though religion is not its proper business, has some time and energy to spare which it may usefully devote to the regulation of religion.

Gladstone cast off by degrees his extreme Establishmentarianism. He came at last to disestablishing the Church in Ireland and pledging himself to disestablishment in Wales. But he remained firmly attached to the Anglican Church, encircled by High Church friends, who were really nearer to his heart than anybody else, deeply, even passionately interested in all their questions, and an assiduous writer on their side. He was suspected of being a Papist. A Papist he certainly was not. No one could be more opposed to Papal usurpation. His special sympathy was with anti-Papal and anti-Infallibilist Catholics, such as Döllinger and Lord Acton. His religious faith was simple and profound; so simple that he continued in this sceptical age to believe in the plenary inspiration of the Bible, and in the Mosaic account of the Creation. He retained unshaken faith in Providence and in the efficacy of prayer. This in his meditations constantly and clearly appears. At the same time, he grew tolerant of free inquiry as a conscientious quest of truth. Many non-conformists, the leaders especially, notwithstanding his Anglicanism and his suspected leanings to Rome, were drawn to him on broad grounds of religious sympathy and lent him their political support. Lord Salisbury called him "a great Christian." He could not have been more truly described. He had thought of taking Holy Orders. From this he had been happily deterred, but he seems to have been fond of officiating in a semiclerical way by reading the lessons in Hawarden Church.

Gladstone's zeal in the service of his nation and humanity, his loyalty to right and hatred of tyranny and injustice, and his conscientious industry, were sustained by spiritual influences, and Christianity has a right to appeal to his character in support, not of its dogmas, but of its principles.

The first step in emancipation from bondage to the State Church theory was curious and characteristic. Peel, in whose Government Gladstone then was, proposed an increase of the grant to Maynooth. Gladstone paid a tribute to the principle of the "Church in its Relation to the State" by resigning his office. Then, on the ground that the other principle had prevailed, he voted for the grant and went back into the Government. It is thus possible to see how the idea of a certain tortuosity became connected with his career. Bitter enemies even accused him of duplicity. He had a habit, of which his biographer seems aware, of making his words open to a double construction, the consequence, perhaps, of consciousness that his mind was moving and that his position might be changed. He had also a dislike of owning change, and a habit of setting his retroactive imagination at work to prove that there was no inconsistency, which had a bad effect, especially in such a case as his sudden coalition with Parnell.

The value of the recruit was at once recognized and the door of office was presently opened to him by Peel, who was always on the look-out for youthful promise and set himself, perhaps more than any other Prime Minister ever did, to train up a succession of statesmen for the country. Though himself the least eccentric of mankind, Peel showed in more than one case that he could overlook a touch of eccentricity where there was real merit and genuine work. Set, as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, to deal with a subject entirely new to him, Gladstone at once justified Peel's confidence and discernment. Perhaps the office had been chosen for him as one in which his eccentricity had no play. He served Peel admirably well and was perfectly true to his chief. But, from things that I have heard him say, I rather doubt whether he greatly loved Peel. Peel detested the Tractarians; the Tractarians hated Peel; and some of the Tractarians were nearest of all men to Gladstone's heart.

Peel's Government having been overthrown on the question of the Corn Laws by what the Duke of Wellington, with military

directness, called a "blackguard combination" of Tory Protectionists, Whigs, Radicals, and Irish Nationalists, the whole under Semitic influence, its chief, for the short remainder of his life, held himself aloof from the party fray, encouraging no new combination, and content with watching over the safety of his great fiscal reform; though, as Greville says, had the Premiership been put to the vote, Peel would have been elected by an overwhelming majority. His personal following, Peelites as they were called, Graham, Gladstone, Lincoln, Cardwell, Sydney Herbert, and the rest, remained suspended between the two great parties. When Disraeli had thrown over protection, as he meant from the beginning to do, the only barrier of principle between the Peelites and the Conservatives was removed. Repeated overtures were made by the Conservative leader, Lord Derby, to Gladstone, whose immense value as a financier was well established, and the common opinion was that Gladstone would have accepted had Disraeli not been in the way. But Disraeli, though he offered to waive his claims, was in the way, and the result was that the Peelites, Gladstone at their head, coalesced with the Whigs and helped to form the coalition Government of Lord Aberdeen.

Once launched in any career, Gladstone was sure to imbibe the full spirit of the movement and lead the way. His Liberalism presently outstripped that of the Whigs. As the most conspicuous seceder from the Tory camp, he became the special object of antipathy to the Carlton Club, which was fond of speaking of him as insane. "I am much better off for a leader than you are," said a member of the Carlton to a member of the Reform Club; "my leader is only an unscrupulous intriguer; yours is a dangerous lunatic." The story was current that he had bought the whole contents of a toy-shop and ordered them to be sent to his house. This came to me once in so circumstantial a form, that I asked Lady Russell whether she thought it could be true. Her answer was: "I begin to think it is, for I have heard it every session for ten years."

It must be owned that Gladstone was impulsive, and that impulsiveness was the source not only of jibes to his enemies, but sometimes of anxiety to his friends. "What I fear in Gladstone," said Archbishop Tait to me, "is his levity." That he could easily throw off responsibility, I think I have myself seen. But a man on whom so heavy a load of responsibility rests, if he

felt its full weight would be killed by it, and want of conscientiousness is not to be inferred from lightness of heart.

It must have been, indeed it evidently was, much against the grain that the great Minister of peace and economy went into the Crimean War. He seems to have tried to persuade himself that the result, after all, would be the bringing of Turkey under control. More substantial was his resolution, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and holder of the purse, to make the generation which waged the war, as far as possible, pay for it by taxes, not cast the burden upon posterity by loans. Mr. Morley is right in pointing to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, then unhappily Ambassador at Constantinople, as largely responsible for the war. Besides his hatred of Russia, the ambassador had a personal grudge against the Czar. But conspiring with him were Palmerston, insanely anti-Russian, the father of Jingoism, perhaps not unwilling to supplant the pacific Lord Aberdeen; and the Emperor of the French, who wanted glory to gild his usurped throne and a better social footing in the circle of Royalties, which he gained by publicly embracing the British Queen. In the middle of the war, Gladstone seceded from the Ministry, reconstructed under Palmerston after its fall under Lord Aberdeen; not, I apprehend, because Palmerston failed to oppose Roebuck's motion of inquiry, against which it was useless to contend; but because he was himself thoroughly sick of the war. I happened just then to be with him one morning on business, at the conclusion of which he began to talk to me, or rather to himself, about the situation, saying, in his Homeric way, that if the Trojans would have given back Helen and her treasures—his Homeric phrase for the Vienna terms—the Greeks would have raised the siege of Troy. I had not had the advantage of being at the Greek headquarters; but I could not help seeing in what mood the British people were, and how hopeless it was then to talk to them about reasonable terms of peace. Had Gladstone, instead of bolting in the middle of the war, mustered courage, of which he generally had a superabundance, to oppose it at the outset, he might have incurred obloquy at the moment, but he would have found before long that, to use Salisbury's metaphor reversed, he had laid his money on the right horse. The grass had hardly grown over the graves on the heights of Sebastopol before everybody execrated the war.

After some turns of the political wheel, we find Gladstone

Chancellor of the Exchequer under Palmerston, making the fortune of that Government by his masterly Budgets and splendid expositions of them in the House. If Palmerston was the father of Jingoism, Gladstone was its arch-enemy. Of the two things for which the Prime Minister said he lived—the extinction of slavery, and the military defence of England—Gladstone looked not with special zeal upon the first and very coldly on the second. Palmerston was a commercial Liberal, and he saw the immense value of such a Chancellor of the Exchequer to his Government. But he was believed to have said that, when he was gone, Gladstone would in two years turn their majority of seventy into a minority, and in four be himself in a lunatic asylum. It was known that he wanted as his successor in the leadership, not Gladstone, but Cornewall Lewis. Very pleasant would have been the situation of that worthy and amiable scholar, leading the House with Gladstone on his flank!

One fruit, distinctly Gladstonian, the Palmerston Government bore. That fruit was the commercial treaty with France, negotiated through Cobden, who shared with Bright Palmerston's particular dislike. Cobden even suspected that Palmerston would not have been sorry if the treaty had miscarried, and that he betrayed his feeling in his bearing and language towards France while negotiations were going on. There was nothing in the treaty savoring of retaliation, nor can it be cited by the advocates of that policy. Some Liberals were inclined to demur to it, not because it was inconsistent with free trade, but because it made us to some extent accomplices in a stretch of prerogative on the part of the Emperor of the French, who used the treaty-making power to accomplish, without the authority of his Legislature, a change in the fiscal system of France. Such, at least, is my memory of the transaction.

The objections which some might perhaps take to Gladstone's fiscal system are, that it retains, though it reduces, the income tax, a class tax, and, like the succession duty, dangerously open to class abuse; and that it rests so much upon the consumption of a few important articles. Suppose tobacco, for instance, were to go out of fashion, as some sanitary authorities say it ought, there would be a serious gap in the Budget.

The great master of finance, while he was dealing with it on the largest scale, was conscientiously mindful of the public in-

terest in the most minute details of expenditure. He regarded public money as sacred, and any waste of it, however trifling, as criminal. His biographer has given us amusing instances of his conscientious parsimony in small things. In one case, however, his parsimony was misplaced. He grudged the judges their large salaries. Public money cannot be better expended than in taking the best men from the Bar to the Bench. The expedition of business assured by their command of their courts would in itself be worth the price, apart from the security for justice.

Among other relics of Gladstone's Conservatism, was his clinging for his seat in Parliament to the University of Oxford, in which he was supported by a rather strange and precarious alliance of High Churchmen voting for the High Churchman and Liberals voting for the progressive Liberal; a combination the strain upon which became extreme when Palmerston, in whose Government Gladstone was, made Shaftesbury, the lay leader of the Evangelicals, his Minister for ecclesiastical affairs, and allowed him to go on appointing Low Church Bishops. But the Tories never made a greater mistake than the ejection of Gladstone from his Oxford seat. By sending him from Oxford to Liverpool, they, to use his own phrase, unmuzzled him. It is true, I believe, that, on the day of his rejection, the bible fell out of the hand of the statue of James I. on the gate tower of the Bodleian, an omen of the separation of the Church from the State. The stone being very friable, the fall was not miraculous; although it was curiously apt.

It was a mistake, however, to say that the disestablishment of the Irish Church had been an issue in the Oxford election. I compared notes on that point with my friend, Sir John Mowbray, who had been the chairman of the Tory committee, and agreed with me in saying that the Irish Church was not an issue. Gladstone took up disestablishment for Ireland, which had been long on the Liberal programme, when he had been thrown out of power by Disraeli on the question of extension of the suffrage. He was ambitious, happily for the country; and he wanted to recover the means of doing great things. His admirers need not shrink from that avowal. But he was also sincerely convinced, as well he might be, and as all Liberals were, that the State Church of Ireland was about the most utterly indefensible institution in the world. He framed his measure, expounded it, and carried it

through Parliament, in his usual masterly way; and the Anglican Church in Ireland, it is believed, has felt herself the better for the operation ever since. Gladstone's High Church friends in England forgave him with a sigh. The State Church of Ireland was separate from that of England, and was Low Church and opposed to everything Catholic from local antagonism to the Church of Rome.

Before his junction with the Liberals, Gladstone had deprecated the interference of Parliament with the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge on the ground that they were private foundations with which Parliament had no right to interfere; and when he brought on his Oxford Reform Bill he had to perform one of his feats of retrospective explanation. But, as usual, he did his work well, though he still left more to be done. By his legislation, clerical as his sympathies were, the universities were set free from clericism, reopened to science, and reunited to the nation. Our Oxford Bill was badly cut up in the Commons, some misguided Liberals playing into the hands of Disraeli, who of course meant mischief. When the Bill in its mutilated state went up to the Lords, it appeared that the Tory leader, Lord Derby, though he felt bound to speak against the Ministerial measure, was not really prepared to throw it out, and that consequently there had not been a whip upon his side. It was then suggested to the Ministers in charge of the Bill that the Commons amendments might be thrown out in the Lords, and the Bill might be sent back in its original state to the Commons, where our friends might by that time be better advised, and the Opposition benches, as it was the end of the session, might be thinned. Russell, then the leader in the Commons, condemned the suggestion as most rash and not unlikely to be the death of the Bill. Gladstone was lying sick of an attack, strange to say, of the chicken-pox. On appeal to him, the signal for battle was at once held out, as I felt sure it would be; and the result was just what we desired.

In connection with this legislative dealing with the endowed colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, the principle may be said to have been practically adopted, though not formally laid down, that, after the lapse of fifty years from the death of a Founder, the Legislature may deal freely with all his regulations, saving the main object of his foundation. The assumption that the wills of Founders were for ever inviolable, in spite of the lapse of ages

and the total change of circumstances, had led, as it must always lead, to a perpetuity of perversion and to the defeat of the main object of the Founders themselves.

He who in his youth had won the favor of the most bigoted of Tory patrons and entrance to public life by his rhetorical opposition to the Reform Bill of 1832, was destined in his maturity to father a Reform Bill at the thought of which the reformers of 1832 would have shuddered. The Reform Bill of 1832 had enfranchised the middle class, but by abolishing the scot-and-lot borough, had deprived the working-class of the little representation which it possessed. Moreover, the legislative preponderance of the landed interest, which had the House of Lords all to itself and a large section of the Commons, was too great for the general good. These were the best reasons for an extension of the suffrage, while the Whig party and its leader Russell, perhaps, as is the way of parties, finding their sails flapping against the mast, wished to raise a little popular wind. It is by the bidding of parties against each other for popularity, largely, that the suffrage has been extended. Russell had for some time been busy with reform, and had more than once moved in that direction, but had been deftly put aside by Palmerston, who, though a Liberal by profession and revolutionary or affecting that character in foreign affairs, was in home politics a Tory at heart, and met general assertions of the right of men to the suffrage as "partakers of our flesh and blood" and presumptively entitled to a place "within the pale of the constitution," with the aphorism that "the one right of every man, woman, and child was to be well governed." It could not be said that the reform agitation, at all events south of Birmingham, was very strong. The large measure of extension brought in by Gladstone was opposed, in some very memorable speeches, by Robert Lowe, a high aristocrat not of birth but of intellect, who made the last stand against democracy and in favor of government by mind. He and his section, dubbed by regular party men "the Cave of Adullam," helped Disraeli to kill the Bill. Disraeli then brought in and carried a Bill, not less radical, of his own, to which the Conservative gentry under the party whip, styled by Disraeli "education," lent a doleful support; while Robert Lowe appealed to their consistency almost with tears, but in vain. Disraeli thus carried off the popularity of the measure, and enabled himself to say that the Tories

were the true friends of the masses. But, besides this, Disraeli looked out of window, which Gladstone's critics, perhaps not wholly without ground for their gibes, said that he did not, and he had perceived and laid to heart the great fact that there were numbers of artisans who cared nothing for Liberalism or progress, and who would be apt under skilful management to vote Tory.

Such a subject as the French war lent transcendent interest to the great speeches of Pitt and Fox. Otherwise, their best efforts are not superior to Gladstone's speech in favor of extension of the suffrage, though Gladstone's style is different from theirs. Gladstone's speeches are not literature. He spoke without notes, and no man can speak literature *ex tempore.* Nor are there any passages of extraordinary brilliancy. For such he had not imagination. But the speeches are masterly expositions of the measure and of the case in its favor, always dignified, measured, and persuasive. The language is invariably good and clear; wonderfully so, considering the absence of notes, though it is somewhat diffuse, having perhaps rather lost freshness by overpractice in debating clubs when the speaker was young. The voice, the manner, the bearing of the orator were supreme, and filled even the most adverse listener with delight.

Gladstone's multifarious reading does not seem to have included a large proportion of history or political philosophy. He has left among his writings nothing of importance in the way of political science, nor does he seem even to have formed any clear conception of the polity which he was seeking to produce. His guiding idea, when once he had broken loose from his early Toryism, was liberty, which he appeared to think would of itself be the parent of all that was good. He had, perhaps, derived something from Russell, whose leading principle it was that the people needed only responsibility to make them act wisely and rightly. He had, apparently, no notion of any system of government other than party, which he seemed to treat as though it had been immemorial and universal, whereas it was born of the struggle for constitutional government against the Stuarts. Even as to the working of the British Constitution, his opinions are not very clear. He professed, and probably felt, the highest respect for the Lords; yet, when they played their constitutional part by throwing out Bills of his of which they did not approve, he denounced them as violators of the Constitution. Did he intend to

vest supreme power absolutely in an assembly elected by manhood, or nearly manhood, suffrage?

For the Crown, Gladstone's reverence went at least as far as to any but believers in political fetichism would seem meet, or as we feel to be perfectly consistent with the dignity of one so eminent and the real head of the State. Yet, it was understood that he was not a favorite at Court, and it is pretty evident that Her Majesty did not eagerly embrace the opportunity of calling on him to form a Government. With all her personal virtues and graces, she was a true grand-daughter of George III., cherishing, as we have been told, apparently on the best authority, ideas of Divine Right, and liking to connect herself not so much with the Hanoverians as with the Stuarts. To her, progressive Liberalism could hardly be very congenial. Moreover, she was a woman, and in a competition in flattery Gladstone would have had no chance with his rival.

It is rather startling to learn from this Life how much there is of interference on the part of irresponsibility with the responsible Government of the Kingdom, and what drafts are made upon the time and energy of one who has the burden of Atlas on his shoulders by the demands of correspondence with the Court. Another thing of which the friends of personal government who have been laboring so hard by pageantry and personal worship to stimulate the monarchical sentiment, may well take note, is the confidential employment of Court Secretaries, like Sir Herbert Taylor under George IV., in communications between the Sovereign and the Minister. They may find, when they have revived the personal power, that it is really wielded, not by the Royal idol, but by some aspiring member or members of the household.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

(To be Continued.)

THE ATTACK UPON THE CONGO STATE.

BY DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

WHEN fourteen of the Powers of Europe and America sent their representatives to Berlin, in November, 1884, the uppermost idea in the mind of every statesman was to withdraw the Central-African problem from the arena of international disputes, and to acquiesce in whatever arrangement might seem the best for its elimination from the list of burning questions and possible causes of strife and war in the world. For the realization of their object they had, in the first place, but to recognize what had already been accomplished by the Congo Association. In April, 1884, long before the Conference was even thought of, the United States had recognized this association as a friendly state, and a few days later France had done likewise. In November, 1884, Germany followed their example, and it is important to note that this recognition was made one week before the first sitting of the Conference. It will be clear to every one that what three of the most important countries of the world decided to recognize, must have been a very substantial entity. It could not have been a myth. In short, there could have been no question about its existence in a condition of active and visible power. Nor can it be less clear that what these three countries accepted as existing, and as being entitled to friendly and full recognition in the great family of nations, was bound to be recognized, reluctantly or freely, with frankness or with reserve, by all the other countries in their turn.

In the second place, the Powers had to lay down principles, and to embody them in the Provisions of a General Act, which should preserve the interests of all in the great question of a free and unshackled commerce. But these provisions, strictly speaking, were not imposed on any state, government or sovereign. They were applied to, and they were to be in force within, a

geographical area which was defined by the first article of the act, and which is known under the title of "the Conventional Basin of the Congo." The governments possessing territory within that area are England, France, Germany, Portugal and the Congo State, and each of these governments comes under the provisions of that act for that portion of their jurisdiction, and in this respect they have an equal obligation and an equal responsibility. Were changes to take place in the proprietorship of any portions of this region, the obligations would remain unchanged. From the opposite point of view it follows that, if all the Sovereign States have pursued an identical course of policy and have taken the same views as to the State possession of vacant, unowned and waste lands, not one of them is qualified to criticise, judge and condemn any of the others. The only possible procedure that would possess the least appearance of impartiality would be to submit the conduct of the five Powers in possession of territory in the Congo Basin for judicial consideration by the nine other signatory Powers of the Berlin Act; or, in other words, that there should be a reassemblage of the Berlin Conference, *minus* England, France, Germany, Portugal and the Congo State. The verdict of such a Conference would have at least the aspect of impartiality, but it might prove unpleasant reading for the British public, who have got the strange notion into their heads that their proceedings towards the blacks have been without a flaw, while every one else, and the Congo State at the head of them, has been to blame.

The work of the Berlin Conference was one of peace; yet, before twenty years have passed away, it looks as if it must prove a cause of strife and possibly of war; for, of course, Belgium, little state though it is, would not consent to the partition of the Congo State without a struggle, and in that event it would be certain to find allies. It may be well to place in the forefront of this article the serious and regrettable consequences that may follow from the hasty and ill-considered action of the British Foreign Office, irritated by the firmness with which the King of the Belgians held to his rights under the Convention of 1894 relative to the Bahr-el-Ghazal. With unusual candor, Mr. Balfour admitted in the House of Commons, on 10th of August last, the connection between two, as it would seem, quite distinct questions. There is another factor in the problem that the British Government has,

curiously enough, altogether overlooked. I have called the Berlin Conference an effort to promote international peace, and so it was; but it would be very foolish to ignore the fact that its authors had other motives besides. Germany embarked upon it with the express idea of curtailing the sphere of England in Africa; and France, which had already acquired the right of pre-emption that it still possesses over the whole of the State, was not averse to Prince Bismarck's design for not merely nullifying the Anglo-Portuguese treaty, but for preventing its resuscitation on any future occasion. But if Germany and France were averse in 1884 to the expansion of England in Central Africa, when the title of ownership would have been little more than nominal, how much more averse must they be in 1903 to any such expansion, now they see that it would be a substantial reality!

Those who wage war on the Congo State *à outrance* in the newspapers get over this difficulty in the usual heroic manner of irresponsible persons. The Congo State is to be partitioned, and France and Germany shall have their portions. To offer France her "portion" when she is entitled to the whole, is not evidence of tact; to divide the Congo State into three parts, so that the English part shall be as great as those of France and Germany combined, is not the way to create satisfaction in either Berlin or Paris. In fact, the proposals for dealing with the Congo State, apart from their lawlessness, are singularly crude and unstatesmanlike.

The Congo Government has replied to the note issued by the British Government to the Powers on August 8th. The policy of the proceedings of the Congo State are shown to be, on the vital points of the State domain—the treatment of black labor, and the granting of concessions—absolutely the same as the policy and proceedings of France, Germany and England herself in those matters. Moreover, the measures taken are demonstrably supported by the principles and provisions of international law. They are in strict accord with the letter of the Berlin Act, which is very simple and very clear in its language, borne out and amplified by the protocols. They have been interpreted by all the interested parties in the same manner. If there lies behind the text of the Berlin Act some higher and hidden spirit of which its authors themselves were unaware, clearly this can only be discovered by those whose minds are quite unprejudiced, who have no possible

interest, direct or indirect, in Central Africa, and whose hands have not been hardened by close contact with that grim, black problem which so many irresponsible persons wish to add to the long list of anxieties and burdens of England. If a new law and obligation is to be imposed upon the States holding territory in the Congo Conventional Basin, it ought to be the work of the nine non-possessing States; and England, not less than France or Germany or the Congo State, would have to submit herself to the rod of correction. As none of those Powers has the smallest intention of allowing its proceedings of internal government to be reviewed and judged by any foreign tribunal, it follows that there will be no attempt to go behind the Berlin Act. Its language is perfectly plain, every one hitherto has read it in the same sense.

The radical defect in the case presented by the British Government, and formally set forth in its note of August 8th, is the failure to realize the exact status of the Congo State. If one were to draw a conclusion from the terms of the Note, it would be thought that the Congo State was not a State at all, and that it merely filled some anomalous and temporary position by virtue of the Berlin Conference, and at the good pleasure of the Powers there assembled. That such a view should be put forward by journalists snatching in their haste at any argument that seemed a likely weapon with which to belabor the victim handed over to their censure and condemnation, is not surprising. "What one Conference gave, another can take away," is a sentence that comes trippingly to the pen, and imposes on the credulity of the general reader; but that the British Foreign Office, knowing the facts, should have allowed itself to believe that the Congo State did and does occupy an anomalous position, and that the mere inditing of a despatch would put that State in the dock, is strange indeed.

The Congo State is, in law and in fact, a Sovereign State, and every one with the least smattering of international law knows that there are no qualifications or abstractions to be made on or from that description. Its rights in international law are just as great as those of England herself. Nor was it created by the Berlin Conference. It existed before such a Conference was contemplated. It was recognized by the United States and France seven months before the Powers assembled at Berlin, but recognition implies prior existence, for what does not exist cannot be recognized. The Congo State is bound in no greater or less de-

gree than England herself by the provisions of the Berlin Act, and those provisions could not be modified, if at all, to its special detriment. A fresh meeting of the signatory Powers could only change them if the Powers were unanimous. As all the Powers involved have acted on the same lines, no change is possible without an implication of self-condemnation. What they have done in the Congo Basin has been done within their full legal right and competence. Is it likely that any of them would consent to undo it, that is to say, to draw back from a course deliberately chosen with due regard for the law of nations, and by the essential prerogatives of sovereignty?

Let us see what are the charges brought against the Congo State, not by the British Government, but by certain persons whose views have been taken up and adopted to a limited extent by that Government. The extent to which they have been adopted may first be stated in a precise manner. On May 20th, the Government accepted Mr. Herbert Samuel's motion in the House of Commons to this effect:

> "That the Government of the Congo Free State having, at its inception, guaranteed to the Powers that its native subjects should be governed with humanity, and that no trading monopoly or privilege should be permitted within its dominions, this House requests His Majesty's Government to confer with the other Powers, signatories of the Berlin General Act, by virtue of which the Congo Free State exists, in order that measures may be adopted to abate the evils prevalent in that State."

The language of the motion shows the existence of the fundamental errors that I have referred to, which assign the "existence" of the Congo State to the Berlin Act, and which assume that in some special manner the Congo State is under different obligations from those binding all the other Powers which have territory in the Congo Basin.

As for the charges themselves, they come under two heads. They may be called breaches of humanity, and breaches of the freedom of trade that forms the cardinal point of the Berlin Act.

Let us take the breaches of humanity first. These are based, first of all, on the assumption that the Congo State employs or has employed cannibal troops. If ever there was a charge which was demonstrably false it is this. Far from employing cannibals at any time, the State has always treated cannibalism as a crime

punishable with death. At moments of grave peril, its officers did not hesitate to shoot powerful chiefs found guilty of the practice. When it did employ ex-cannibals, who had nominally given up anthropophagy, the Belgians themselves suffered most when those men mutinied and returned to their barbarous habits, and that is over eight years ago. Since the Batetela mutiny, the Public Force has been quite reorganized, and it is not merely untrue, but also a palpable absurdity, to speak of "a cannibal army" as something that could continue to exist. The Congo State, in its own interests, could not permit such a state of things. The hardships of service in Central Africa are quite sufficient deterrent to the recruiting of its white staff, without adding thereto the terrible possibility of being eaten by the men under their command. The least particle of justice and sense of fair play should cause the abandonment of this charge by the most pronounced and vindictive enemy of the State. Yet, how can any abandonment be expected from a faction the chief member of which charged the Congo State, in 1897, with importing gin for the express purpose of effecting the degeneration and extinction of the negroes of Central Africa? As a matter of fact, the policy of the Congo State has reduced the import of gin and alcohol altogether to one-sixth of its former total.

And when you have eliminated the charge of the cannibal soldiers, what remains of those breaches of humanity? There have been crimes on the Congo, and some of them have passed unpunished. The Congo Government does not deny it. Is there anything remarkable in this? Is it enough to brand the Congo State with a mark excluding it from the society of civilized nations? Are there not crimes and unpunished crimes sometimes in England, even in Sir Charles Dilke's own Forest of Dean? His acquaintance with colonial and African matters is older than mine, but has he forgotten the case of Colonel H——— and his photographs, or the floggings of Province Wellesley? Did those deplorable incidents entitle any one to depose England from the position she claimed, and rightly claimed, as an apostle of civilization? The same law must be applied to the Congo State, whose code is in no particular inferior to that of the British Empire. You cannot condemn a state or a nation for miscarriages of justice, or for the occasional failure of the law to strike down the guilty. It must be judged by its written law, and by the integrity

of the judges who administer it; and even in the full volume of spleen and enmity let loose upon the Congo State in these latter days, no one has yet ventured to assail the purity of the Courts at Boma.

It is probable that the blacks have sometimes been compelled to supply forced labor. Do the members of the Anti-Congolese party imagine that it is different in British Africa, or that the negroes under the union jack work of their own good-will for an "if you please," or at the dulcet tones of the English overseer reciting in one breath a verse of the Bible, and in the next a sort of advertisement of the advantages of the savings-bank. If they do, all I will say is that they wander far from the truth, and that they ought, in simple justice, to find out what is happening in their own house before they find fault with and condemn the proceedings of their neighbors. The native of Africa is, by temperament, lazy and improvident. It is the result of the conditions of his existence, which leave him neither needs nor longings. Life has no attraction for him. At the best, his life must be harsh; and if he succumbs, that is as much a relief as a punishment. Mr. Chamberlain, far wiser than most of his contemporaries in this as in other matters, has said, "I think it is a good thing for him (the native of Africa) to be industrious, and by every means in our power we must teach him to work." Now, that is precisely the policy that has been followed by the Congo State, and Mr. Chamberlain went on to vindicate the imposition of taxes on the native because "the existence of the tax is an inducement to him to work."

Well the Congo State imposes taxes on its black subjects. Is there any hardship or injustice in that? The negro has no money, therefore he has to pay his tax in kind or in labor. Precisely the same measures are taken in British possessions in Africa. The labor required of the native in the Congo State is not excessive. The regulations provide that it shall not exceed forty hours a month; and when the native works in the rubber forests, he receives a recompense by way of gratuity which makes his toil the best remunerated in Central Africa. Can the British subjects who pay the hut-tax say as much? But it is said that there have been acts of cruelty, that the natives have been driven by force to provide rubber; and it is evident that such incidents have occurred, since there are Europeans purging their offences at the

present time in the prison of Boma. But was any Government ever yet denounced as guilty because there were criminals among its subjects? A Government can only be held blamable when it does not provide and does not support the law. In the present case, no accusation can be made under either head. The Congo Code is complete and admirable. No one has detected a flaw in it. On the other hand, there is not a case that can be cited in which, once the Courts have been occupied with it, they have failed to do justice. Of course, some culprits may never have been brought to trial; and, considering the enormous expanse of territory covered, and the inevitable deficiencies of intercommunication in a newly occupied and partially developed country, it would be indeed extraordinary if the author of every arbitrary or culpable proceeding received his proper correction. But when we find that the principal cases brought against the Congo State are seven or eight years old, and that they are repeated in numerous veiled forms without dates or other means of identification, it is not possible to suppress the opinion that the case for the attack must be extremely weak.

Even if these outrages were as numerous as is alleged, the right of interference in the internal affairs of another State does not exist, and England would no more think of interfering for the purpose of putting down drunkenness and its attendant crimes in the Borinage than Belgium herself would venture to put forward her views with regard to the same social offences in our own Black Country. Far more conclusive evidence than has yet been brought forward would be needed to invoke the sixth article of the Berlin Act, which provides for "the preservation of the native tribes" and for "the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being." Whatever may be said to the contrary by prejudiced persons, there can be no doubt that the consistent policy of the Congo Government, from its first acts down to the present time, has been to promote the welfare of the natives, and to improve their moral and material conditions. Nor can there be any serious question that it has achieved very considerable success if we make proper allowance for the magnitude of the task, the special difficulties arising from the Arabs in the first place and the Batetela mutineers in the second, and the fact that it is only within the last few years that the financial resources have been equal to the burden that devolved upon them.

The flourishing condition of the finances and commerce of the Congo State is the crowning proof that it enjoys internal peace and prosperity, and therefore the person who termed it "the charnel-house of Africa" can only be the victim of a disordered imagination.

When we turn to the other branch of the attack, that against the land policy of the State, it would seem to be a question that might be discussed in a calm and courteous manner with the absence of the passion and vituperation that have been imported into it by the attacking party. The question at issue is really a very simple one. Has a State the right to convert vacant and unowned, as well as waste, lands into its own property, in other words, a State domain? This simple question has received for centuries an equally simple and direct answer in the law of nations. The State has that right. And if it possesses the right of proprietorship, it must also be clear that that right carries with it the power of managing, leasing or selling that State domain as it thinks fit; otherwise, its right of proprietorship would be nominal, limited and undermined. Precisely the same principles lay at the root of the vast crown lands and estates of the British Monarchy which were taken over by the State at the time of the establishment of the Civil List, although their origin would have to be traced to the days of feudalism. They have also been applied in all the Colonies—in Canada ninety years ago, and in Uganda the other day. To do what is strictly according to the established law of civilized nations does not require the sanction of English confirmation, but none the less it must be gratifying to the Congo Government to find its procedure corroborated by the practice of British proconsuls. Finally, the policy of the Congo State on the subject of the occupation of vacant and unowned lands was enunciated in 1891. Why have we had to wait twelve years before persons, manifestly interested, have come forward to denounce it as a breach of the Berlin Act? And, in the mean time, what has happened? France, Germany, and England herself in Uganda, have done precisely the same thing. But the denunciators of the Congo State are silent as to the proceedings of the great.

But even if the Congo State, acting in strict conformity with the law and the usages of civilized nations, were to be held by some impartial tribunal that has yet to be discovered to have exceeded

its rights, the same sentence would apply to France, Germany, and England, for they have all put forward the customary pretensions of the State reversion over unowned lands. Nor would there be in such a sentence any aspersion on the honor or the humanity of the Congo State for having done what every other State in similar circumstances had done, and what was strictly in accordance with precedent and the general usage. It would be a new decree, a new law, to which every State would have to bow, and whose application could not be restricted to Central Africa.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the interminable confusion that would follow from this upsetting of established laws, this reversal of the order of things; but it may be useful in exposing a fallacy to show what would happen in Central Africa. The tribunal that took away the right could not possibly deny that, by the law and by precedent, the Congo State had the right to grant the concessions that have been given on the State domains. Therefore the holders of those concessions would have to be indemnified. Whence would the necessary millions come? In the next place, the consequences of this policy would be that the natives would become masters of the situation, with the inevitable result that the capital which is developing this region would be withdrawn, the forests would be despoiled and the cultivated fields would return to the bush. A brief consideration of the situation is sufficient to show that an arbitrary intervention with the legitimate rights of the Congo State as a Sovereign State could not be restricted in its application to it alone, but that it must be applied to all the other Powers concerned. In its result, that intervention would entail the downfall of the administration set up with great difficulty in the Congo Valley, and the relapse of that Valley into the condition of barbarism from which King Leopold has raised it.

I now come to the last point. Has the policy of the Congo State, in creating the State domains and in assigning them in different forms of concession, constituted a breach of the first and third articles of the Berlin Act. The first article states that "the trade of all nations shall enjoy complete freedom" in the Conventional Basin of the Congo which it defines. The third article says:

"Wares, of whatever origin, imported into those regions under whatsoever flag, by sea or river or overland, shall be subject to no other taxes than such as may be levied as fair compensation for expenditure in the

interest of trade, and which for this reason must be equally borne by the subjects themselves and by foreigners of all nationalities. All differential dues on vessels as well as on merchandise are forbidden."

Now, as it has never been represented that the Congo Government has imposed any taxes or differential dues on foreigners, or placed any hindrance in the way of traffic, it follows that the charges levelled at it must come under the head of "complete freedom."

It will be perfectly clear to any one who takes the trouble to study the text of the Act, that "complete freedom" in the first article refers to trade alone. Its interpretation is rendered clearer by the perusal of the fifth article, which sets forth that "No Power which exercises or shall exercise sovereign rights in the above-mentioned regions shall be allowed to grant therein a monopoly or favor of any kind *in matters of trade.*" "Matters of trade" is the English translation used for the French text (the binding text, it may be noted; for there are several errors in the English text) *en matière commerciale.* The protocols show that this referred exclusively to the power of buying and selling, and importing and exporting. On all these points not a single reproach has been or can be made against the Congo Government. The volume of trade has increased. I find that the proportion of English trade to the whole is one-sixth or about the same as in 1891, that is to say, before the incorporation of the State domains. The Congo Government has in no particular hindered freedom of trade. But its assailants have read into those simple and clear words a new meaning, which is tantamount to saying that, while there shall be "complete freedom" for every one else, the Congo Government is to be tied in all its measures of internal administration. To-day, it is the policy of the domain lands that is assailed; to-morrow, it will be something else.

I am by no means sure in my own mind that German "whispers" are not at the root of the strange attitude that the British Government has taken up for some time past with regard to the Congo State. England's bitter foes at Berlin will not neglect the smallest chance of spoiling the growing *entente* with France, and although they have no intention of embarrassing the Congo State, or of promoting a partition in which they would come off third best, they are watching with a certain amount of glee the attacks on the domain system and the resulting concessions, because

whatever is said and written in England against the Congo State on those points is also an attack on and an aspersion of France.

The Congo State has done good work, and it needs but the encouragement and the protection of England to do still better work, and to propagate the ideas and the policy that has made England famous. It is a neglected ally and not a secret enemy of England, as so many misinformed or malevolent persons are alleging. If France were put in its place, as Sir Charles Dilke proposes, France would have the finest base for offensive operations in Africa. If the State is broken up, no matter how ingeniously it is done, both France and Germany will be left dissatisfied at the same time. It may never come, yet no prudent English statesman can ever afford to eliminate from the list of contingencies a possible European coalition against England; and to violate the integrity of the Congo State, by shocking the sentiment of independence and sovereignty which typifies every nation's separate existence, might furnish the solidifying essence for what is now an inchoate and abstract sentiment.

As a matter of simple fact, England has now enough, if not too much, of Africa on her hands. She has protectorates with more millions of black subjects than there are hundreds of white officials and settlers. She is absolutely ignorant as to what her future relations with these races will be; but if we are to judge from the West Coast, there must be many wars and costly expeditions before her. No basis of permanent settlement has yet been discovered, and still the British Government seems not unwilling to add to its burdens in Africa, or at least to commit itself to a course of action that would entail, not merely the addition of fresh responsibilities, but the aggravation of those already existing. Yet it has on its hands white and yellow and brown problems—none of which is it managing very well, especially the yellow problem, upon the solution of which real predominance in this world will turn. Let it keep away from the black problem as far as possible, and thank its stars that there is a small, neutral, and pacific State to take the chief part of the work off its hands, and one which is only too willing, if it receives proper encouragement and support, instead of censure and contumely, to follow its advice and shape its policy to a common end.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

CITIZENSHIP AND SUFFRAGE.

BY WILLIAM L. SCRUGGS, FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO VENEZUELA AND TO COLOMBIA.

I.

It is a curious fact that, in selecting the alien and somewhat ambiguous term "citizen" for a title of individual membership of the new nation, the fathers of the Republic neither defined that term nor indicated a preference for any one of its various definitions then current. This could hardly have been the result of accident or oversight. The framers of the Constitution were, with few exceptions, scholarly and painstaking men. They were familiar with the idioms and legal technicalities of our language, critical and often fastidious in their choice of words, and rarely employed a phrase or constructed a sentence of doubtful meaning. Moreover, they were conscious that their work would be subjected to the closest scrutiny by the several State Conventions which were to pass final judgment upon it. How, then, shall we account for their unqualified use of a term which had acquired as many shades of meaning as Proteus had shapes, and which, they must have foreseen, was to become the storm centre of future political and juridical controversy?

The answer to this question does not seem far to seek. In the first place, it should be remembered that not one of the many definitions of the term "citizen" then current would have accurately described the then existing relation between any one of the thirteen States and its inhabitants. The States had been self-governing communities for about eleven years. But it was a question whether the citizen owed primary allegiance to the particular State in which he resided, or whether he owed it to the Revolutionary government of which the Confederation was the immediate successor; and, in either case, his exact relation to the

governing power was not very clear. In the next place, wide differences of opinion prevailed among the members of the Convention respecting the relation that should be established between the citizen and the proposed new Federal government. One faction wanted to establish a central power bearing directly upon the individual citizen. The other, having an undefined dread of something which they called "consolidation," wanted merely to patch up the weak points in the old Articles of Confederation. The ideal of the one was a nation, in fact as well as in name; the ideal of the other was a league or compact between independent communities. One sought to make the citizen a member of the nation; the other sought to make him a member only of the particular State in which he resided. It is plain, therefore, that any definition of the term that would have been satisfactory to one faction would have been obnoxious to the other. The only hope of agreement lay in the line of some compromise; and the most available, if not the only, compromise was to leave the technical import of the phrase "Citizen of the United States" to be evolved from future experience, and to be developed with the gradual growth of a more clearly defined national sentiment.

Take, for illustration, Aristotle's definition of the term, which is, perhaps, neither better nor worse than a number of others then in common use. "A citizen," he tells us, "is one to whom belongs the right of taking part in both the deliberative and judicial proceedings of the community of which he is a member." If interpreted literally, this would exclude all females from citizenship, which is absurd. And if, to avoid this absurdity, we assume, as we reasonably may, that the masculine pronoun, "he," was employed in a generic sense, we then have the naked assumption that every citizen, regardless of age, sex, condition, degree of intelligence, or personal responsibility, has "the right of participation" in both the legislative and judicial proceedings of the community—a proposition that would have horrified even the extremest radical democrat in the Convention.

Even the verbal distinction which the fathers made between the terms "citizen" and "subject," gives us but a faint clue to their reasons for selecting the former instead of the latter. Manifestly, they wished to indicate a self-governing state as distinguished from an autocracy, an aristocracy or a monarchy. But we cannot say, with Aristotle, that "a subject is merely governed,

whereas a citizen also governs." For in England, many subjects "also govern"; that is, they have the right of the elective franchise. In that sense, they are "citizens." In the States of the United States, many citizens are "merely governed"; that is, they have not, and never had, the right of suffrage. In that sense, they are "subjects." There are, then, as there have always been, two classes of citizens and two classes of subjects—namely, one which has, and one which has not, the right of participation in the affairs of government, or, as we would say, the right to vote. And, since each sustains identical relations to its respective government, one general definition will comprehend both. That is to say, any native-born or naturalized person of either sex, or of whatever condition, entitled to full protection in the exercise of all the natural or personal rights incident to membership of the State or nation, is a citizen or subject—the choice of terms being immaterial.

But there is, as there has always been, a broad distinction between these natural or personal rights and the right of participation, personally or by a chosen representative, in the affairs of government. One is inherent in citizenship; the other is a gift conferred by the state. In the Greek democracies, all citizens were neither legislators nor magistrates; still less were they ever both at the same time. All Roman citizens were not qualified electors. In the Dutch Republic, citizenship and suffrage were never inseparable; in point of fact, less than half the citizens were ever voters. In the Swiss cantons, suffrage was never coextensive with citizenship. In the Republic of France, less than half the citizens have, or ever have had, a voice in the government. Even in the Latin-American Republics, where there has been the nearest approach to universal suffrage, where women have all the natural rights inherent in citizenship, and where even the nationality of the son follows that of the mother instead of the father, no woman has ever been a voter. In the United States, women are citizens, entitled to all the natural rights incident to that relation; yet no woman has ever exercised the elective franchise in virtue of her citizenship. Where she has voted at all, it has been in virtue of an enabling act of the Legislature. In a word, it is an axiom of our law, illustrated by numerous judicial decisions, that the right to vote is not an essential element of citizenship; that a person may be a citizen, entitled to all the

privileges and immunities incident to citizenship, without having the right to vote.

II.

Our first attempt at a constitutional definition of the phrase "Citizen of the United States," was made after a somewhat stormy experience of about eighty years. I allude, of course, to the Joint Resolution of the 39th Congress, of June 16th, 1866, proposing what is now known as the Fourteenth Amendment. It was subsequently ratified by the requisite number of States; and, on the 21st July, 1868, was officially proclaimed as an integral part of our fundamental law. The first section of that Amendment declares, that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." And, in due course, each of the particular States, conforming to this definition, so amended their codes as to declare, in substance, that "all citizens of the United States, residing in the State, are citizens of the State," thus excluding, by plain implication, all who are not citizens of the United States.

This has been characterized as "a revolution in our form of government." It was not quite that. But it was a turning point in our constitutional and political history, and marked the advent of a new era in the evolution of American citizenship. Up to that time, we searched in vain for some clear and authentic definition of the familiar but doubtful phrase, "Citizenship of the United States." It could be found neither in our fundamental or statutory law, nor in any of the decisions of our Supreme Court. Nor could it be derived from the concurrent actions or rulings of any two of the co-ordinate departments of the Government. In its elements and its details, citizenship of the United States was as little understood, and as much open to speculative criticism, in 1861 as it was in 1787. For more than three-quarters of a century, it had been an adjourned question whether a person could be a citizen of the United States at all except as he was such incidentally, and then only in a limited or qualified sense, by reason of his being a citizen of one of the particular States. It was, therefore, an open question whether the ultimate allegiance of the citizen was due to the State or to the general government. Indeed, Mr. Calhoun, and other exponents of the so-called "Jeffersonian" theory of the Constitution, had gone so far as to con-

tend that there was "no such thing as citizenship of the United States *per se;*" that a person born and living in the District of Columbia or other Territory of the Union, although *in* the United States and subject to its jurisdiction, was not, in reality, a citizen of the United States! And, absurd as this proposition now seems, it had never been fairly met by any adverse decision of our Supreme Court.

The Fourteenth Amendment settled, as it was intended to settle, this vexed question at once and forever. It established a citizenship of the United States that is wholly independent of State lines. It thus created a central authority commanding the common obedience of its individual members, and, for the first time, made us a nation in fact as well as in name. A person may now be a citizen of the United States without being a citizen of any one particular State; but by no conceivable combination of circumstances, can he be a citizen of one of the particular States till he is first a citizen of the United States.

I am aware that this last proposition is not, even yet, fully assented to by those who, from force of habit, continue to worship at the political shrine which Thomas Jefferson erected in 1798. It is pointed out that, in some of the States—perhaps in as many as nine of them—resident aliens are given the ballot after having made their preliminary declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States; and the contention is, that the right to vote is the highest evidence of citizenship; hence the conclusion that a man may be a citizen of the particular State before he is a citizen of the United States.

The fallacy of this argument is manifest. It has its only apology in a false premise, long since exploded. Away back in the early part of the last century, it was a question at one time whether the power to naturalize foreigners belonged exclusively to Congress. It was suggested that the particular State, in virtue of its alleged "sovereignty," possessed the concurrent power of naturalization; consequently, that the State might adopt citizens upon easier terms than those imposed by the naturalization laws of Congress. But this was little more than a mere query. If it ever attained to the dignity of a matured opinion, it soon went down under a series of adverse judicial decisions, long before the Fourteenth Amendment was ever thought of; and it is not likely to be revived so long as that Amendment remains in force.

Moreover, the proposition that an alien is a citizen of the State in virtue of the fact that he is a voter in the State, involves an absurdity. It likewise involves a contradiction in terms. To give the ballot to an alien, is to give him direct control over the action of the State government, and indirect control over the action of the national government, while he is yet a member of some foreign State. In case of war between the United States and the country of his allegiance, he is, by a law of Congress as well as by the law of nations, an alien enemy. As an alien enemy, he is, by the same laws, liable to seizure, to have his goods confiscated, and to imprisonment or deportation. A practice involving such legal contradictions, and leading to such possible consequences, cannot be excused, much less justified, under any code of political morals known to civilized communities, and ought to be at once and forever abandoned.

III.

How did the Fourteenth Amendment affect the status of the suffrage question? It did not materially change it. It did not take from the State the power to fix the qualifications of electors, nor fasten upon us the pernicious doctrine of universal suffrage. It prohibits the State from making or enforcing any law "abridging the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States." But what are we to understand by the words "privileges and immunities?" They did not come into the Constitution with the Fourteenth Amendment. They had been there, in Article IV., more than three-quarters of a century before that Amendment was ever dreamed of. And our judicial tribunals had uniformly held that they relate, not to the right of suffrage at all, but only to the natural or personal rights inherent in citizenship, of which the right to vote was not one.

The only clause in the Amendment that bears upon the suffrage question is in section two, which relates to the apportionment of representatives among the several States. The apportionment is based on population. But "when the right to vote is denied to male citizens of the United States twenty-one years of age," the number of representatives is to be proportionately reduced. It is to be reduced "in the proportion which the number of such citizens bears to the whole number of citizens" of that age residing in the State. But the question naturally arises, Whence comes

the right of citizens of the United States to vote? Not being a natural right inherent in citizenship, it can come only by a State law; for only in a Territory, not yet admitted to Statehood, can it come by act of Congress. And in neither case is there any constitutional obligation to grant the right. The only consequence to the State in not granting it is, fewer representatives in the lower House of Congress, and in the College of Electors for President and Vice-President—the number of Senators not being affected thereby. And this, so far from being a loss to the State, might be a positive advantage. For experience has abundantly shown, that it is not the number, but the ability and character of its representatives, that gives the State consideration and influence in the councils of the nation. No political contrivance can annul the divine law by which one wise man counts for more, in deliberative assemblies, and in the affairs of the world generally, than any number of fools.

But it is said that the Fifteenth Amendment practically nullifies this section of the Fourteenth; that it assumes "the right of citizens of the United States to vote" to be a vested right; that it gives Congress the power to enforce this assumption; and, consequently, that it takes from the State its ancient prerogative of fixing the qualifications of electors.

It really does nothing of the kind. It declares, simply, that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged," by either State or nation, "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude"; and it gives Congress the power to enforce this provision for impartial suffrage by "appropriate legislation." There is an assumption only of the potential right to vote. There is no assumption of a vested right to vote. The potential right to vote can become actual only by a law of the State, or in a Territory by a law of Congress. There is no mandate that the actual right shall be conferred in either case. The only mandate is that, in conferring it, the grant must be impartial as between black and white citizens. The plain import of the Amendment, therefore, is that *when* the right to vote is granted, it must be impartially granted; but it is always competent to the State (or to Congress, as the case may be) to declare that "when."

Six of the Southern States have recently, by changes in their fundamental law, restricted the suffrage by a literary and prop-

erty qualification. Any resident citizen of the United States, black or white, who owns a certain amount of property and who can read and write the English language, may vote. No citizen, black or white, who does not measure up to this standard of qualification, can vote. The only exceptions are found in what are known as "the grandfather" and "the veteran" clauses. The so-called "grandfather clause" provides that all, whether black or white, who could vote in 1866, and their direct male descendants, may vote, provided they shall register prior to a certain date. The so-called "veteran" clause provides that all, black or white, who served in any war of the United States, or in the war between the States, may vote on the same conditions. The time for such registration has already expired in most of those States. It will expire in all, save one only, on the 1st of January next, and it will expire in that one a few years later. So that the exceptions, whether wise or foolish, are only temporary provisions. And, whatever may be said of these exceptional and temporary provisions, the general and permanent provisions are certainly not open to objection. They are neither illegal nor unjust. The Fifteenth Amendment is not violated by them. Every State is free to fix its own standard of suffrage, provided it applies to all alike. It is no injustice to a citizen to withhold from him the ballot until he shall have accumulated, say, three hundred dollars' worth of property and learned to read and write the language of the country. It may be thought expedient or inexpedient; but it violates no vested right, either under the law of nature or the fundamental law, so long as the conditions apply equally to all citizens.

IV.

So much, in brief, for the legal aspects of the suffrage question. But how about its political side? Is it wise or even safe to give the ballot indiscriminately to all male citizens twenty-one years of age and upwards? Is it politic or expedient to restrict the elective franchise to a literary or property qualification, or both?

If, as will be readily admitted, the purpose of all government is, or should be, to secure "the greatest good to the greatest number"; if the general welfare is to be preferred to individual advantage or caprice; then it goes without saying that the right of participation in the affairs of government should be limited to

those who are fitted, by intelligence, virtue and personal responsibility, to exercise that right with safety to the community. Good government implies stability, fixed rules of civil conduct, equal justice to all, honest administration, and freedom from sudden and violent changes brought about by an ignorant, senseless and evanescent popular clamor. But such a government is not possible where legislators and all other public officers are elective for short terms by universal suffrage. For, in its last analysis, universal suffrage is but another name for a licensed mobocracy; and a licensed mobocracy is nothing less than "organized anarchy," pure and simple—the usual alternative of which is military despotism. Even military despotism, hateful as it is, is preferable to mob rule. For, of all forms of tyranny known amongst men, that of the mob is most to be dreaded, because it is usually the most merciless and the least responsible for its acts.

Let it be admitted, once for all, that any restriction of the suffrage, no matter how wisely devised, is arbitrary and open to objection; that it will result in exceptional cases of individual hardship. A young man eighteen years of age is subject to military duty, and is, in many instances, more capable of voting intelligently than his neighbor of twenty-one; yet he must wait three years before he can become a legal voter. A woman may be a large tax-payer, and have a clearer insight into public questions than her younger brother of twenty-one; yet she has no voice in the government. A man may be of lawful age, able to read and write the language of the country, and yet be wanting in sound judgment and personal responsibility. Or, he may not know a letter of the alphabet, and yet be a tax-payer and have sound judgment. Such instances may be exceptional, but they are within the range of common observation.

But if universal suffrage is not to prevail, then the line must be drawn somewhere. There must be some fixed standard applicable to all. And, whilst it may be imperfect, in that it is not free from objection, no one expects perfection. The most that is possible, and therefore the most that ought to be expected, is the nearest approximation to perfection. Or, to change the phraseology, when two alternatives are presented, neither of which is wholly desirable but one of which must be taken, the least objectionable one should be chosen. The alternatives here presented are, the admitted evils of "tramp" suffrage on the one hand, and

the exceptional cases of individual hardship on the other. One is a menace to our republican form of government, nay, to our very civilization itself. The other puts a few individuals to temporary disadvantage. It subjects them to temporary inequities, without, however, depriving them of any one of their natural rights inherent in citizenship. Therefore, as the lesser evil, a restriction of the suffrage should be chosen.

Nor would this exclusion be necessarily permanent. It would be permanent or temporary according to the citizen's own choosing. He would have a powerful incentive to fit himself to become an intelligent and responsible voter, whereas, under a system of universal suffrage, that incentive would be wanting. In a country like ours, where public instruction is free, where wages are good and the avenues of profitable industry are open to all, he could hardly fail to attain to the requisite standard. If, however, he be idle and shiftless, without such ambition, and without the essential elements of good citizenship, then no amount or degree of well-meant but misdirected sympathy, nor any form of class legislation, can ever make him a desirable or even a safe voter.

WILLIAM L. SCRUGGS.

LIGHT ON SOME EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

BY THE REV. HENRY A. STIMSON, D.D.

At a time when Sir Norman Lockyer, the new President of the British Association, is urging the British government to grant $120,000,000 at once to the universities of Great Britain for their immediate enlargement; when it is reported that Germany has profited to the extent of more than $250,000,000 by her recent devotion to chemical investigation and education; when it is remembered that Lord Palmerston spoke of Germany as "a country of damned professors," and that, after Sedan, Von Moltke said the battle was won by the schoolmaster; expert testimony as to the value of present educational methods in the United States, and ways in which they can be improved, needs no argument to prove its timeliness and its practical importance.

Among our distinguished educators none occupies a higher place and none is more worthy of attention than ex-President Dwight of Yale. He has devoted the earliest years of his well-earned leisure to writing his "Memories of Yale Life and Men," and by those who know him his pleasant chat will be hailed as no less valuable than his wise commentary. The wisdom of his reflections comes to us wrapped up in the sweetness and serenity of an old age that retains the love of humor, faith in God and man, a hearty belief in the present as over against the days that are gone, and abounding charity for all; and we have not merely charitable judgments, (which too often are the cloaking of truth or an easy indifference to evil), but that true and sound appreciation of the good, wherever it appears, which makes it possible to exercise an apparent oblivion of all else without committing high treason upon virtue. These Memories will be a delight to Yale men, for the stories they contain and, most of all, for the preservation of the charm of a personality which a laborious life has not di-

minished and old age has not dulled. But of far more value to the general public are the shrewd observations of this experienced educator upon the educational problems which have passed under his consideration, many of which are uppermost in the thought of the country to-day. These are to be found interspersed in the story of the unfolding of the life of Yale College as he has known it for more than half a century. They are given now with all the freshness with which they first presented themselves to his alert mind, and are passed upon with the mature judgment of one who, still in the full possession of his powers, retains the youthfulness of spirit and the eagerness of interest which enable him to pronounce upon them in their personal aspect, in words that will carry great weight with all thoughtful men. The fact that they are interjected into personal narratives, as *obiter dicta,* in a record which has more than the charm of a brilliant novel, does not impair their value or make them less conclusive than if they had been argumentatively demonstrated; while the fact that they are carried in the forefront of the thinking of this most alert and thoughtful intellect, is evidence of their pertinence to the thought of to-day.

In recounting the theory of education that was prevalent in the colleges of the country in his youth, Dr. Dwight notes with approval some sentences from the catalogue of Yale at that time:

"The object of the system of instruction of the undergraduates is, not to give a partial education consisting of a few branches only; nor, on the other hand, to give a superficial education containing a little of almost everything; nor to finish the details of either a professional or a practical education; but to commence a thorough course, and to carry it as far as the time of the student's residence will allow. It is intended to maintain such a proportion between the different branches of literature and science as to form a proper symmetry and balance of character. In laying the foundation of a theory of education, it is necessary that all the important faculties be brought into exercise. When certain mental endowments receive a much higher culture than others, there is a distortion in the intellectual character. The powers of the mind are not developed in their fairest proportions by studying languages alone, or mathematics alone, or natural or political science alone. The object in the proper college department is, not to teach that which is peculiar to any one of the professions, but to lay the foundation which is common to them all. The principles of science and literature are the common foundation of all high intellectual attainments. They furnish a discipline and elevation of mind which are the best preparation for the study of a

profession, or of the operations which are peculiar to the higher mercantile, manufacturing or agricultural establishments."

It would be difficult to find a more comprehensive or a juster statement of the original purpose of college education than this. In commenting upon it, President Dwight says that, while the range of studies of the earlier day was limited, as compared with what has been known in recent times; while remarkable progress has been made in the development of new methods in connection with all branches of learning; while the introduction and wide extension of the elective system, together with the changes in public sentiment of which that system is a part, have resulted in a different theory as to education; and while it is claimed that young men now should be educated for their special work in life even from the beginning of their college years, and that all studies may be equally disciplinary; nevertheless, the old theory had "a certain reasonableness and wisdom in it, whatever may be its final fate; and it worked good results in the lives of the men whose early training was under its influence." In this modest and reserved way does this wise man present and confirm the judgment of those who laid the foundations of our American college life, and whose wisdom is commended to us, lest in the multitude of new voices we go astray from old landmarks which have proved so safe in our educational progress hitherto.

Again, upon the questions of examinations, which are such a sore trial to parents who have to face the serious consequences entailed upon their children, and which are a perplexity to the more thoughtful educators because of the uncertainty of the results and the manifest evil effect upon the physical, moral and intellectual life of students, Dr. Dwight's comment is not without its significance. After describing the introduction of the system of "written examinations," as they were called, which occurred early in Dr. Woolsey's presidency, and was regarded as one of the marks of "Yale's advance in scholarly methods," though it was only after many years of trial that it came to supersede entirely the earlier oral method, he says:

"For my own part,—not having entire confidence that the educational world has as yet reached the summit of human wisdom,—I have the hope, and I may even say the faith, to believe that the present system of examinations will ere long, by evolution or transformation, pass into something higher and better, and that the knowledge of college students

will be tested, as well as made sure, by a system of personal, individual research carried on in parallelism with the teacher's instructions, and under responsibility to him. That the examinations of the present time are more strict, and call for more study in immediate preparation for them, than those of my own college era, I have little doubt. But that the students of to-day have, at their graduation, a better knowledge of the things that they have studied than we had of those, fewer in number, indeed, which were open to us for our studying, I do not believe. That the young men of the coming era in all our colleges may have a much better and wider and more permanently abiding knowledge than any of their predecessors, is greatly to be desired. But new changes must come if this result is to be realized."

One could not easily conceive a comment upon the educational methods of to-day more worthy of the attention of the educational world than this. Here is an observer too wise to impair the force of his comment by recommending any particular scheme to supersede that now in use, yet wise enough to point out the danger of the system that has won almost universal acceptance, the evils of which, however, are extensive and keenly felt,—in order that the men who have the responsibility of the administration of the schools of to-day, and who are pressing uniform methods of examination, may have the benefit of his judgment and may be inspired to devise means by which the evils that are now so pernicious may be avoided. The strain of examinations, the frequency of their occurrence and the injustice of the results which they are working, are so manifest and so widely recognized, that we might apply to the United States the profound remark upon the French educational system made a quarter of a century ago by that shrewd statesman, M. Jules Favre: "We are educating, not for life, but for examinations."

Upon the now almost complete substitution of elective, for prescribed, courses in college, and the disposition of both parents and teachers to encourage young men to pursue studies that are attractive to them, and to turn from those that are difficult or dry, we have this astute comment:

"The man who is never ready to do what appears to him unattractive or difficult, has not developed the manliness of his manhood intellectually, or in any other line. The theory of doing only what is pleasant, or what requires no forcing of the will against its first inclinations, has no better foundation to rest upon in the educational sphere than it has elsewhere in human life"

We have all fallen into the hands of the investigators. Even little children have become "cases" and "studies"; and the essential in the career of any teacher who aims at promotion is, that he produce charts and tables to prove that he has been "investigating," and that he has gathered a more or less important series of facts as the result of some observations which he himself has made. Valuable as this method may be in the hands of those who know how to interpret facts, and who know also whether a range of induction has been large enough to give any real significance to the collected data, its value is more than doubtful in the hands of those who are in the earlier stages of their educational career. Its introduction into college classes, therefore, especially to the extent to which it is now often carried, particularly in lines of philosophy and psychology, would be sufficiently characterized by calling it absurd, if it were not a serious waste of time and a perversion of the true purpose of education. Upon this President Dwight remarks:

"I am disposed to think that the required course in mental science in the period of my undergraduate career included about as much as is desirable. It was a general course, or a course which gave every man an introduction to and survey of the science, and also such knowledge of it as was strengthening to the intellectual powers and helpful to all educated persons. In the progress and development of this science during the last half century, a wonderful advance has been made, as in the case of other sciences; and discussions and investigations have moved into all minuteness, as well as into the widest possible range of thought. I doubt whether it is wise, or in the interest of the best education for the average student, to carry him forward along the pathway of all these investigations or discussions. Beyond a certain limit the work belongs, as in the case of natural or physical science, rather to the man who in some sense intends to make it a specialty, than to one who turns to the study as a part of a general educational course."

With the advance of luxury throughout the country, the great increase of attendance at the universities and the erection of new buildings which far surpass those of the older day in external beauty and internal convenience, many are coming to fear that the old democratic life which was the glory of our colleges is departing, or has indeed already gone. Upon this point, no testimony can be more valuable than that of one whose whole life has been spent within the college and in most intimate relations with students of every class, and who himself has preserved to the end the simple ways and tastes of the older day. Dr. Dwight says:

"We college men were a democratic community in those days,—in one view of the matter—because there was nothing to prevent our being so; because there was nothing in our daily life and experience to suggest a thought of our being anything else. There are persons at the present time,—strange as it may seem, there are college graduates, and recent college graduates,—who apparently have the idea that the university community cannot in a new era continue to be democratic, unless all of the membership are brought to the same level of expenditures, and that there is a danger to the life of the democracy in the provision of buildings of architectural beauty, or of comforts which pertain to the better class of modern homes. That this view is without foundation—even as the view, if held by any in the past or with reference to the past, that the old democratic life was *wholly* dependent for its existence upon the limitations which pertain to all alike, was utterly baseless—is manifest so soon as we get the true idea of what the democratic spirit is. The men of fifty years ago had this spirit, not because there were no hindrances in the way of its entrance into their lives, but because, as members of the Yale fraternity, they inherited from the fathers of the earlier days of the College history the great foundation principles of the true Yale life. Had the inspiration had no deeper source than that which was found in accidental or temporary surrounding circumstances, it would have been worthless as a moving force for noble living."

Then follows this noble paragraph:

"The same thing is true to-day. It will be so always. If the democratic spirit animating our University is now, or ever becomes in the future, so weak and unmanly that it cannot endure inequalities in resources or expenditures—in the means of satisfying the desire for special comforts or even luxuries, or gratifying the artistic taste—it will be unworthy of its origin; it will have contradicted its earlier self. The old spirit was one that estimated men according to their manhood, and not according to their surroundings or possessions. It believed in the superiority of the man to his accidents. But it did not demand that the possessions or accidental things of all in the community should be exactly the same. It was a manly and not a pusillanimous spirit. It did not abide in continual fears lest some new danger might be threatening its future existence, or manifest itself by constant appeals for help that all obstacles or hindrances might be put out of the way. I rejoice that we men of 1849 had it as truly as we had, and that it still remains with us. I have no apprehensions as to its losing its vital force or passing away, if the men of the present and the coming time will recognize for and in themselves the essence of its life power, and not mistake it for what it is not."

College fraternities are just now undergoing rapid development. They have been extended into the secondary schools, are rapidly increasing in number in the smaller colleges, and, at Yale, have

passed out from the college life and the limitations of distinct classes into the broader life of the university itself. Upon their value, especially in the limited relations of the senior year as they have been known at Yale, we have this interesting testimony:

"The men who were united in the fraternity fellowships as Seniors, came together as a small and selected company in the latest period of their course, when their minds and characters had developed to the highest point of college life; when the great questions of their future, with the seriousness attendant upon them, were rising before all alike; and when the near approach of the end of the happy period, which they had found so full of blessing, was bringing a sadness of spirit that could not but make the heart open itself with tenderness and sympathy. They met at the outset in their new relations, and continued to meet as the days and weeks passed by, with readiness to give and receive the best influence in their power. They met, and continued to meet, with the utmost freedom in the interchange of their deepest and most helpful thoughts; with an intimacy which carried with it the promise of the future; and with a generosity of soul that enriched each one as it grew within himself, while it also enriched all others as it went outward in its gifts from him to them. They entered thus into, and abode for a year of manly, youthful life in, a thoughtful, helpful, inspiring, elevating, character-building fellowship with men whom they could know with a very deep and penetrating knowledge. If the companies selected were only what it was fitting that they should be, one could not wonder that the hearts of all were moved by the happy experiences, and afterwards by the happy memories.

"The company which I thus met for my Senior year, and my association with which made me glad that I had been offered the privilege of membership and had accepted it, was one well fitted to be helpful to me. In some views of the matter at least, I needed for my best and happiest growth, the peculiar help that was given. I may not tell of what we did as we met together. I cannot recall much of what we talked about, or thought, in our communion with each other. The details of the old life are gone. But the man, and the men, what they have been and what they are in the inmost and noblest manhood, is the outgrowth of the influences of that fellowship, even as it is of the love and inspiration of the early home and the later home. The unity of the larger and broader life was a great blessing of my college years. The unity of the narrower and more limited life was an equal or even greater blessing. It was my good fortune to enjoy the gifts which came from both, and to make them, in their effective force, a permanent possession."

There could scarcely be a more complete or more beautiful statement of the meaning and the value of the most intimate relations of college life; and if the fraternities in our colleges could be so carefully gathered and so wisely directed as everywhere to

secure results such as those that are here described, the joys of college life and the blessings of it would be elevated to a plane higher even than they are known to occupy to-day.

Of that other influence exerted in college days, of which so much is said in after life, and of which we can indeed rejoice that the colleges of our land have from the beginning had such fortunate possession, the personal influence of the individual members of the faculty, we have this testimony as applied to the beloved and honored President Woolsey. Dr. Dwight says:

"He gave us also of what was best in himself,—the opportunity of seeing his own scholarship and his own intellectual power. It was a good fortune, indeed, to be near enough to such a man to be moved by his example, and to get for oneself some appreciation of his ideal of the genuine scholar. Those years were the most valuable of the educational period of my earlier life. They prepared me for my duties as a college tutor and for my European studies in the subsequent years, and became in this way the foundation of all my maturer life and its work."

With this testimony to the value to him of personal contact with a college officer whose term of service was longer than that which is permitted to most men, and whose power of individual influence was unsurpassed, this series of comments must close. The book as a whole is a fitting crown to a highly useful life, a life as beautiful in its old age as it has been honored and beneficent in its course. It is a delight to think of the writer as still living among us, in the enjoyment of those best things that crown a good man's life—the possession of an honored name, of wisdom that is widely sought, of troops of friends, and of a heart at peace in its consciousness of work well done and of a faith in God and man as sure as it is serene.

HENRY A. STIMSON.

INCREASING DESERTIONS AND THE ARMY CANTEEN.

BY COLONEL WILLIAM CONANT CHURCH.

THE outcry against what for the want of a better name has been known as the Army canteen emphasizes the saying of Bulwer Lytton that, "in life it is difficult to say who do the most mischief, enemies with the worst intentions or friends with the best." Certainly, no one who sought to injure our Army could have done more effective work for its demoralization than have the worthy matrons and maidens of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, who, in their zeal for reform, persuaded Congress to make the Army a victim of their theories on the subject of temperance. It is no reflection upon these excellent ladies to say, that they are profoundly ignorant upon the subject of the Army and the life of garrison and camp, for the soldiers of the Regular Army, who are in the proportion of less than one in a thousand, form a class by themselves, gathered together in comparatively few localities, and having little intercourse with civilians. It was a question, in the case of the beer-selling feature of the canteen, of a difference of opinion between those who thoroughly understand the Army and Army conditions and a small but most persistent and vociferous body of theorists who have no concern with the Army, nor interest in it, beyond making it the victim of their hobbies. Reason was contemned and prejudice had its way.

The question as to how to deal most wisely with that craving for alcoholic stimulants which seems to be in the very blood of our race, is one that profoundly concerns the Army; for the Army is largely composed of young men who, because of their age, their physical vigor and the peculiar conditions of Army life, are especially subject to temptations in the line of self-indul-

gence. The record of a loss to the Army of over seven *per centum* by desertions during the last official year, or a total of 5,034 men, the equivalent of six full regiments, is, in the opinion of a majority of our Army officers, the result, in part, at least, of the stimulus given to the drinking of vile liquors by the abolition of the canteen.

Every effort has been made by the War Department to elevate the character and improve the conditions of its enlisted men. Summary courts have been created, so that minor offences can be promptly disposed of, and the soldier saved from confinement while awaiting trial; the purchase of a discharge by paying the cost of enlistment is permitted; the ration and quarters have been improved, and a system of recruiting has been adopted, by which men are obtained in part from the rural districts, instead, as of old, from the slums of the city, thus improving the character of the recruits. Nearly ninety per cent. of the enlisted men are native-born Americans, and those of foreign birth must have been naturalized or have declared in legal form their intention to become citizens. Aside from the rigid physical requirements, under the rules of the War Department a certificate of character, such as an ordinary employer would require, is demanded before the question of enlistment can be considered. Of the 92,549 men who applied for enlistment last year, 81 per cent. were rejected. Of the 18,291 who were accepted, 89.2 per cent. were native Americans.

Yet, in spite of the care taken to select the best class of men and to minister in every way to their comfort, our Army is not contented, as the record of desertion shows. Its discontent must be ascribed to many causes; but, if the almost unanimous opinion of officers and men is to be accepted as conclusive, it is very largely due to civilian interference with Army administration.

As to one thing all classes in the Army are substantially agreed, and that is, that a great benefit was conferred upon the Army by Secretary Proctor when he abolished the post-trader and organized the post exchange. The scandals connected with the post-traders thirty years ago, during the administration of Secretary of War Belknap, may be recalled by some. Bad as the system of post-traders was, it was better than that to which Congress has condemned the Army by taking the control of the post exchange from its officers, in submission to the demands of a mis-

taken sentiment which, having reached certain dogmatic conclusions by the studious ignoring of facts, sought to terrorize the timid legislator into enforcing its views by the threat of political extinction. The Army was making excellent progress in temperance, the soldiers were growing more content and desertion and offences against discipline were decreasing, when Congress unwisely interfered.

Some of the strongest testimony as to the evil effects of the anti-canteen legislation comes from clergymen, and from others who are themselves total abstainers from all forms of liquor drinking. The Rev. William J. Dalton, a Catholic priest of Kansas City, Missouri, who has given much attention to the character and habits of our soldiers, declares that, after the passage of the anti-canteen law, he noted a complete change among the enlisted men of the Army. Soldiers whom he had known before as well-behaved, sober men were to be seen "reeling drunk and next to fighting mad." Says Father Dalton:

"No one can enforce total abstinence. That is only a theory. We can restrict the liquor trade, which the canteen did, but we cannot wipe it off. I am a knight of Father Matthew, a total abstainer, and would see every one in the world belong, but I know it is impossible, and I do not join these crusades. All the good the women want to do they undid, and all the good that was being done without them they have utterly ruined."

Numerous Protestant clergymen who have become familiar with the Army, by service with it or otherwise, have given public expression to opinions similar to those of Father Dalton. Chaplain H. A. Brown, of the United States Army, says:

"The plain, simple fact is, that I can see no logical reason for the abolition of the canteen, except from the standpoint of the absolute Simon-pure prohibitionist, who believes that all drinking, use, or sale of liquor is wrong in itself. While all drunkenness is wrong, it by no means follows that all drinking is wrong. The soldier should have exactly the same liberty and privilege he would be allowed as a citizen, so far as is consistent with his duties as a soldier. Therefore, on the ground that the privilege of drinking is conceded to a civilian, and on the ground, as shown by overwhelming testimony, that the canteen reduces drunkenness, disorder and demoralization in the Army, notwithstanding it appears to be doomed, I am opposed to the measure which abolishes it."

The post exchange or canteen is an enlisted man's club, supported by the profits on the articles purchased at wholesale and

sold to its members at retail, and its prosperity depends, as does that of all similar organizations, upon its being made acceptable to those for whom it is intended, so that they will patronize it liberally instead of going abroad for their purchases. So far as its resources permit, it is provided with newspapers and periodicals, with games and various forms of amusement and entertainment, and made so attractive that the men of the garrison will have the least possible temptation to seek for recreation and good-fellowship in quarters where they are subject to influences that tend to demoralize and degrade them, and to make them forgetful of the duty they owe as soldiers. In the saloons which they frequent outside the post they are drugged with vile liquors, they come under the spell of evil women, and the natural results follow. Some of them overstay their leaves, and are thus tempted to desert when otherwise they would have had no thought of doing so. Others commit offences against discipline, and if they do not get beyond the reach of punishment by deserting they are added to the list of the "dishonorably discharged," which numbered last year 2,700. If the post-commander could slip his moorings and put to sea with his men, as the naval officer is able to do, he would have an entirely different problem to deal with. He cannot always refuse passes to his men; and, even when these are not granted, a certain proportion of the men will run the guard on dark nights and, after a debauch, return in season for duty the next day, fit for nothing and in a condition which soon puts them on the sick-list. The effort is to keep men on the post by providing sociability and recreation for them there, and to satisfy the thirst of those who are not content with water or soft drinks by giving them beer, but nothing stronger. This keeps those who are disposed to conviviality within limits and out of mischief, and brings into the post-treasury the money that would otherwise be spent on poisonous decoctions sold at an extravagant price. Soldiers in the Philippines return to the garrison after their sprees; there is no other place for them to go to. There is, therefore, little desertion in the Islands, since, to leave the Army illegally, a man must become an outcast. In the United States, on the contrary, there are abundant places of refuge; with the temptation to desert the opportunity to do so offers on every hand, and there is little or no disgrace attached to the crime in the eyes of the civilian with whom the deserter must henceforth cast

his lot. Desertion is too generally regarded as the violation of an ordinary contract for service, involving nothing worse than a pecuniary penalty. Understanding this, the officers of our Army have sought to protect their men against the temptations to desert which result from the free intermingling with the degraded class who hover on the outskirts of the Army in search of victims.

The testimony in favor of the canteen coming from physicians and sanitarians is overwhelming in its unanimity, and it should be conclusive with all, except those determined not to be convinced, though one rose from the dead to bear testimony to the truth. Some of this testimony was given by Major L. L. Seaman in his article published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January, 1903. Since Major Seaman wrote, additional evidence to the same effect has accumulated. The Public Health Association, which met in Washington, on October 30th, 1903, spoke in the strongest terms in approval of the canteen, declaring that it had proved itself the most efficient prophylactic measure for the suppression and diminution of vice and drunkenness, and that its abolition by act of Congress approved February 2nd, 1901, on purely sentimental grounds, was deeply to be deplored by all interested in the prevention of physical and moral diseases. The Association unanimously accepted the report of its committee to which this subject had been referred, recommending the presentation to the Senate and the House of Representatives in Congress of the following resolutions adopted by the American Public Health Association in September, 1901:

"Resolved, That this body deplores the action of Congress in curtailing the operation of the Army canteen or post exchange; and, in the interest of general and military sanitation, recommends its establishment on its former basis at the earliest possible date.

"Resolved, That this body, in the interest of temperance and humanity, cordially invites the intelligent co-operation of a very large element of good citizens, who have been active in securing legislation against the sales in the military service of alcoholics of any character, in taking successive steps toward the betterment of existing conditions, and thus assist in controlling and largely curtailing an evil which it is powerless at present to prevent."

The committee stated that, in spite of the fact that beer-drinking viewed in the abstract is unproductive of good, it is their belief that its sale in canteens, under rational and comprehensive

regulations, rather than its total prohibition, will subserve the best interest of scientific temperance. The sale of soft drinks, warm lunches, coffee, tea, cocoa, bouillon and soups should be encouraged as substitutes for alcoholic beverages. It was further recommended that the culinary department of the Army be improved as much as possible.

The fact that the canteen, as it was before Congress interfered with it, did reduce drunkenness, disorder and demoralization in the Army, is conclusively shown by reference to a volume of over five hundred octavo pages, in small type, published under the authority of Congress. It is the testimony concerning the result which followed the prohibition of the sale of beer in post exchanges, gathered by the War Department from nearly one hundred Army posts. Of all the posts expressing positive opinions one way or the other, ninety per cent. reported that drunkenness, desertion, absence without leave and trials by courts-martial, had increased. Ninety-five per cent. stated that the condition of health had deteriorated; and all agreed that morality and discipline have been injuriously affected. A very considerable proportion of reports are classed as doubtful in the summary given by the War Department, because their language was ambiguous, or the officers reporting had no data. In such written statements as do give data, the officers, with here and there an exception, express the most decided approval of the canteen.

From Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for example, reports were received from twenty-three officers, one hundred and forty-two non-commissioned officers and privates. Some of them suggested various causes for discontent and desertion; but they all asserted, without one dissenting voice among the whole one hundred and sixty-five witnesses, that the principal cause was the abolition of the canteen. The enlisted men sent to the Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, through military channels, a petition in which they showed that the post exchange, as conducted by the Army, is a co-operative institution. Every enlisted man in the garrison is a stockholder in it, and from it, when it is a success, he obtains benefits which promote cheerful endurance of hardships, make him more content with his lot, and thus a better soldier and better citizen. At the post exchange the soldier can buy at a minimum cost articles of luxury not included in the government ration, liberal as it is, for it is impossible so to

adapt the ration in all respects to individual tastes that it shall not become monotonous. If this working-men's club, as it is in fact, fails to meet the wishes of its members to a reasonable degree, they go elsewhere, and thus the benefits of co-operative action are lost. This petition to the Senate was signed by practically all the enlisted men at Fort Leavenworth, one of the largest posts of the Army, and the officer who forwarded it certified that it originated wholly with the men themselves and without suggestion from any officer.

The Army asks for the re-establishment of the canteen feature of the post-exchange, not because it is believed or pretended that it furnished a complete solution of the question of Army discontent, but because it is in the line of improved conditions for enlisted men. Undoubtedly, some officers objected to the canteen; but the opposition to it came principally from a class of people who know little or nothing of the Army, or of Army life. What have these civilian enemies of the canteen done to supply the craving for recreation which the post exchange was intended to meet? What interest have they shown, or do they show, in the young soldier separated from home associations and shut out by the nature of his occupation from the society of pure women, except it be the mature matrons of "Soapsuds Row," and the few servant maids in the families of officers? Now that they have accomplished their purpose, they appear to have wrapped about them the cloak of self-righteous content and left the Army to care for itself, bound hand and foot by the restrictions they have placed upon it.

If we could have at or near each Army post such a building as that located near the Brooklyn Navy-yard, which owes its existence chiefly to the generosity of a single individual, Miss Helen Gould, it might lessen the demand for the canteen. But such an institution must be so free from even a remote suggestion of ecclesiastical influence, that Catholic and Protestant, "orthodox" or heterodox, men representing all shades of religious or non-religious belief, shall be equally at home in it. But this is a dream, and the Army must take things as it finds them. The officers may reasonably ask, however, that those who will not aid them should at least not interfere with them in their effort to make the best use they can of the means at their command. Let it always be remembered that this is not a matter of temperance

alone, nor is that the principal point involved in this discussion. It is a question of leaving the administration of the Army to men who understand the soldier and his temptations, and who are familiar with Army conditions. The advocates of total abstinence say, in effect, that, if there is any man in the Army who refuses to accept theories that are rejected by the vast majority of men in this and every other civilized country, and who will drink, he should be permitted to go to the devil, and the shorter the road and the faster the pace the better.

"No," say our Army officers with united voice. "Some of the best soldiers we have ever had under our command—the bravest, the tenderest, the most loyal to duty and comradeship, men who would give their lives on the instant to save a friend in battle—are men who have not always been able to resist that craving for drink which results, in no small part, from the monotony of barrack life that slowly breeds discontent, no matter how comfortably housed or well fed the men may be." It is to help such men, it is to save others and younger men from ever acquiring such a habit, that the officers of our Army are striving. They believe that to permit them to manage the post exchange in their own way, will assist them in accomplishing their benign purpose. Why should they not be free to try plans which are the result of experience in preference to those forced upon them by theorists?

There are 62,000 enlisted men in the Army, nearly all of them young and lusty; full of the appetites and passions which give stimulus to life. Those who command them understand them, for a majority of the officers have had their own experience of service in the ranks, or of similar conditions of subordination and self-suppression, such, for example, as those to which cadets at the Military Academy are subjected. They understand better than the worthy ladies of the Women's Christian Temperance Union what manner of man the private soldier is, and what is needed to improve his condition and to make him more content with what is, at its best, the hard lot of the camp and the bivouac.

Not only through this sympathy of kindred experience is the officer united with his men, but he is appealed to by every professional instinct to care for them. The private soldier is the Army, and such as he is the Army is. If he is discontented or uneasy, insubordinate or indifferent, by so much the efficiency of the Army suffers, and with it the credit of the officers. It would

seem to follow logically that, if we wish to improve the Army, upon which we expend our millions, and make it in all respects a credit to the flag it serves, we should call into consultation the men who understand the Army; who are profoundly in sympathy with it, and who cannot possibly have, or be suspected of having, any other interest than that of improving in character and efficiency the military establishment of which they are an integral part. If we wish to inform ourselves about medicine, we consult the doctors; if about the law, the lawyers; and none but the ignorant ignores expert opinion. When it comes to reasoning about our Army, however, and legislating for it, we would appear to think that any woman, old or young, who can give her testimony in a conference meeting or temperance convention, or write a letter to her Congressman glowing with the ardor of self-appreciative virtue, is more to be considered in determining what the Army needs than the officers who command it.

Our private soldiers, as a whole, are as fine a body of young men as this country produces. Their behavior at West Point, Kentucky, where several thousand of them were gathered together for the Army manœuvers in September, was such that the superintendent of the local School Board, Mr. F. R. Lord, wrote to the officer commanding them, Major-General John C. Bates, U.S.A., saying: "The behavior of the troops has certainly done credit to the officers as well as to themselves, and it is a great pleasure to us to say so. Our school children have been taught a lesson they could not otherwise have enjoyed." The Sisters of Charity and the other noble women who did duty as hospital nurses during our war with Spain reported, that the regular soldiers gave them the least trouble and were the most considerate and polite of all their patients.

To reason correctly concerning our present Army, it is necessary to dismiss entirely from mind the impression formed from conditions that have wholly passed away, and which, in fact, never existed to the extent imagined by those who were about as familiar with soldiers and the life of the Army as they were with the habits of the dodo. The Army is just now in a transition state, and what it is to be in the future depends largely on the extent to which we listen to the voice of experience in legislating for it. It has been made the victim, not only of civilian ignorance, but of a civilian prejudice against the uniform which must be

taken into account in dealing with the soldier. When he leaves the sheltering arms of the garrison, he finds no homes to welcome him, no warm greeting, even from the civilian agitators who show so much concern as to his habits. When he goes on a pass, he is like the man who, travelling down to Jericho, fell among thieves. The only place for shelter and comradeship the soldier can find when he goes outside the post is the liquor saloon, and there he falls into temptations from which the post exchange is designed to save him.

What is most needed in this country, and especially in the Army, is not so much total abstinence, which is possible only in theory, as encouragement to drink discreetly and temperately, if at all, and an effort to lessen so far as we can his physical craving for stimulants by improving the food of the soldier by good cooking. To the Army may be applied with special force the old proverb, that "it is the devil who sends the cooks." What was sold at the canteen was beer, having about five per cent. of alcohol instead of the fifty per cent. found in the bitters bought so freely from the apothecaries by those who will drink nothing honestly represented as alcoholic. Light wines were permitted, but sold to a very limited extent. As no whiskey or other strong drinks were sold, the stories told of the influence exerted by whiskey dealers to restore the canteen are obviously untrue. The interest of distillers is all the other way. The sellers of the best beer, and the post exchange officers will have no other, are the only liquor dealers interested in this canteen question.

The canteen was somewhat in the nature of an experiment. That it was in all respects what it should be, no one would contend; but was it not far better to improve it than to destroy it altogether? It was in a line with the improved conditions in our Army, and encouraged the habit of temperance which was being formed by various influences tending to lessen drinking, among them being the emulation excited by rifle practice. Good shooting requires that men should refrain from everything that interferes with steadiness of nerve. It is easy to assert, as some have done, that the opportunity to drink beer at the canteen creates the drink habit in men who would not otherwise form it. There is no evidence to show this, but much evidence to the contrary. A dollar a week, or fifteen cents a day, was all that a man was permitted to spend for beer. A visitor to Fort Myer, Vir-

ginia, where four troops of cavalry were stationed, reported that during the previous three months, the canteen then being in existence, only one man had been seen under the influence of liquor. Swearing and gambling, as well as drinking, are far less common than they used to be in the Army, and the percentage of officers who refrain altogether from alcoholic stimulants has greatly increased and is still increasing. Even of those who do drink, a majority indulge infrequently, and only on social occasions. A large percentage of officers are temperance men in the strictest sense; and for sobriety in conduct and speech, and for a reverent regard for the laws of God and man, our Army officers can safely be compared with any other class of men in the community, the clergy not excepted.

The Army formed after the War of the Revolution was composed almost entirely of native Americans. As the country grew and immigration increased, foreigners drifted into the Army, until at the time of the Civil War representatives of almost every civilized nation were found in the ranks. After our great war, we were able to obtain a very fine selection of seasoned soldiers from the disbanded armies of the North and South. They set a high standard for our Army, and through discipline, combined with the severe experiences of frontier war, gave us at the time of the contest with Spain a body of 25,000 men not to be excelled, man for man, by the picked soldiers of any Army in the world. With the reorganization and increase following the Spanish War, a complete change has come over our Army. The veteran soldier, wearing from four to six chevrons on his arm, each representing a term of enlistment, is so rare as to exert little influence upon the mass of new men. But the high traditions of the service are retained by a body of older officers, who have had an experience of actual war excelling that of most foreign soldiers. These men are striving, and striving intelligently, to build up an army which, while it is distinctly American in its character, shall have a training as thorough as an expert knowledge of the art of war can make it.

We are getting as fine a body of young men as is to be found anywhere, and men having an advantage over all other soldiers in their possession of the distinctively American characteristics of independence of character and quickness in adapting themselves to the varying circumstances of war. This especially fits our

soldiers for the new conditions of war created by the long-range magazine rifle, with its smokeless powder. "The big battalion phase," as Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Hamilton so well said in his evidence before the British War Commission, "is now about to pass away, and we are entering upon a period when the efficiency of an army will depend far more upon the morale and high training of the individuals who compose it, than upon the mere numbers of those individuals who may be available."

To have an efficient Army, we must have a contented Army. If our soldiers are not contented, they will either desert or refuse to re-enlist, and we shall lose the advantage of continuous training. To make our Army contented we must leave it in the control of those who understand the soldier, and who are earnestly seeking to improve the conditions of service. The two ranking officers of our Army, Lieutenant-General Young and Major-General Chaffee, marched into the Army with muskets on their shoulders, and they, and others like them, should certainly be competent to decide what is best for the enlisted man. Suppose we ask these experienced soldiers to settle this question of the canteen, and not the ladies of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. "It is believed," said the Inspector-General of the Army, General Burton, in his last annual report, "that a well-regulated post exchange, and a thoroughly-equipped gymnasium, would accomplish more toward contentment and discipline in the Army than almost anything the Government can, under the law, accomplish."

WILLIAM CONANT CHURCH.

IF THE SOUTH HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO GO

BY ERNEST CROSBY.

Mr. John Morley, in his Life of Mr. Gladstone, expresses the opinion that his hero's sympathy with the South during our Civil War was the greatest mistake of his career. Whether or not Mr. Gladstone's sympathy with the South was a mistake depends, it seems to me, on the character of the motives which determined his choice. If it was a kindly feeling for slavery that influenced him, of course it was a mistake. If it was a lurking fondness for the lazy, useless life of the Southern aristocracy,—for the life of a class like his own, whose boast it was that it lived on the labor of others,—then too it was a mistake. But it is possible to take another view of the issue. In the late fifties and early sixties, the North and South hated each other bitterly. I was brought up in the midst of that hatred and partook of it; and I remember suggesting, as a small boy, when Jefferson Davis was captured, that he be taken through the streets of our cities on exhibition in an iron cage. Our favorite song devoted him to death by hanging on a sour-apple tree. As for the Southerners, they could find no words vile enough to describe their fellow citizens of the North, "Northern scum" being one of the commonest and most polite.

Here, then, is the ethical proposition. We have two neighbors living in partnership and hating each other with a deadly hatred, and one of them desires to separate peaceably from the other. There was no practical difficulty in the way of making a division, for the cleavage ran along geographical lines, and any Master-in-Chancery would have been obliged to report that an actual partition was perfectly feasible. Given this state of affairs, was it morally justifiable for the stronger partner to hold the other to his side by force? This is no constitutional question, for it rises far above the plane of seals and parchment. Indeed, nothing

obscures moral investigations so much as the dragging in by the heels of artificial and unnatural considerations. The simple issue was: Is it right to hold haters together by force? If Mr. Gladstone decided this question in the negative, I, for one, do not see how he could reasonably have done otherwise.

What was the psychological condition of the Northern mind, that the preference should be given to it? It was filled with hatred, as we have seen; and, where it did not hate, it was still bent upon having its own way. If we except an inconsiderable number of Abolitionists, the question of slavery did not affect the attitude of the North. It was only the South that was preoccupied with slavery. President Lincoln said again and again that the war was undertaken for the sole purpose of preserving the Union, and that he would preserve it, either free, or slave, or part free and part slave. He called out the troops to maintain the Union, and not to abolish slavery. The slaves were finally freed, as a war measure, to assist the armies in the field. The war was not designed to help emancipation, but emancipation to help the war. And what was this "Union" for which so many lives were sacrificed and in honor of which so much poetry was written? In the last analysis, it was the forcible binding together of mutual haters, and its idealization was a curious example of fetish-worship. Apart from sentiment the practical element in the Union spirit was the desire to preserve the size of the country; it was devotion to the idea of bigness, and the belief that bigness is a matter of latitude and longitude,—the same spirit which prevailed in the Mexican and Philippine wars,—in other words, the spirit of Imperialism. It is impossible of course to extract any moral essence from a mere matter of geographical extension, and it is hardly necessary to point out that the greatest civilizations of the past, those of Athens and Jerusalem and Florence, were restricted to narrow areas.

The utilitarian question of results does not properly enter into an ethical inquiry, but it is still interesting to guess what the upshot of peaceful Secession might have been. That the South would have suffered from its new commercial isolation cannot be doubted; and that the States of the Confederation would have quarrelled is almost equally certain, for hard times make hard tempers. It is easy to predict, then, that a nation built upon the principle of free secession would not have remained long intact.

It is very clear, too, that slavery could not have lasted long along the Northern border; for, even before the war, with the fugitive-slave law in full operation, a continual stream of escaping slaves found its way across the intervening States to Canada. If nothing but an ordinary boundary-line had separated the slave States from free soil, a general exodus of slaves would have begun, and ere long the border States would of necessity have ceased to be slave States. With slavery extinct, the reason for their separation from the North would have ceased, and their commercial interests would have demanded reunion with the United States, while the kindly action of the North in permitting them to secede without interference would have left no hostile feelings in their minds to prevent such a reunion. With the border States once annexed, a new boundary would have been created along their southern frontier, and here again history would repeat itself, until the nation was again one. I do not think that such an outcome of Secession is fanciful, and its realization would have been hastened by the growing impatience of the civilized world with the continuance of chattel-slavery.

Against this natural evolution of the race difficulty what have we actually to set? Slavery was, indeed, abolished; but it is altogether impossible to sum up the evils which we have entailed upon ourselves by the manner of its abolition. First of all, we have the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, and all the grief and suffering consequent upon that loss. It is a common remark that the wars of Napoleon permanently injured the physique of the French people by killing off the strongest men. Is it not likely that we have suffered to some extent in the same way? Then, how much money did the war cost? And how much more wisely it might have been expended! Furthermore, consider our disgraceful annual pension-bill, which, larger than the cost of any European standing-army, is, I believe, actually increasing, and which seems to have transformed the brave hosts of the North into an army of mendicants! And into that mendicancy who shall say how much fraud has entered? Indeed, the moral effects of the war were its worst effects. I have seen it stated that discharged soldiers founded our army of tramps, a name which has come into use in my time. Do not think that these are the imaginations of a fanatic who sees in history only that which he looks for. In the *Century Magazine* for November, 1903, is an

article on "The Present Epidemic of Crime," by the Rev. Dr. James M. Buckley, one of the best-known Methodist clergymen in the country. At the very head of the causes of this "Epidemic," he places the great war. "Among the influences which have powerfully affected the primary causes of crime, and are sources of this present epidemic is the effect of the Civil War. . . . The evil done by that war to public and private morality was almost irremediable. Its effects were seen upon Congress, upon politics, upon reconstruction, upon business, upon society, and upon the habits of the people."

One of the worst results of the Civil War was the resuscitation of the spirit of war and Imperialism. Is it a wonder that children brought up in an atmosphere of hate and bloodshed should have had the spirit of hate and bloodshed infused into their hearts? The seed sown then duly bore its crop, and "Remember the 'Maine'!" (a vessel which all the world but America believes to have been destroyed by accident) was the direct offspring of "The Union Forever!" The Cuban War, waged for the independence of Cuba, (which could have been obtained, according to our Secretary of State and our Minister to Spain, without a shot), and the Philippine War, waged for the purpose of depriving a brave people of their freedom, are the legitimate twin offspring of the Civil War.

The speculation caused by the interruption of commerce and the derangement of the currency during our war laid the foundations of the new plutocracy. Money was needed to pay the enormous expenses of destruction, and the tariff began to grow, and behind it monopoly ensconced itself. With the new tramp came the new multi-millionaire, with caste, luxury, pauperism and labor troubles in their train. It would be possible to write a large and plausible volume, tracing the origin of almost all the pressing evils of the day to the Civil War. Was the forcing of the issue of the abolition of slavery a few years before its time worth while at such a cost?

This brings us to the sad fact that the war did not settle the race question, but merely aggravated it. Slavery was wrong and should have come to an end, but we ended it in the wrong way. The real trouble with the South at present is, that the question of slavery was settled over the heads of the inhabitants by a hostile and hated power. No people could at heart accept such a settle-

ment with good grace, and it is not to be expected of human nature. We stabbed the South to the quick, and during all the years of reconstruction turned the dagger round in the festering wound. The spirit of war and Imperialism has never yet settled any question, except the question as to which side is the stronger; and now, after forty years, we are beginning to learn that the negro has yet to be emancipated. If the South had been permitted to secede, slavery would have died a natural death, the Southerners would have felt that they had consented to its demise, and they would have accepted the new order with that attitude of acquiescence which is necessary to the success of any social experiment. We have still at this late day to learn the ancient lesson of Buddha: "Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love; this is an old rule."

The wisest thing that was said by any Northerner at the outbreak of the war was the saying usually ascribed to Horace Greeley: "Let the erring sisters go." Mr. Whitelaw Reid has loyally endeavored to defend his former chief from this ascription, and he declares that Mr. Greeley never used the words. If Mr. Reid is speaking solely in the interests of historical accuracy, well and good; but if he is stretching a point to save his friend, he is doing him a doubtful service, for the final historian of the Civil War will have to record that these were the words, and the only words, of wisdom. If Mr. Gladstone echoed them in the spirit in which they were uttered, he was right, and Mr. Morley should reconsider his judgment.

ERNEST CROSBY.

THE PERSONALITY OF HAWTHORNE.*

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

MR. JULIAN HAWTHORNE can hardly be thanked enough for the quite unembarrassed frankness of his dealing with those simpler and closer details of his father's life which embody a man's personality to his acquaintance, and, if he is a great man, extend and transmit the notion of it to strangers in the remoteness of time and space. He has done his work so faithfully and so fully in the constantly interesting volume, "Hawthorne and his Circle," that there are chances it will remain the favorite life of our incomparable romancer out of all the lives that have been or that shall be written. As the author has it from time to time on his conscience to remind us, the book is not a study of Hawthorne's work; it is scarcely a study of Hawthorne's character; it is so little a premeditated or intentional analysis of his method or his mind that it has none of the offensive or defensive qualities of a criticism; but it is a picture of one of the most fascinating and important literary men who ever lived, as his own family knew him, and as the lovers of his books will be glad to know him, among the friends he made. He is by no means posed as the centre of his circle; and it cannot be said that his friends or his casual acquaintance are introduced at any moment for the set purpose of lighting his figure up, or throwing a contrasting shade upon it. But since he is there among them, we cannot help having the advantage of their personalities in rendering his more intelligible.

Next to making him so clear and appreciable, it seems to me that the most valuable office of Mr. Julian Hawthorne's book is the admirable illustration, both conscious and unconscious, of Hawthorne's period. The most trivial of these fond records con-

* Hawthorne and his Circle. By Julian Hawthorne. Illustrated. New York and London: Harper & Brothers.

tributes to the effect. The boy, growing up beside the man, and having his hand so often both literally and figuratively in his father's hand, had yet such an objective sense of the environment as his elder could not have, for all the vastness of his scope, and the keenness of his vision. His look was necessarily an inlook, and it is the outlook which Mr. Julian Hawthorne makes the future his debtor in supplying. When Mr. Horace Mann, Hawthorne's brother-in-law, finds him smoking, and in the relentless zeal of a reformer tells him he can never feel quite the same towards him thereafter, Hawthorne has a thoroughly humorous pleasure in the renunciation, but Mr. Julian Hawthorne, together with this, brings the complexity of a more sophisticated time to the puritanic fact and gives it entire significance in our atmosphere. Against the softer, if not wider, horizons of our later day, he lets us see it in all its rigid grotesqueness, its inflexible absurdity, in which also there is a kind of reason. I remember, or I think I remember, reading somewhere in Dr. Holmes, possibly in an "Autocrat" paper, but more likely elsewhere, his confession, his most tolerant and kindly yet scrupulous confession, of the personal judgment he tacitly passed upon a young man whom he saw reading "Don Juan," as if that young man, because of his indulgence in such literature, could not be quite what the friend of young men could wish him to be. We have gone far since then, and whether we smoked or read "Don Juan" or not ourselves, we should hardly renounce or condemn those who did, in ever so slight a measure. There remains, of course, the question whether New England civilization was the more excellent or enviable in its flowering or in its going to seed.

I.

Hawthorne was most distinctly of this civilization, as much when he was out of it as when he was in it. He saw a great deal of the world, but wherever he went, or wherever he stayed, he carried the hated Salem of 1850 with him, and helplessly kept it about him. He was not less a New-Englander but more for being the sort of Antipuritan always at the heart of Puritanism in the home and realm it found for itself in the New World; and when he visited the Old World, or, as it seemed, revisited the Old World, he brought with him for its interpretation and judgment the very criterions and measures against which he himself re-

belled in his native air. He was in the best sense, in the sense that a child is so, immensely primitive, primitive quite beyond simplicity, and though he came to know a great commercial capital like Liverpool, a great social and political capital like London, an historical and æsthetical capital like Rome, it was with such involuntary reserves as kept him still ethically a citizen if not a denizen of Salem. He was a very good man, a man as pure in life as in thought, but he was primitively bad as well as primitively good, and he gave way at times to his resentments with something like an aboriginal singleness of heart; at other times he retained his grudges with rather a relentless rancor, though he might not nourish them by retaliation. He mellowed with the years, as men commonly do, but always he was a man of primitive feeling, which sometimes he indulged and sometimes he did not indulge. It is known how quite mercilessly he mocked the old fogies of the Salem Custom-house in his introduction to "The Scarlet Letter," and I recall how a Salem lady, to whom I confided, on my first visit to the place, that I had been wearing out the sandal-shoon of a young Western pilgrim in looking up the several shrines of Hawthorne's genius, said she knew a girl who would like to poison him because of such of these mockeries as touched her ancestors. There was, in fact, no love lost between Hawthorne and his birthplace, but probably neither knew how much was their mutual debt. If he conferred deathless renown upon her, with something very like a cuff, she had begun by endowing him from the stores of her deep puritanic past with a strong nature which could emerge from its shy withdrawal, on occasion, in forays of scorn and hate. There yet remains to be born any American more American than Hawthorne, or more expressive of the potent original qualities which the English race in its transplantation sucked up from the wild soil of the New World, or drank in from its tingling air. I should be sorry to oversay my sense of all this, and sorry that it should carry to the reader the notion of anything fierce or malign in the man whose history could be told in the last detail, without showing him other than habitually good and kind, as he was invariably duteous and true.

II.

Mr. Julian Hawthorne shows no disposition to flatter the facts of his father's more intimate life, by which he lets us know him

as the heart of his home, wherever the home might be, whether in the quaint old Salem house, which I never found; in the farm cottage in Lenox; in the Wayside at Concord; in the various English lodgings and boarding-houses; in the hotels of Paris, Rome, and Florence. We learn to know him familiarly, in his son's report of him, and we see him with eyes which we trust as our own. The boy first saw him at the desk where he was always writing, as it seemed, in a long dressing-gown and slippers down at the heels: "a tall, strong man, whose wide-domed head was covered with wavy black hair, bushing out at the sides. . . . Under heavy, dark eyebrows were eyes deep-set and full of light, marvellous in range of expression, with black eyelashes. *All seemed well with me when I met their look,*" Mr. Hawthorne adds, with a touch that goes to the heart both for his father and for himself. He recalls his father as broad-shouldered and deep-chested, and nearly six feet tall; "his legs and feet were slender and graceful, his gait long and springy, and he could stand and leap as high as his shoulder." He had "a mechanical talent," and he made the children amusing toys, and after they got into the country at Lenox, he taught them his love of the woods and fields; he would call out to them to hide their eyes, "and the next moment, from being there beside us on the moss, we would hear his voice descending from the skies, and behold! he swung among the topmost branches, showering down upon us a hail-storm of nuts." He went sledding with them, and coasted floundering down among the drifts, and he joined them in their snow-fights. He believed that the country was best in winter, but, after all, he did not like Lenox, for he was not well there. Wherever he was, he was the good comrade of his children, but their guide, philosopher and friend, as well as their playmate. He watched them carefully, though tacitly, and it is only in the retrospect that his son is aware how much his father's fellowship was educative. He was still, and more and more as he grew older, his father's companion, who, in their walks about the Liverpool neighborhoods, would occasionally drop "some half-playful, imaginative remark, calculated to make me realize the situation that was so vividly present to himself. His thoughts, however deep, were always ready to break into playfulness outwardly. . . . He was somewhat solicitous, I suspect, to check in his son any tendency towards mere poetical sentiment," says Mr. Hawthorne, and he most importantly adds, "His

own imaginative faculty was rooted in common sense." As consul at a large seaport his official life was largely passed "with all varieties of scamps and mendicants, fools and desperadoes, and all the tribe of piratical cutthroats which in those days constituted a large part of the mercantile marine." Yet he rather throve in his occupation; he became interested in it; "there was a practical side of him which took hold of the business in manfashion, and transacted it so efficiently as to leave no room for criticism," though it remained "inveterately objective" with him, and "the only feature of it that quickened a responsive chord in him was the revelation of the intolerable condition of the sailors in many of our ships," which he dwelt upon in his despatches to the State Department.

In the Liverpool suburb where the Hawthornes lived, fifty years ago, the people "were dull, ignorant, selfish, material, conventional; they were hospitable on conventional lines, they were affable and even social, so long as you did not awaken their prejudice." With them, "England was the best of all countries, and the English the leading nation of the world," but they had never heard of Tennyson or Browning. Yet "the impact against such a clay wall" rather amused and interested Hawthorne, "and even won a good deal upon his sympathies. He loved the solid earth as well as the sky above it, and he was glad of the assurance that such people existed, though he might be devoutly thankful that two hundred years of America had opened so impassable a gulf between him and them. . . . Of course they had never read his books; literary cultivation was not to be found in England lower down than the gentleman class." So, "he was never obliged to say 'I am glad you liked it' to them," and that was a bond of friendship in itself. This dense atmosphere, if peculiarly favorable to Hawthorne's habitual withdrawal into an air of his own, formed no temptation to pass the bounds of the home circle which he loved best of all. Mr. Hawthorne intimates more than once how seriously, yet how humorously and playfully, he lived in his children. He was glad whenever his son detected the "mawkish taint in literature or life," and the boy "breathed a manly, robust and bracing atmosphere in his company." Among the various people whom this simple, strong and wise soul came in touch with, he was peculiarly fond of the old skippers, as Fields noted in Boston, before Hawthorne had entered into official rela-

tions with them in Liverpool, and had come to dwell with them in the same boarding-house. Mr. Hawthorne says they were shy of his consular dignity at first, but quickly reconciled themselves to his good-fellowship over a game of euchre and the accompanying tobacco. "No one took liberties with him, and he took none with anybody; yet there was no trace, in his intercourse, of stiffness or pose. . . . On the other hand, he obviously elevated the tone of our little society; the stout captains, who feared nothing else, feared their worser selves in his presence. None of them knew or cared a straw for his literary genius or productions, but they were aware of something in him which they liked and respected."

One of the most significant things which Mr. Hawthorne notes in his father is that sort of duality, or plurality, by which a superior man loves several things the best. The reader of "Our Old Home" need not be reminded of the frank distaste with which Hawthorne spoke of many things in England and the English which he disliked; yet, when he left them for his Continental journeys and sojourns "he began to be conscious of discomfort which was only partly bodily or sensible. An unacknowledged homesickness afflicted him—an Old Homesickness rather than a yearning for America. He may have imagined that it was America that he wanted, but when at last we returned there he still looked back towards England. As an ideal, America was still and always foremost in his heart. . . . America might be his ideal home, but his real home was England, and thus he found himself, in the end, with no home at all outside of the boundaries of his domestic circle."

The like happened with a man so unlike Hawthorne as Lowell, so unlike even in their common New Englandry; with both, in their passion for America, their affection was ultimately for England. Both were deeply domesticated men, as only Americans can be, and with both their own roof-tree became their sole country, their *patria*. The effect made itself felt in the homelessness Hawthorne experienced outside of his family in the streets of Paris, where many things gave him pause. It is not altogether humorously that Mr. Hawthorne notes that though his father "enjoyed the French cookery, he was in some doubt whether it were not a snare of the evil one to lure men to indulgence." He felt keenly the cold of warm countries, which one cannot escape

as one can the cold of cold countries, and both in Paris and Rome, his suffering from it disabled his sense of beauty in the world of art to which he was so alien by all his tradition: the naked women statues and pictures seemed to him repulsively indecent, and it was not till the weather grew milder that he was able partially to judge them æsthetically. In fact, he never reached the unmorality of the classic standard; architecture suffered with sculpture and painting in his censure, but of course not so severely, and he entered his judgments in the diary he kept with a savage sincerity. "These are the iconoclasms of the Goth and Vandal," Mr. Hawthorne says after citing some of the censures, "at their first advent to Rome. They remained to alter their mood, and so did my father," but it is questionable whether he was ever quite at peace with the things which he first required to prove their innocence. If he did not reconcile himself to the æsthetics of Latin civilization, still less did he yield to its ethics. When it came to affairs of right and wrong, no matter how trivial, he was inflexible, and the departure of the family from Rome was celebrated by a scene of melodrama such as ensues in Italian countries when the *forestiere* makes a virtue of resistance to imposition. The Hawthornes had a worthless little maidservant, Lalla, whose tribe wished to levy tribute for all the things she had left undone, and appeared with her at the last moment to urge her claim. "'No!' said my father, and 'No!' said my mother, like the judges of the Medes and Persians," and then Lalla and her tribe tried what cursing would do. "I think my father would not have yielded had the salvation of Rome and all Italy depended upon it." Apt enough to make liberal bargains, he was "absolutely incorruptible when anything like barefaced robbery was attempted."

Hawthorne liked Florence better than Rome, and would willingly have settled there for the rest of his life. He met people he liked there, rather more than in Rome, and he was especially friends with Powers, the sculptor, a man much more important and interesting than the best of the things he did, and these were better, taking their time into account, than people are now willing to allow. The two were congenial in the vein of mysticism which allied their equally primitive natures. It was the moment when the raps of spiritualism were shaking mankind, "and Powers was pregnant with the marvels which he had either seen or heard of and which he always tried to explain on some philosophical

ground. My father would listen to it all, and both believe it and not believe it," for he too had experienced strange overtures from the occult, in mysterious sounds and touches, if not sights. Hawthorne was in fact not the man to refuse such advances, as he was not the man to invite them, and they appealed to the common sense of his strong practical nature with the same claim upon his recognition as any every-day incident. He deeply felt, as every man of common sense must feel, that material things are not the only realities; that they are perhaps the least real among realities.

III.

In this summary of the various aspects of Hawthorne as he is shown in his son's book, the reader of it will easily see that I have not done the book itself justice, and my defence is that I am not here attempting that. I might otherwise have something to say both in praise and in blame of the fashion of its doing; I might insinuate that there were errors of taste and errors of judgment in the record, and yet I do not know that if pushed to the wall I should say there was anything I would have left out. Concerning each debatable point, I can fancy myself yielding it to the author, and upon the whole thanking him for having committed just that error, since all he says tends to a fulness of knowledge concerning Hawthorne. Even where the errors do not apparently concern him, they really concern him, for in the excess with which some of his circle seem presented, we have the more abundant material for imagining the man who perennially interests, and, humanly speaking, will eternally interest the lover of literature. In this study of Hawthorne's environment, the obscure or obscurer figures of his circle are no more slighted for the more famous figures by the son than the father slighted them. The two Hawthornes are alike in the essential democracy that finds human nature always important, and the reader in the measure of his own genuineness will share their pleasure in the simpler and plainer folks whom they touched, the father in his life, and the son in his record of it. It is by no means part of the rising man's good fortune that his rise eliminates him from the common level, and after one has satisfied in a measure the appetite for celebrities, one would rather have gone on hearing about such of his acquaintance as have not been otherwise heard of. But there are abundant celebrities in the book, whom Mr. Hawthorne

sketches in their relation to Hawthorne with the same frankness that he uses with Hawthorne himself. A man of Hawthorne's approved greatness, such as he was after "The Scarlet Letter" and "The Blithedale Romance" made him known, could not dwell in Concord, in Liverpool, in London, in Paris, in Rome, in Florence, without being sought out and found out in whatever remoteness he tried to guard, by all sorts of distinguished people; and this duly happened with Hawthorne everywhere, except perhaps in Salem, where he never personally lived after he became known. Thanks to their inevitable occurrence we have a multitude of such figures in "Hawthorne and his Circle." But Hawthorne himself was easily the first figure of the circle, no matter who entered it, not because the terms of the book are that he should be so, but because it is doubtful whether he ever met a greater man than himself, in America, or England, or Italy. It is remarkable how positive his greatness as an artist is, in spite of the delicacy and sometimes the thinness of his art. The wonderful flower of his talent glowed in this workaday air with a holiday splendor, that was by no means merely relative; in Longfellow alone had he any competitor or rival in art, and their kinds were so different, that they did not apparently vie with each other. All that straw, however, has long since been many times thrashed out, and I did not intend even to touch it, in my wish to see Hawthorne as a man by the light freshly thrown upon him. It does not strike me that any one will see him in this newly so much as anew. Here he is what he always was; and yet, since there has been rather more than enough insistence on those easier means of judgment which have delivered him to the imagination as shy, cold, severe, and quaint, I have been glad of the facts which embody a larger and kindlier and juster conception of him. I do not know why he should seem singular in being so simple, and kind, and faithful in all those relations of life in which literary celebrities have sometimes not excelled, for certainly he is only of the American average in this. What strikes me first and last in him is how entirely American he always was. He epitomizes the effect of American history on its domestic and civic side, if he does not epitomize that history itself.

I remember once the graphic Tom Appleton, who used to say so many of the good things said in Boston, saying that Hawthorne "looked like a boned pirate," and I remember also the grave dis-

pleasure with which Longfellow heard the phrase when repeated to him by one who was perhaps too great a lover of phrases. No doubt the poet, who was Hawthorne's lifelong friend, felt the subtle injustice which a certain aptness in the saying did the man whose gloomy presence expressed the ancestral as well as the individual personality. It is not for nothing that his forefathers lived two hundred years in the Puritan atmosphere of New England, and were judges of witches before they went down to the sea in ships. Yet Hawthorne was not only a man of the past, but a man of the present. If he did not feel the tremendous wave of optimism that swept New England to a greater height of goodness than any other land has known, he knew the sweetness of living simply, purely, nobly. The evil that men too often do became for him merely the problem for a darkling imagination, and the passions yielded him the secret of their most tragical significance without first making him their prey.

IV.

Here at the end I find myself with the wish to say something of Hawthorne which I must say, if at all, in apparent contradiction of some things I began by saying. I will venture upon them with what courage I may, and leave the reader to strike the balance of truth.

All the forming days of his years he dwelt in his native and ancestral New England, but he was in it, not of it, so far as its more ostensible passions and aspirations were concerned; though it would be so hard to say what other land or people he was more of that it would be easier to suppose him of some origin and substance not affected by the motives of his fellowmen anywhere. In a sort this was literally true of him. He was poor and unworldly, yet he prospered through straits all but dire to fame and competence by his helpless constancy to a high ideal of literature, which, as his son attests, was the fine flower of his common sense, and as every lover of his books can witness was in nowise transcendental. He was a Brook-Farmer, but amidst communistic dreamers he preserved a skeptical allegiance to the old order apparently so unfriendly to himself. While all the best minds and natures about him were stirred to the noble abhorrence of slavery, he not ignobly held aloof from the strain and stress of that period of impassioned politics, and kept pure the artistic

soul from those public ethics which penetrated even the æsthetic privacy where Longfellow dwelt apart if not alone. When the great war came, he indeed found himself in enmity to secession, but as much critically amused as impassioned in his patriotism. The religious change which passed over New England did not leave him Puritan in creed, for that he had never been, but neither did it make him over in the likeness of the newer saints who soared or rested in an optimistic faith in the perfectibility and early perfection of human society. However little of the past he formally was, he was quite as little formally of the present; those who were in no haste to accept his retarded condemnation of the South in the war against the Union could not have dealt more severely with him than I heard, in my first years at Boston, an eminent Unitarian minister deal with him for what he considered his libel of the New England Puritan clergy in venturing to imagine the Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale and his dark history possible to any man of his cloth.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

A NEW ANGLO-AMERICAN DISPUTE: IS HUDSON BAY A CLOSED SEA?

BY P. T. McGRATH.

HUDSON BAY is, geographically, to this continent what the Baltic Sea is to Europe, and all evidences indicate that, ere many years, its shores will be peopled with prosperous communities and its waters dotted with the argosies of commerce. Meanwhile, however, it threatens to become the theatre of an international entanglement second only in importance to the Alaskan Boundary dispute. Canada has recently despatched an expedition to Hudson Bay in the Newfoundland sealing steamer "Neptune," with the twofold object of expelling American whalers from that region, and determining its navigability as an ocean grain route. In the latter project, the United States has no direct interest, though indirectly it may seriously affect her export trade in cereals; but the former embodies an issue capable of developing into a cause of bitter friction, if not open rupture, between Britain and America. Canada's proposal to declare absolute sovereignty over this immense body of water, is one fraught with considerable interest to the American people in view of all surrounding circumstances. Now that a second transcontinental railway is being enterprised by the Dominion, through a territory in close proximity to Hudson Bay, with the avowed object of providing an outlet for grain independent of the United States, the whole character of the "Neptune" expedition is one to compel the closest observation from all those concerned in the future well-being of the two countries.

Hudson Bay takes its name from the famous voyager whose memory is equally immortalized in the river which traverses New York State. In 1610, he was despatched to the Arctic to seek the Northwest Passage, and entered the Strait and Bay now called

after him. Here, his provisions running short, his crew mutinied, and set him adrift in an open boat to perish in its desolate waters. Succeeding explorers discovered its wealth in fish and peltries, the Hudson Bay Company was formed in 1670, and the French also sought to share in these riches. The struggle between them lasted until 1713, when France, vanquished in warfare afar, was stripped of most of her North-American possessions; and, among other things, the sovereign rights "to the Bay and Streights of Hudson, together with all lands, seas, seacoasts, etc," were transferred to the British Crown, and a vast principality in the northland came under the undisputed sway of the "merchant adventurers" composing the Fur Company.

By the Treaty of Washington in 1818, the American fishermen were granted equal rights with the British on the West Coast of Newfoundland and northward indefinitely along Labrador, "without prejudice, however, to any of the rights of the Hudson Bay Company." The monopoly exercised by the latter, while absolutely comprehensive by reason of long usage, is yet sufficiently vague in its terms to make its precise effect a subject of nice diplomatic disputation. Its charter was granted prior to the cession of the Bay to England, and reaffirmed in the Treaties of Utrecht and Washington, but the foregoing clause might be construed to mean that the Americans could fish in the waters of Hudson Bay if and where they did not infringe upon the rights of the "Great Company." Along West Newfoundland and Labrador, the Americans are on equality with Newfoundland and Canadian fishermen. Labrador, according to English statutes, terminates at Cape Chidley, its northern promontory. Then Hudson Strait, 45 miles across to Cape Resolution in Baffinland and extending west 500 miles, forms the entrance to Hudson Bay. Therefore, the question arises, Does the concession to United States subjects to fish "northward indefinitely" in the Treaty of 1818, mean that it ceases at Cape Chidley and revives at Cape Resolution; or was it the intention that the same right should continue into Hudson Strait and Bay, not alone as regards the off-shore waters of mid-channel, but also the "territorial" waters of the inshore area or "three-mile limit"?

The force of this query can be more clearly appreciated if it is remembered that the United States has not subscribed to the British "headland to headland" doctrine, by which all the waters

lying within a line drawn from headland to headland are held to be embayed, or territorial, and to constitute the "*mare clausum*" of diplomatists. Uncle Sam has, on the contrary, contended for the three-mile limit following the sinuosities of the seaboard. Hudson Bay is the third largest enclosed marine area in the world, being next in size to the Mediterranean Sea and the Caribbean Sea, and a Bill is now before the Ottawa Parliament to change its name to the Canadian Sea, "for good political and national reasons, and to assert Canadian supremacy over the waters of the Bay and the adjoining territory."

The length of the Bay is 1000 miles from north to south, and its greatest width 600 miles, its area being 580,000 square miles, or nearly six times that of the Great Lakes separating Canada from the United States. The area of the Mediterranean is 977,000 square miles, and that of the Caribbean 680,000. The only entrance to the Bay is Hudson Strait, which is a channel of nearly five hundred miles in length, with a width of about one hundred, though at the narrowest point it is but forty-five. Under the headland theory and the cession of 1713, this whole marine area, between Labrador and Baffinland, would be the absolute possession of Britain by conveyance from France; but the point is advanced by American critics, that no act of any nation two centuries ago could deprive the rest of the world of access to such a region for all time to come. Practically, the only people who have frequented the Bay the past sixty years are American whalers from New Bedford, who winter at Marble Island, on its western coastline, where they carry on their fishery and traffic with the natives. It is argued, moreover, that their prosecution of the fishery for so long a period, without interference from the nation claiming sovereignty there, virtually establishes a right which England is bound to respect, and which Canada cannot decently refuse to acquiesce in.

Nevertheless, there has been a persistent demand for years by the press and public of Canada that there should be a substantial demonstration of her sovereignty over these waters, and the Ottawa Government has now bowed to that demand and despatched a patrol ship there. The international aspect of the question may or may not result seriously in future; but, certainly, it will not be an easy matter for Canada to carry out the policy of expelling the alleged trespassers. The military section of the expedition is

headed by Major Moodie, of the Northwest Mounted Police, who carries a commission as "Governor of Hudson Bay and the regions adjacent thereto," and has a detachment of that famous corps with him, to assist in the administration of his post. American whaling crews are not composed of the most tractable persons, and an attempt to overawe them may result as did the early efforts at preventing seal-poachers from operating in Behring Sea. What course the United States will adopt with respect to Canada's assertion, that upon the marine wealth of Hudson Bay no foreign fishermen has the right to encroach, cannot, of course, be predicted; but in official quarters the prospect of another bone of contention being dropped into the diplomatic arena is regarded as by no means unlikely.

The marine wealth of the Bay is so vast and varied, that it is easy to understand why Canada should be desirous of preserving it to her people alone. Chief among the denizens of its waters, are the mighty "bowheads" or Arctic whales. These have the longest and finest whalebone, worth $14,000 a ton, and an adult bowhead will yield 1,500 pounds, besides the oil obtained from its carcass, so that a whale is valued at from $12,000 to $20,000, according to size. United States statistics show that, during ten years, the whale fisheries of Hudson Bay realized a total value of $1,371,000 for fifty voyages, or $27,430 per voyage. These figures illustrate sufficiently the feeling with which American whalemen will view a proposal to expel them from the region; for, not only would their exclusion prevent their fishing in Hudson Bay or Strait, but it would also debar them from access to the channels which strike north through the *terra incognita* west of Baffinland and which are now the favorite haunt of the polar whale. From their winter quarters at Marble Island, whalers pursue their prey every spring as soon as the ice breaks up, and all through the season until navigation closes. Besides these black whales, which are sometimes 70 to 90 feet long, white whales, about 14 feet long, and valuable for both hide and oil, are also found in great numbers, one Canadian explorer asserting that he has "observed the surface of the water, as far as the eye could reach from the deck of a vessel, appear an undulating sheet of white, caused by vast shoals of them." Walruses, too, are seen in large numbers there. The hide, used for belting, weighs three hundred pounds and averages ten cents a pound, the ivory tusks usually being

worth ten dollars. Then, narwhals occur there less frequently, and porpoises exist in innumerable shoals, whose hide and oil have a wide demand in the manufacturing world. The square-flipper seals have their mating-place in the Bay, and are steadily hunted, they being almost as large as the walrus. All these creatures are the spoil of the whalemen, and used to complete his lading; and the hard-working New-Englanders will certainly wonder why, after sixty years of undisputed fishing there, they are now required to leave.

But, in addition to these mammals, thirty species of edible fishes—cod, salmon, white-fish, grayling, halibut, caplin, pickerel, etc.—are known to occur in the Strait or Bay, or the rivers emptying therein. The Newfoundlanders now regularly visit Ungava Inlet, an enlargement of the Strait, each season, in pursuit of cod, and return with substantial catches. At Fort George, on James Bay, a southern extension on the main basin, cod are also frequently taken, but, owing to the remoteness of the region from the marts of commerce, no attempt has been made to utilize this varied fish-life to the advantage of industry and enterprise.

Indeed, save for the American whalemen, the Newfoundland cod-men, and the Hudson Bay Company's steamer which visits the stations there each season, no ships ever ruffle the placid surface of the Bay; and of Canada's 5,500,000 people probably not five hundred have ever seen it.

The chief fame of Hudson Bay has hitherto rested upon the peltries of the Fur Company. Although the pursuit has been continued for nearly two hundred and fifty years, the wealth of the region in this respect remains almost unimpaired. An explorer writes:

"At one station alone it is not uncommon for the Eskimos, in a season, to bring down from the North three hundred or four hundred skins of musk-oxen (animals like caribou, weighing six hundred to seven hundred pounds), besides many others of polar bears, caribou, arctic wolves, wolverines, foxes, etc. I have myself seen the richest of furs stacked by the Eskimos like haystacks upon the shore, to await transportation to the Hudson Bay Trading Posts. At one locality I visited in 1885, the Eskimos had trapped over one thousand white foxes, besides many wolves, wolverines, and colored foxes."

Except the beaver, the total of which has diminished by one-half in recent years, all other peltries have virtually held their

own, and the Hudson Bay Company pays out every year two million dollars for the purchase of skins alone, besides the cost of supplies and salaries of its officers and men. Another authority tells of the shipment from one post on the west side of James Bay of no less than ten tons of wild-goose feathers in a season, a figure that represents a kill of at least one hundred and twenty thousand, seeing that but three ounces of feathers are secured from each bird. They visit the region in enormous flocks, it being a favorite feeding-ground, and they are slaughtered with old-fashioned guns, loaded with small shot, which occasionally bring down twenty to thirty at one discharge. They are so abundant, indeed, that the flesh is salted and issued as a ration to the Indians.

As far back as twenty years ago, before even the present realities and future possibilities of Western Canada were at all appreciated, far-seeing capitalists throughout the Dominion were advocating a railroad to Hudson Bay, and steamships thence to Europe, making a new and short route for grain and perishable foods in transit to market. The proposition was so strongly supported that the Dominion Government sent out an expedition, in 1884, in the Newfoundland sealer "Alert," which spent three seasons investigating the merits of the route. Lieutenant Gordon, R.N., who was in chief command, ultimately presented a decidedly adverse report, and, after that, the project languished until 1896, when, it being actively advocated in Manitoba, Mr. (now Sir) Wilfrid Laurier, promised that, if returned to power, he would equip a second expedition to determine if the conclusions of the first were well-founded. The supporters of the Hudson Bay scheme had contended that, owing to Canada's being under such heavy financial obligations in 1884, through the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Government at that time were not desirous of a report favoring the Hudson Bay route, as it might involve other demands on the Dominion Treasury, and that Lieutenant Gordon's report was framed to discourage the venture for that reason.

In 1897, the Laurier Cabinet despatched the promised expedition in the "Diana," a sister ship of the "Neptune." But this party only cruised about the Strait for one summer and then returned, and their deductions, which were to the same effect, but not so strongly, have, consequently, not been accepted as conclu-

sive, the influence of the Canadian Pacific Railway being said to have affected the Dominion Government this time also.

The present "Neptune" expedition is, however, much more comprehensive in its scope. The ship will proceed through the Strait this season, visiting all the North Coast Islands and hoisting the British flag thereon, and will formally notify the American whalers to leave. What degree of force, if any, will be exerted against them to make this command effective, is not stated, but it is significant that Major Moodie is gazetted as "Commissioner of Police," and Mr. A. P. Low, who has charge of the scientific side of the expedition is appointed "a fishery officer under the Fisheries Act, and the Act respecting fishing by foreign vessels." It is pointed out that, in any event, American whalers have no right to enter Canadian territorial waters and trade with the natives, without paying duties on the outfits used, and accordingly a police post will be established near the whaling centres. This duty done, the ship will go into winter quarters about Chesterfield Inlet, the exploration of the musk-ox country to the north and west being undertaken during the ensuing months. When the spring reopens, the steamer will survey the coast of Hudson Bay about Fort Churchill, so as to secure data for the use of shipping-men. Her next cruise will be northward along Baffinland to Lancaster Sound, visiting the whaling stations and planting the union-jack upon all the lands and regions there. This important task being performed, the records of the whole ceremonial of visibly manifesting British authority being made, the ship will cruise in the Strait until November, 1904, remaining as late as she dares, and then make her way back to St. John's, unless she gets frozen in the floe there.

The theory upon which the Hudson Bay route is based is, that it is possible for grain-laden ships to traverse these waters for almost five months of the year, carrying the produce of the Northwest to market immediately after the harvesting of the crop. Hudson Bay certainly provides the shortest and directest route, as the following figures make clear:

	Miles.
Winnipeg *via* Hudson Bay to Liverpool	3626
Winnipeg *via* Montreal to Liverpool	4228
Duluth *via* Hudson Bay to Liverpool	3728
Duluth *via* New York to Liverpool	4201
St. Paul *via* Hudson Bay to Liverpool	4096
St. Paul *via* New York to Liverpool	4240

From these figures, it is evident that the readiest outlet to the best markets in the world is opened to the wheat-growing territories of the West by Hudson Bay, if the channel is navigable for a sufficient period each year. The area of land and water tributary to the Bay is unusually great. That drained by the Red River is estimated at 432,000 square miles, embracing the valley stretching northward almost from the source of the Mississippi for a tortuous 700 miles, of which the waterways on the American side of the international boundaries are navigable for 450 miles. This vast tract is capable of producing, at a low average, 500,000,000 bushels of cereals. The Saskatchewan, too, drains a fertile country, and is navigable for light craft for 1500 miles. The "hard" wheat of this valley is about the best in the world, and the millions of acres here have been barely prospected, in an agricultural sense. The Peace River will in future produce millions of bushels of wheat. Until recently, the Hudson Bay Company imported all its flour from England, but then it established a flour-mill at Fort Vermillion, in the Peace Valley, which now supplies with flour, ground from native wheat, many of its stations in that vast northland, where the mill has steamer communication, broken at one point only, with a country as extensive as Europe, excluding Russia.

The extent northward of Canada's wheat belt is no longer a subject for dispute. It stretches away into the high latitudes towards the sub-arctic zone. Last year, at the Roman Catholic Mission at Fort Providence, on the Mackenzie River, a few miles east of Great Bear Lake, a very fine wheat crop was raised, being sown and harvested within ninety days. This point is just above the 62nd parallel, or in the same latitude as Southern Greenland. The latitude of Winnipeg is about 300 miles north of Montreal, and that of Edmonton 250 north of Winnipeg, so that Fort Providence is 1150 miles north of Montreal. This fact renders possible the cultivation of wheat through the vast terrains of the Athabasca, Slave, and Mackenzie Rivers, the products of which would naturally flow towards Hudson Bay, as the freight charges would be greatly increased by shipping them southeast to Montreal and Quebec, almost doubling the haul to tidewater. Within closer proximity to Hudson Bay, too, are spacious arable tracts. In the James Bay section, spring wheat is grown, and at Moose Factory they raise farm and garden

products, oats, barley, beans, pease, cabbage, carrots, onions. At Fort George, 250 miles north of Moose Factory, strawberries are ripe on August 1st, while vegetables and grain grow to perfection and good-sized herds pasture on the grass. But not alone would the Hudson Bay route, if feasible, serve for the transport of all the products of these new wheat areas in the remote north; it would also perform the same purpose with those of the region now to be opened up by the proposed trans-continental railway of Canada, and it would divert great quantities of grain from Manitoba and the American border States, which at present reach the seaboard at Portland, Boston and New York.

Of course, to have the route available for the transport of grain, it would be necessary that steamers should be able to successfully navigate the Strait up to November, so that the new crops could be marketed at once, instead of being kept over for another year. But, even if this were found to be impracticable, it is held that there would still be abundant traffic to justify using the route for the period of open water. Fort Churchill, on the west side of Hudson Bay, and the harbor chosen for a railroad terminus, is 1,000 miles nearer to Regina, the capital of the Canadian Northwest Territories, than is Montreal, so that it is unnecessary to emphasize the possibility of great reductions in freights in shipping to or from the prairie country. More than that, too, the haul between Fort Churchill and the great distributing cities of the American Northwest is so short that such a route, if physically practicable, would come into keen competition, not only with the American all-rail lines, but also with the transpacific steamships contending for the world's carrying-trade. The distance between Liverpool and Vancouver *viâ* Hudson Bay is 4,568 miles, a saving of 1,300 miles—all in rail-haul—over the present Canadian Pacific Railway route. The season when this new route is open is the busiest period of the year in Western Canada, and much inward and outward freight might be carried during that time at rates far below those now demanded.

Moreover, apart altogether from the question of the use of this route for grain shipments, or for diversified western traffic, it would still prove a foremost factor in Canada's industrial development, by supplying a means of opening up to the capitalist and the toiler the varied resources of the Hudson Bay hinterland. Many valuable and promising discoveries of economic minerals

have been made there. Iron ores have been located, of various kinds and in prodigious quantities. To the south of Ungava Bay hematite, unequalled in richness and extent elsewhere in Canada, is to be found. Rich beds of manganiferous iron crop out on the east shore, and there are large deposits of carbonate iron, or ironstone, inside James Bay. Pyrites, in workable quantities and of great purity, exists on the west shore, and argentiferous galena near Richmond Gulf. The formations in the Strait hold graphite, or black lead, and also mica of the best quality, and the largest sheets known to commerce. Assays of pyrites and quartz from several sections of the shore have yielded traces of gold, under such geological conditions as encourage the hope that the precious metal will yet be found in paying quantity. Gold-bearing quartz is frequently obtained by prospectors, gold-bearing pyrites is general, and alluvial gold has also been found in the valleys. Gypsum, copper, silver and antimony are abundantly indicated in many places. Anthracite has been located in the Labrador peninsula. Lignite occurs about James Bay. Bituminous coal is known to be abundant in the Parry Islands, north of the Strait, and is burnt by the whalers. Other metallic ores and a variety of ornamental stones have been discovered in different parts, while marble, granite, limestone, whinstone and kindred building stones abound on the shores of the Bay, and may acquire a commercial value at some future time.

Nor is its wealth of woodland less varied or valuable. The forests extend two-thirds of the distance up either shore of the basin, and further north in the interior on both sides. It is claimed that, around James Bay alone, there is more timber than in Minnesota and Michigan together. The verge of the tree-clad area crosses the northern part of the Labrador peninsula and follows the isothermal lines westward across the continent. The lumber is mostly large spruce and tamarack, and the areas available for the manufacture of pulp are immense. The snowfall is but half that at Montreal, the region being so sheltered inland, and the water-powers are beyond calculation along the chain of lakes and rivers that lead to the Bay. It is, moreover, asserted that, from Great Slave Lake to Fort Churchill, there is but one short gap in a continuous system of capacious waterways. In 1828, Sir George Simpson made his way in canoes, accompanied by a considerable party of men and supplies, from York Factory

on Hudson Bay to the Pacific coast at the mouth of the Fraser River. The Hudson Bay slope itself is a "clay belt" containing 16,000,000 acres of agricultural land, besides well-timbered sections, all seamed with water-courses which will enable the products to be floated down to the seaboard at a minimum of cost.

The climate of this vast hinterland is another decisive consideration. It compares very favorably with that of the more Western territories where wheat-growing is now general. The northern section is in about the same latitude as the Highlands of Scotland; Moose Factory, further south than that of London. The temperature of the water in Hudson Bay is several degrees higher than that in Lake Superior, and Lieutenant Gordon declared that the Bay might be regarded as a vast basin of comparatively warm water, a fact which must help to mitigate the severity of the winter in the surrounding region. Certainly, the Bay never freezes over; its area is so great and the temperature so genial, that it is open all the year round, while it is also remarkably free from storms and fogs. Its waters are deep and uniform, soundings of 480 feet at many points indicating that its bed is a level plateau, with a few islands to the northward, and only two reefs, lying near one of these islands, to endanger the eastward passage of ocean steamers.

It will probably amaze American readers to learn that the Dominion Government has already granted charters to no less than eight different railroad companies to build lines to Hudson Bay, than which fact there could be no better attestation of the confidence of Canadian capitalists in the ultimate destiny of the northland. The southern section of one of these lines—the shortest between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay—runs through a rich mineral tract that should furnish an immense amount of traffic, seeing that eight copper mines on one shore of that lake have in ten years paid dividends of $75,000,000. These railway lines are projected from the provinces of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba, and some of them have already started building into the new wheat regions now being developed, proposing to extend their rails gradually northward as traffic warrants.

The real economic problem, then, is not the building of railways, nor the traversing of the Bay itself, but the navigating of the Strait which forms its entrance. This waterway, because of its contracted channel, its northern location, and the arctic afflu-

ents which discharge vast bodies of floe ice into it every autumn and spring, is only navigable for some months in each year. Lieutenant Gordon, in charge of the "Alert" expedition in 1884, reported the opening of the season to be between July 1st and 10th, and the close to be about the same dates in October—a period of three months. Captain Barry, the more experienced Newfoundland ice-pilot, who was master of the ship, declared, however, that he could navigate it for six weeks longer. In the same way, Commander Wakeham, the chief of the "Diana" expedition in 1897, fixed the opening of the season at the end of June and the close at the 20th of October, or nearly four months, whereas Captain Joy, the ice-pilot and skipper this time, agrees with Barry as to a four and a half months' season. The "Neptune" has as master Captain Bartlett, who served Peary in five arctic voyages in the same capacity, so his view of the matter will be awaited with keen interest. These Newfoundland skippers, bred from youth to ice conditions, declare that they would sooner navigate Hudson Strait than Belle Isle Strait (the present route between Montreal and Liverpool), because in the former region there is daylight for the whole twenty-four hours until October, the water is bold along the coast, fogs are not experienced, and the bergs from Greenland have mostly passed south before the Strait is open. Statistics of the Hudson Bay Company show that 750 vessels, from 70-gun ships down to 10-ton pinnaces, passed through the Strait during 274 years, and only two were lost there, although all were sailers and most of them small and rudely constructed.

It is argued, therefore, that, with the progress ship-building has made of late, the stanchness and high power of modern iron steamers, the improved accessories of navigation to-day, and the provision of efficient coast-aids, there is no reason why the passage of Hudson Strait should not be as safely effected as that of the Baltic.

The limitations of the route are, that it calls for ships of not more than 3,000 tons, specially strengthened to withstand the contact of the floes, and that skilful and experienced ice-pilots should be carried on them. The coast-line of the Strait requires to be carefully surveyed and the movements of the tidal currents determined. Lighthouse, fog-alarm, telegraph and signalling systems must be instituted, and such adjuncts of modern mari-

time progress as coaling and repairing ports, docks, foundries and the like, provided. Its advantages are, the short rail-haul and sea voyage, and the fact that perishable products conveyed by this cold northern channel would escape the deterioration inevitable in forwarding by a more southern route. By it cattle from the western ranges, and butter, cheese, vegetables and fruits from nearer farmsteads, could be conveyed to England, during the summer, and at least a portion of the grain crop. Within ten years almost, the grain exports of Canada have increased so that the Canadian Pacific Railway is unable to bring them to the sea. Another decade, in view of the rapidity with which her prairies are filling up, may witness a similar congestion on the Northern Transcontinental Railway. Then the Hudson Bay route would prove its utility in relieving this, and opening up a new outlet for the abounding traffic of the northland during the summer months. Everything nowadays points to Canada becoming one of the largest grain-producing countries in the world, within a comparatively short period of years, and as it expands northward and its population increases its demands for traffic facilities will be accelerated amazingly.

Imperial considerations, too, are largely shaping this new policy of turning Hudson Bay into an inland lake, and re-annexing all the surrounding country to the confines of the Arctic Circle. There is alarm over the possible withdrawal of the bonding privilege by the United States, and a desire to become independent of it. There is a belief that a second transcontinental railway line further removed from the international boundary than the Canadian Pacific Railway, means an augmentation of Britain's safeguards. There is a readiness to provide the means whereby Britain may procure foodstuffs and stores from her overseas granary, and despatch men and munitions to the Far East or threatened points nearer home. Above all, there is the sentiment of Canada, flushed with the strength of a young giant, that she has attained national stature, and should fashion her schemes for the development of her imperial heritage on lines commensurate with the future for which she seems destined. Lord Strathcona, who is President of the Hudson Bay Company, declared recently that within ten years Canada would be able to supply all the foodstuffs of the United Kingdom, and only now is American opinion awakening to an appreciation of the varied natural re-

sources of British North America in grain, grazing, mineral and wood lands, and the wealth of the seas that wash its shores. The development of the country must inevitably be large, and it is probable that all estimates hazarded now of the population a decade hence, and of the value of its exports, will be much below the actual figures that the next census will disclose.

The strategic conditions favoring the route are, the gain in time which it would effect in moving troops, and the part it would play as a secondary base for England in time of war. With an enemy's cruisers blocking the St. Lawrence, Canada would be impotent for defence, had she not another ocean highway affording access to and from the Mother Country. A patrol at the mouth of the Strait would close it to alien shipping, and British transports or freighters could be escorted in or out under convoy. By the several railroads now projected to the Bay from different parts of Canada, troops could be distributed to important centres expeditiously and economically, or assembled at this convenient base for conveyance elsewhere. Indeed, the scheme in its general details has much to commend it, and will undoubtedly be proceeded with if the "Neptune's" report is favorable. The more immediate endeavor, though, will be how to avoid a second Alaskan Boundary dispute in this territory, which is threatened by Canada's reaffirming her sovereignty and expelling American whalers. Whether no untoward result will ensue or whether another cause of quarrel between Uncle Sam and John Bull will be created, remains to be seen; but, in any event, Hudson Bay is destined soon to become a more prominent factor in the commercial and political relations of Canada and the United States than it has hitherto been.

P. T. McGrath.

THE REPRESENTATIVE INEQUALITY OF SENATORS.

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER.

A FUNDAMENTAL principle in our national government is the parity of the States of the Union, as expressed by their representation in the Senate. It is worth while to examine, in the light of the facts as to population exhibited by the Twelfth Census, to what extent this may have effected a disparity in citizenship—an equality of all men behind the law, as well as before it, being an indispensable condition of true democracy.

The essence of a State is the community for which it stands, not the territory which the community occupies. Properly, a State's size is not expressed by the area over which it is spread, but by its population. The accompanying table, showing in the population the true size of the various States of the American Union, therefore, makes a significant presentation:

SIZE OF STATES BY POPULATION.

New York	7,268,894	South Carolina	1,340,316
Pennsylvania	6,302,115	Arkansas	1,311,564
Illinois	4,821,550	Maryland	1,188,044
Ohio	4,157,545	Nebraska	1,066,300
Missouri	3,106,665	West Virginia	958,800
Texas	3,048,710	Connecticut	908,420
Massachusetts	2,805,346	Maine	694,466
Indiana	2,516,462	Colorado	539,700
Michigan	2,420,982	Florida	528,542
Iowa	2,231,853	Washington	518,103
Georgia	2,216,331	Rhode Island	428,556
Kentucky	2,147,174	Oregon	413,536
Wisconsin	2,069,042	New Hampshire	411,588
Tennessee	2,026,616	South Dakota	401,570
North Carolina	1,893,810	Vermont	343,641
New Jersey	1,883,669	North Dakota	319,146
Virginia	1,854,184	Utah	276,749
Alabama	1,828,697	Montana	243,329
Minnesota	1,751,394	Delaware	184,735
Mississippi	1,551,270	Idaho	161,772
California	1,485,053	Wyoming	92,531
Kansas	1,470,495	Nevada	42,335
Louisiana	1,381,625		

After the four largest States, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio—all well past the four-million figure—stands Missouri,

with something more than three million. States that are within 250,000 of each other may be regarded as substantially on an equal footing. Regarded in this way, we see Missouri and Texas standing together. The State east of the Alleghenies that is not infrequently called "little" Massachusetts, stands well ahead of "pivotal" Indiana; and, since the rate of growth of the former is nearly twice that of the latter, the roomier State gives no promise of overtaking the other so long as present tendencies obtain. Even stupendous Texas is yet in practically the same class as Massachusetts, which it surpasses by less than 250,000. There are ten States smaller in population than diminutive Rhode Island.

The disparity among the States may be illustrated by comparing the two that represent the greatest extremes in this respect—New York and Nevada. New York has a population of 7,268,894; Nevada has 42,335. Therefore, one resident in Nevada is privileged with a representation in the national Senate equal in effectiveness to that of more than 171 residents of New York. Let us imagine the two Senators from New York and the two Senators from Nevada voting on opposite sides of a question—perhaps some question of vital importance—as they frequently may do. In the exercise of this function, they might graphically be depicted as sitting at opposite ends of a balanced plank, like boys in a game of see-saw. If the plank were so pivoted as to express the relative size of the two States in population, the New York side would be more than 171 times as long as the Nevada side. So, allowing only a length of one inch to Nevada, the New York portion would have a length of more than 14¼ feet. Tiptoeing upon their scanty foothold, Senators Stewart and Newlands would keep their end perfectly level against the weight of Senators Platt and Depew, exerted more than 14 feet away on the other side. Let us regard the two New York Senators as men of normal weight—say 165 pounds. In order to balance themselves against such a leverage the Nevada Senators would each have to weigh as much as 28,215 pounds!

The total population of the United States, according to the Twelfth Census, is 76,305,387. The population of the 45 States is 74,181,336. New York has nearly ten per cent. of this figure, Pennsylvania about 8½ per cent., Illinois about 6½ per cent., Ohio about 5½ per cent., Missouri about 4½, and Massachusetts over 3½ per cent. These six States have altogether about 38½

per cent. of the total population of the States. But their combined voting strength in the Senate is only 12 out of 90.

On the other hand Nevada has about one-seventeenth of one per cent. of the population of the States, Wyoming about one-eighth of one per cent., and Idaho a little more than one-fourth of one per cent. The nine States grouped in the census returns as the Western Division, comprising those that extend from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, have a total population of 3,773,-108, or about one-twentieth of the whole. Yet they have a representation of 18 in the Senate, or one-fifth—a representation equal to that of the nine North-Atlantic States with their population of 21,046,695, or nearly 30 per cent. of the whole. The 18 States west of the Mississippi, including Minnesota, have a population of 18,480,805; the 27 States east of the Mississippi, including Louisiana, have a population of 57,700,531. This gives 36 Senators to about one-quarter of the total population of the States and 54 Senators to three-quarters. There are fifteen States each of which has less than one per cent. of the total population. The combined population of these fifteen States is 5,256,512. These States, therefore, with less than one-fourteenth of the population of all the States, are represented by one-third of the Senate.

It is difficult to see how fair-minded and sanely thinking persons can reconcile this great disparity among the States with any conception of political equity, such as should obtain among a free and self-governing people. This disparity has increased greatly in recent years, and it is certain to increase still further.

Ever since the erection of West Virginia and Nevada into independent States, considerations of political expediency have mainly governed the creation of new entities in the Federal Union. These policies have occasionally proved very short-sighted, as steps actuated by such considerations are likely to be, and have reacted upon the party responsible for them—as in the Populistic wave that swept into opposition the entire batch of the most recently created States. These political considerations, however, were reinforced by a sort of perverted altruism—the kind that yields to the desires of another, regardless not only of the interests of the giver, but of the whole, in which both giver and receiver alike constitute a part; the sentiment that induces parents to give to children what they want, not so much for the sake of pleasing them as to get rid of an uncomfortable clamor. Hence, a weak

sense of fairness, a desire to help along a young and growing section of the country, and a patriotic impulse to add another star to the flag, have fed, regardless of party, a sentiment in favor of every proposed step of this kind. Fewer stars in the flag, however, would not have meant any less population in the country. But it would have meant fewer multi-millionaires in the Senate-chamber, fewer purchased Legislatures, less wholesale corruption as a tradition in the establishment and maintenance of a State's relation to the National Government, and in the councils of the most powerful arm of the government a slighter preponderance of the influences proceeding from such sources.

A strong motive in the erection of new States has been the sentiment that no considerable part of the population should be without a voice in the conduct of national affairs. Undesirable as such a lack of representation might be, it is far more undesirable that those elements should be appeased by according them a tremendous over-representation. In establishing these new relations of Statehood, contrary to the normal policy in such concerns, an immense premium has thus been put upon immaturity and inexperience in government. Raw young communities, grown out of yesterdays, have not only been given equal seats in the councils of the nation beside historic commonwealths, rich in the greatest traditions of modern democracy; the newcomers at the board have been clothed with powers that multiply many fold their normal strength.

This need not have been. Due representation of the younger communities might have been accorded without intrusting them with a control of affairs similar to that which would prevail in a business house should the clerks, after a sufficient probationary service, be admitted to partnership under conditions that straightway gave them a voice superior to that exerted by the original associates. For example, the entire section from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, comprised in the "Western Division" of the Census returns, might in all equity have been made one State—perhaps constituted with various territorial subdivisions corresponding, say, to the States and Territories that now exist. These subdivisions might have had the same relation to the State government that the organized Territories have to the National Government. And it might have been provided, in a manner similar to that of the reserved right possessed by Texas, that when any of

these subdivisions attained a population that would confer a normal Statehood—a population, say, of one million—it should have the right to resolve itself into a full-fledged member of the Union. California is the only State in the entire group that has surpassed that figure; not one of the others has even approached it. And the population of the entire group of nine States and two Territories is less than that of Ohio.

Repeated opportunities have been presented for remedying the evil, at least in a considerable degree, along such lines. For instance, it was proposed to join Utah to Nevada instead of erecting it as an independent State, just as lately it has been proposed to admit Oklahoma and consolidate the Indian Territory with it. But presumptive political expediency and undue deference to local desires, together with sectional insistence upon exalting an already inordinate preponderance, will doubtless take care to see that the Indian Territory becomes a separate State, just as these influences have secured the multiplication of as many small States as possible in that part of the country.

The whole policy of the admission of new States has gradually, and almost unconsciously, shaped itself. The first were admitted under conditions similar to those that governed the union of the original thirteen, when large States and small practically balanced each other. Without the parity of the States agreed upon at the outset, the Union would have been impracticable. But could the tremendous disparity in population, and consequently in equitable representation, that was to come with the erection of new States, have been foreseen by the framers of the Constitution, they would naturally have taken alarm, and probably would have instituted some more equitable procedure.

It is profitless, however, to consider what might have been, save in so far as it may serve to guide us as to what ought hereafter to be. Beyond the status of the territorially organized remainders of the Far West, now almost as good as settled, there loom up the more distant problems of potential new States in sub-Arctic and Arctic Alaska, in West-Indian dependencies, in Polynesian Hawaii—already an organized Territory—perhaps even Tutuila and Guam, not to mention the Philippines. All these are possibilities of a future that perhaps lies not so very remote, and which, under the pressure of this or that political expediency, may become actualities. Then there is no telling when sectional considera-

tions, or a party emergency, may rise superior to State pride and cause Texas to take advantage of her reserved rights and resolve herself into four States. As to Cuba, but for the foolish sentimentality of the Teller resolution, that island might now have been as prosperous and as untroublesome as Porto Rico. But, thanks to that piece of legislative emotionalism, when Cuba does come in, it must be upon her own terms, doubtless just as Texas came, a free and sovereign State, perhaps also with reserved rights that may include potential subdivision into other States.

Together with the development of these disparities in population and representation, there may incidentally have been some little compensating good. Some of the new commonwealths are formulating new polities; shaping their courses according to new conditions determined by growth in virgin soil, just as the old ones did when blazing the way for modern democracy. Hence, these novices in the Union are, to no little extent, serving as experiment stations and training-grounds for the newer democracy in relation to the rest of the country—just as Australia and New Zealand are acting for the world at large, likewise because their ground is unencumbered by precedent and tradition. Possibly some of the worst of these disparities may eventually disappear, or at least be very greatly diminished, with the growth of population in favorably situated parts of the new States—as under the conditions of intensive cultivation, and consequent density of population, that will be likely to come about in the arid regions where artificial irrigation is developed.

However this may turn out to be in a remote future, at present the resultant conditions are most inequitable, and for a long time to come must continue so. They give baleful significance to the fact that the Senate is the most powerful arm of the government, for its power may readily be exerted to impose the will of a minority upon the majority. A study of the votes cast in the Senate, particularly upon important questions, might reveal that this has occurred much oftener than is commonly suspected. The recent beet-sugar iniquity indicates that even an overwhelming public sentiment has little weight against the wilful exertion of this power in behalf of a comparatively insignificant selfish interest.

It is easy enough to point out the evil and to indicate its sources. It is not so easy to suggest the remedy. And the application of a

remedy would be a task of appalling difficulty. If the absolute separation of the executive and the legislative functions of the government could be assured, so far as the exercise of one power by those who are intrusted with the other is concerned, the evil would be much less. The equality of representation in the popular branch of the Congress might then largely offset the inequality that prevails in the other House. But the Senate achieves its inordinate power mainly by the fact that, in its practical control of appointments to office, it becomes part of the executive as well as of the legislative branch of the government. In the ambassadors of the sovereign States at the national capital, as the Senators have been called, we therefore have 90 Assistant-Presidents, discharging executive functions with the inefficiency in results that invariably attends a divided responsibility.

It would probably be easy to devise an efficient system under which the desired check upon Presidential appointments might exist, while avoiding the present blending of executive and legislative functions. For instance, the scrutiny of appointments, with a view to confirmation or rejection according to merit or demerit, together with a like check upon the power of removal, might well have been intrusted to a disinterested body permanently constituted as a feature of the judiciary branch. Such a function is in its nature judicial; hence, the judiciary seems the proper branch of the government to exercise it. The spoils system might thus be absolutely eliminated from our politics. In that event, the office of Senator would cease to stand for inordinate personal power, would cease to imply the overlordship in a State, and would gain in true dignity by limitation to its rightful function.

It is, however, hardly thinkable that the Senators would consent to the abatement of any jot or tittle of their existing powers and privileges. Neither would the minor States consent to any amendment of the Constitution that would diminish their relative weight as members of the Union. The public must, therefore, bear as best it may the consequences of inequalities imposed by a dead past with reference to conditions either long since outgrown, or grown into aspects of evil then wholly unsuspected. But, should oppression from this source become intolerable, some way will surely be found to be rid of it.

SYLVESTER BAXTER.

THE BRITISH MONARCHY: A REPLY.

BY DEFENSOR.

THE advantages of satire are the nervous stimulus which it gives to the person attacked, and the pleasure which it affords to the neighbors of that person. No doubt, the sweeping denunciation of English institutions which appeared under the title of "An Indictment of the British Monarchy" gave an agreeable titillation to several readers in England, and was exquisitely appreciated in many a sturdy homestead in America. But satire, stimulating as it may be, has plain disadvantages; and one of these is its tendency to be "off the spot" when it descends to details. It is most effective when it is vaguest, when the horrid shades are laid in without drawing, with a bold, free brush. "Anglo-American" sets forth to make our flesh creep, but he draws a portrait of us which no one within sight of us can recognize.

No doubt, we have our faults and our misfortunes; but some one who knows more about us and the condition of the world than "Anglo-American" should tell us of them. "Russia," we read, "faces the future with a fervid, patient, almost mystical faith"; "Anglo-American" can know little of the internal condition of Russia. "To America," at the present moment, "the whole prospect, as usual, is rainbow-hued." Our censor goes over the countries of the world, and paints them all in optimistic radiance. England, alone, is not spared the privilege of his mild reproof. A sort of millennium has set in all over the earth, except in the British Empire, where nothing reigns but "a spirit of depression and foreboding," and where we are delivered up at all points to "an almost hysterical pessimism," Somebody seems, indeed, to be not a little pessimistic and thoroughly hysterical, but who is it? Our critic is really too angry to be consistent; for, after

asserting our inferiority to all the European governments, he permits himself to say that we are seeing our "Parliament slipping down almost to the Continental level of incapacity." It is difficult to comprehend how one slips down to a condition which is already high above one's reach.

It would be unfair, however, to examine too minutely a sensational diatribe which is, doubtless, only intended to awaken a little amazement and make foreign groundlings gape. But a few of the fallacies in "Anglo-American's" article are worth exposure.

The British Empire has accepted the principle of monarchy. Our critic is obliged to admit that it has accepted it with extraordinary unanimity. He says that "republicanism in England is to-day simply non-existent. He has observed that all classes, however widely divided, that all provinces, however remote from one another, are united in estimating the Monarchy more highly than at any previous moment in our history. "The Crown, to-day, finds an unchallenged acceptation," he adds. Does it not strike him as a little futile to denounce to us the horrors of a system which so many millions of diverse human beings agree to think beneficent? After all, it is the mass of British millions, and not an individual, who are called on to decide the matter. How sad if it should turn out that it is precisely the fortunate strength of our vast unanimity that upsets the temper of our critic!

The writer of the article lays very great stress on the powerlessness of the Monarch to interfere in public affairs. He exaggerates this excessively, and he betrays a curious want of historical knowledge on the subject. Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, it is true, the British Monarch displayed a fine sense of tact, an almost faultless decorum in her attitude to affairs. But when "Anglo-American" tells us that an English king is such an automaton that he is incapable of disturbing the political situation, we are at a loss to follow his meaning. It is only necessary to point to George IV.'s successful intriguing about the Catholic question in 1827, and to the results of an *extempore* speech of William IV. in 1834, to show how great the power for mischief is which the Crown possesses under our Constitution, a power which nothing but the wisdom and statesmanship of the Monarch keeps in abeyance.

Instances of the reverse condition—namely, that in which the personal influence of the sovereign is exercised in moments of

political strain, with the direct result of relieving the strain—have been far more common. It is strange that any one should be unaware of the numerous occasions on which the experience and practical wisdom of Queen Victoria were exercised in this way. By the working of the British Constitution, in the course of an extended reign, the Monarch is presently left with an experience of affairs and a knowledge of men which are unrivalled. The Monarch, alone in the state, has the advantage of being in constant touch, both officially and socially, with political leaders on both sides. The late Queen was amply provided with friends in either political party; and, as time went on, and as all the groups were transformed by the natural evolution of things, she grew to be a portent of precedent, to whose memory and discipline of mind every one who could appeal was fortunate. She had gained this ascendency by the happy accident of her immovable position, and by the astuteness with which she had so long held herself, above both parties, yet in sympathy with both.

When, therefore, we are told that the influence of the Monarchy is purely a negative one, and that the sovereign should never, and can never, appear outside "a zone of calm," we, who remember the events of the last reign, can but smile at this image of a monarch, motionless like a painted statue, led through our political life in the hieratic attitude of a god in a chariot.

Those of us who have approached, in any degree, the inner machinery of Empire, know what an activity the position demands, how strenuously, to use a familiar expression, the nose of the exalted personage has to be held to the grindstone. It was not until advanced years that Queen Victoria ceased to take a practical part in all branches of public work. Those Civil Servants who have reached middle life have a memory of her brief and thoughtful minutes on the documents which passed through her hands. These minutes she had ceased to write on general papers by 1880, but she continued to the last to give a punctual and effective attention to public business. Indeed, it is said that it was not until the Thursday before she died that she permitted herself to relax. On that night, for the first time, the despatch-boxes were not outside her door, and those about her recognized the fatality of the sign.

If illustrations are called for of the value of the personal authority of the sovereign, they are not difficult to give. It must be

remembered that the secret political history of Queen Victoria's reign is not yet written, and that, until its particulars are made public, the main instances of her interference in state business must continue unknown. But already much has transpired. When, in the early part of 1864, war broke out between Germany and Denmark, England was within an ace of taking up the cause of the latter. Public sentiment was generously moved; the Danish royal family were popular in the country and at Court; Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were unquestionably in favor of a declaration of war with Germany. It is difficult to imagine what the present state of Europe would be if these counsels had prevailed. It was mainly the Queen who, with the help of Lord Granville, put the entire weight of her prestige into the other scale, and insisted that the principle of neutrality should be maintained. Nor will Americans easily forget that it was her modification, made with her own pen, in the English Government's despatch on the Mason and Slidell business, which removed all danger of war between us and the Northern States.

It would be of little use to multiply examples of the direct and powerful exercise of influence of which the Monarchy is still capable in internal affairs. But Mr. Bryce has recently, in his "Biographical Studies," drawn attention to a case, not generally known, which has particular interest. When the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill of 1869 was being hung up by the inveterate prejudice of a section of the Opposition, it was the Queen herself who suggested to Archbishop Tait a plan of compromise between Mr. Gladstone's government and those Tory peers who were pertinaciously opposing the Bill. The Primate accepted her commission, and he conducted his compromise on the lines she suggested with such success that the Bill passed the House of Lords, while good terms were secured, nevertheless, for the Irish Bishops. In this case, it is to be remembered that the personal sentiment of the Queen was opposed to Irish disestablishment, and that her action in obtaining the adoption of the Bill in June, 1869, was, therefore, the more purely public-spirited. The occasions on which she used her influence to prevent outbreaks of war on the Continent were frequent. It was her personal and private action which averted hostilities between France and Germany in 1875, and delayed them between Russia and Turkey in 1876. It would be interesting to know what individual in the best-regu-

lated republic in the universe has been able to make his hand felt, in this way, in calming and repressing the armies of the world.

On the advantages which are gained by royal visits abroad, in the consolidation of friendly international relations, our critic is strangely silent. He speaks with great freedom of the home occupations with which the King is credited by the newspapers, but he is absolutely dumb as to the King's journeys abroad. He tells us that "the Monarchy works to the detriment of England," and insists that the King "has been carefully unfitted" for duties of a positive kind. It is difficult to understand either the position of the critic, or the precise grounds of his indignation. He appears to float between two opinions. He tells us that the King can do nothing, and this shocks his soul. But yet he tells us that the King does a great deal, and this shocks him even more. It would be interesting to know whether "Anglo-American" considers the diplomatic visits of the King to Lisbon, Rome and Paris as examples of the former or of the latter class? He declares, roundly, that the King "is the master of no trade." Yet we have seen him, within the last few months, perform miracles in the extremely delicate and elaborate trade of diplomacy.

We suppose that it will hardly be denied that the relations of this country with its most intelligent and sensitive neighbor are of importance to our welfare. The attitude of France to England is of the highest importance, not only to our trade and financial welfare, but to those intellectual and sentimental parts of our being which it is a fatal piece of Podsnapery to neglect. We do not live on bread alone; we need also the light of the sun and the liberty of the air. It is the just boast of the French that their civilization radiates the one and is broadly exposed to the other. The Anglo-Saxon peoples have obtained the privilege of political liberty; they have still much to gain in the matter of spiritual liberty. The light that dissolves intellectual prejudice and disseminates the mental radiance in which thought can spread and blossom in tranquillity, is not so widely directed over England and America but that in France it beams with a more ample lustre. It would be a calamity for all that is brightest and most generous in English thought if a barrier should divide us from the mellow sympathy of France.

Such a barrier was raised, during the last years of the nineteenth century, by a succession of events which it is not necessary

here to recapitulate. It is the fact, at any rate, that a growing lack of sympathy, not yet amounting to enmity, but tending steadily and fatally in that direction, had risen, like a threatening shadow, between the two nations. It was of the nature of most vague animosities, whether public or private; it was based on a misunderstanding, on a growing inability in each to determine the real sentiments of the other. Only one person was capable of removing this barrier, by showing its perfectly phantasmal and cloudy character. That one person was the King, who, with great magnanimity and at very considerable personal risk (for no one knew the attitude of the French public beforehand), determined upon a stroke of high personal diplomacy. He stood on no ceremony; he took the courteous initiative; and he paid the French Republic the charming compliment of expressing his readiness to accept its hospitality.

The result was, perhaps, the most important to England which the new century has seen. The instinct of the King proved to have been exquisitely right. France was touched in its most delicate fibre, and the menacing cloud which had so long been gathering between the two nations melted as if by magic. England and France, to the general benefit of civilization, have entered into a new phase of mutual amity, which cannot but be immensely to the benefit of both. It is remarkable, we must repeat, that in his diatribe against the King's person,—for he does not confine himself to the vague principle of Monarchy,—"Anglo-American" should have omitted the slightest allusion to this eminently successful piece of diplomacy.

Critics of the class of "Anglo-American" write as if intelligent Englishmen still clung to the seventeenth-century theory of the divine right of kings. They talk as if we were still under the domination of such flatulent and obscurantist doctrines as inspired the once famous "Patriarcha" of Sir Robert Filmer. The pretentions which were put forward by the inordinate vanity of the Stuarts far more closely resemble those advanced by the Kaiser,—in whom our critic sees nothing less than a hero riding "on the crest of the rising wave,"—than those of any rational partisan of the Monarchy in England during the last two hundred years. It is absurd to pretend that anything in the existing authority of the sovereign tends, even remotely, to a paralysis of government. That assumption of lucrative feudal privileges,

which the Stuarts so obstinately put forward, led, as it could but inevitably lead, to their destruction. In the course of two centuries, the King, from being a great extortionate landlord, was transformed by slow gradations into the principal paid servant of the state. At the present moment, for all practical purposes, the British sovereign is the head of the national Public Service; he is at the summit of the great hierarchy of those who are employed in the work of the state. He is no longer the tyrant; he is simply the honorary manager of our enormous national concern.

It is plainly a matter for those who are practically engaged in the business, those—in other words—who pay, to decide whether the salary of the King (to put it roughly) is earned or no. If those who employ him in his great and responsible office are satisfied, such censure as that of "Anglo-American" is not worth the paper upon which it is inscribed. If "Anglo-American" could point to any great section of English citizens who are dissatisfied with the conduct of the Monarchy; if he could give voice to a considerable minority of malcontents; if he could diagnose, in persuasive language, grave disadvantages in our system, and could hope to wake an echo of his dissatisfaction in a large number of English bosoms, there might be some value in his criticisms. But he writes of what commends itself to an enormous majority of those most intimately and personally interested.

The writer bases his "indictment" on the general "depression and foreboding" which he discovers in all classes of English society. Every section of our national life, if we are to believe this observer, is complaining and discouraged. He "hardly knows which to pity more," Royalty, which is the cause of this condition of distress, or the Empire, which is so obstinately blind to the fact that it is to the institution of the Monarchy that she owes her bankrupt condition. The only reply to balderdash so preposterous seems to be a direct negative. There is no reason to suppose that the worst discomforts of the Empire at this moment are in any sense excessive or abnormal. There is no sign anywhere of such "depression and foreboding" as "Anglo-American" evolves out of his inner consciousness. And where our symptoms as a nation may be not wholly favorable, where we are ready to deplore this or that distressing or even dangerous tendency, there is not the smallest evidence that the Monarchy is in any way responsible for or encourages it.

The idea that England is rapidly declining in prosperity is one which is not borne out by statistics or by social phenomena, by facts or by figures. What is the case is this. We had gone through a long and expensive war, the temporary drain of which is just being felt. No experience is more common than that a man is conscious of the strain of an irregular expense, not during the proceedings which have led to it, but afterwards, when the bill comes in. We are paying our South-African bill, and here and there we grumble. Moreover, there is at this moment a general weakness in finance, which discourages speculation and casts a gloom across the Stock Exchange. But will any one pretend that there is the slightest evidence that this is not temporary, or that it does not affect a far wider zone of markets than are commanded from London? Has this been a very prosperous financial autumn in the Wall Street of "rainbow-hued" America? Is everything rose-colored on the Bourse of St. Petersburg? In our case, no doubt, the raising of the great fiscal question, which is exciting universal discussion, cannot fail to have an agitating effect upon business. Whether the change Mr. Chamberlain proposes is wise or unwise, the mere consideration of it has the momentary effect of disturbing all our commercial arrangements. But from this it is a far cry to a black foreboding of bankruptcy.

Few things are more futile than to prognosticate the ultimate ruin of a country on the basis of a few provisional symptoms of insecurity. A nation is not lost because even serious misfortunes befall it. The very worst that the British Empire has lately undergone, magnified by hostile exaggeration to the extreme of importance, is but a pin-prick by the side of the fate which seemed to have overwhelmed France in 1871. Then it was excusable for pessimists to declare that Germany had broken her antagonist's back, that France had sunken never to rise again. Who, at that date, could have dared to prophesy the prosperity of France in 1903? Predictions founded on sentimental impressions of a few months of crisis are inevitably false. History moves in curves too vast, the elements of national life are too numerous and complicated, to be measured in this rapid way. Has "Anglo-American" ever heard how, as Cowper says:

> "The inestimable Estimate of Brown
> Rose like a paper kite, and charmed the town;
> But measures planned and executed well

Shifted the wind that raised it, and it fell.
He trod the very selfsame ground you tread,
And Victory refuted all he said.
And yet his judgment was not framed amiss;
His error, if he erred, was merely this:—
He thought the dying hour already come,
And a complete recovery struck him dumb?"

John Brown was a clergyman, who, in the dark year 1757, wrote a most ingenious book, called "An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times"; in which he proved England to be on the brink of ruin, and her hopeless condition to be due to the spread of tyranny, irreligion and licentiousness. Everybody was excessively alarmed; seven editions of the "Estimate" were sold to the terrified public in one year; and it was generally admitted that England was going to the dogs, when, most unfortunately for Brown's reputation as a prophet, Plassey immediately followed, and England swam up into a new era of prosperity. If our state were as parlous in 1903 as it was in 1757,—and it is ridiculous to imagine that it is,—a turn of fortune might in six months strike dumb the prophets of our national ruin. And if the Monarchy is to be quoted as the source of our decline, it will be only fair to attribute to it our revival also.

Our censor is deeply grieved at what he considers to be the apathy of the King with regard to questions of education. He accuses the Monarchy of being "responsible for perhaps half of the commercial inefficiency and unprogressiveness of England." The method of this kind of criticism seems to be, to dwell on whatever the critic does not approve of in the English social system, greatly to exaggerate its blackness, and to end up by saying that the King is responsible for "perhaps half" of it. It would be waste of time to combat opinions so jejune. But if "Anglo-American" will take the trouble to inquire, he will discover that, unfortunately, in this country education is so mixed up with religious squabbles that, in its present phase, it has become a sort of party matter, in which it would be unconstitutional for the Crown to interfere. We are ready to admit that education is one of our painful difficulties at this moment, and a question in which we are not likely to come to a definite and wholesome issue without some disagreeable struggles. But, so far from blaming the King for the illogical position into which circumstances have, for

the moment, forced us, we are thankful that he has not in any degree accentuated the differences between our educational groups. On the other hand, is it already forgotten how much his father did for the cause of technical and scientific education after 1848, or how much sensation was caused by his son's "Wake up!" speech, a direct plea for efficiency in all branches of teaching, delivered immediately after his return from his Colonial tour? In the face of these facts and of so much more that could be brought forward, the statement of "Anglo-American" that "the Monarchy militates against national efficiency" in educational matters is one which may be dismissed as groundless.

One charge which the indictment brings against us, however, is unfortunately not to be passed over so lightly as the rest. This is the degree in which the national time is wasted upon exercises which are of the nature of mere pleasure. Oddly enough, this is precisely the section across which "Anglo-American" hurries most rapidly. He mentions our inordinate fondness for every species of game and sport, and, of course, he asserts that the King is responsible for it; but he does not, as he justly might, show how heavily the excess of attention given to cricket and football reduces the opportunity of acquiring efficiency. His reason for the omission was, perhaps, that "rainbow-hued" America is not less devoted than England is to those physical exercises which, in moderation, are such an excellent medicine, and in excess such a sterilizing and wasting drug. He could not blame us without blaming those whom he wished most to flatter. We are, therefore, spared attack at the one point where, perhaps, we are at this moment more open to attack than any other. Instead of recognizing that relaxation is the reverse of work, that it is a wise mode of recruiting the forces for the business of life, our modern tendency is to make it the foremost thing, the business itself. And there can be no efficiency when we see, in Sterne's phrase, "all the world running at the ring of pleasure."

The British Empire has deliberately and unanimously determined on the retention of the monarchical system, and the ingenuity of adverse critics had better be diverted into more useful channels than that of trying to persuade us that we are on the brink of ruin, and that the Monarchy has brought us there.

DEFENSOR.

THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA.

BY EUSEBIO A. MORALES, MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA.

THE territory comprised in the Isthmus of Panama formed a part of the Spanish Colonies in South America up to the 28th day of November, 1821. On that day, the inhabitants proclaimed their independence, and, by a spontaneous act of their own, they were incorporated in the then powerful Republic of Colombia, embracing, as it did, in its vast dominions the whole extent of territory that the Crown of Spain had designated under the appellatives of Viceroyalty of New Granada, Dominion or Captaincy-General of Venezuela and Presidency of Quito.

The Isthmians, on proclaiming their independence of the Government of Spain, sought to improve their condition and to insure their future well-being; and, in becoming a part and portion of Colombia, they held in view the prospect of obtaining, without the sacrifice of their legitimate aspirations, the protection of a nation which, in the course of a long and cruel war for its independence, had given evidence that it possessed brilliant and heroic attributes.

There prevailed then in that immense country, which was bounded on the south by Brazil and Peru, and on the east by Guyana, a system of centralized government, unfit for satisfying the aspirations or for ministering to the various needs and requirements of provinces so far apart; and, consequently, from the very birth of the Republic, there were deep-thinking men and eminent politicians who ranged themselves on the side of a federal régime.

The Great Republic of Colombia was dissolved in the year 1831; and from it there arose the three Republics, called Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada. The system of centralized government remained, nevertheless, unaltered in the Constitution which

was adopted by the last-mentioned nation in the year 1832, and the various sections continued to bear the burden of that system of forced uniformity, which, through inevitable reaction, carried within itself the hidden yet imminent peril of premature dissolution.

That was the origin of the civil war that broke out, in the year 1840, in the greater number of the provinces of New Granada. The rebellious provinces denounced the Constitution of 1832, and proclaimed the federation.

The provinces of Panama and Veragua—those, namely, into which the Isthmus was at that time divided—proclaimed their separation from New Granada, and formed an independent and sovereign state, and by an act called the Fundamental Law of the State, passed on the 18th of March, 1841, by the Convention assembled for the purpose, ratified the separation, giving to the nation thus created the name of the State of the Isthmus, and making it a point of law that it was the irrevocable will of the Isthmians, never again to be incorporated in the Republic of New Granada under the centralized régime.

The partisans of the federation were overcome, and centralism was re-established by force throughout the country; but the conception was not extinguished; and, fourteen years later, the Congress of New Granada enacted a law whereby the State of Panama was created as an autonomous entity, with the right to govern itself, provide for its necessities, and promote its progress. This act was followed by other similar ones, and in 1858 federation was an accomplished fact throughout the country.

The National Government strove to undermine the federal organization, and by its acts provoked a revolution which obtained a definitive triumph, and firmly established the federal system for the space of twenty-three years. Another civil war in 1885 was the occasion of the re-establishment of the absolute central and oppressive régime that still prevails throughout the Republic of Colombia.

The foregoing historical sketch goes to prove that the Isthmians have never considered the all-absorbing Central Government as favorable to their development and aggrandizement, and that they have, on the contrary, on various solemn occasions, declared their preference for a federal system, properly understood and put into practice, which might have allowed of their founding their pros-

perity on solid bases. The narrow-mindedness, however, of the public men of Colombia made everything subservient to the convenience of the requirements of political intrigues, never thinking for a moment of the probable results of their doings.

The central régime has always been to the Isthmians as a halter around their necks. The public functionaries, always appointed, directly or indirectly, by the Central Government of Bogota, were chosen, not for their qualifications for public service, but for their subservience to those in power. Such a misguided and corrupting policy could not fail to bring about, in all matters of public or general interest, the most flagrant misrule or the most criminal inaction.

The Central Government, as a party to the contracts for the building of the Panama Railway, now in operation, and of the Canal, now in process of construction, has received from those Companies, as compensation for their franchises, large amounts of money, which have been spent without even an attempt to discover whether the people most immediately interested in the arrangements for these enterprises were in need of help for works of public utility.

The consequences of such conduct may be observed in the actual backwardness of the Isthmus. With a territory large enough to accommodate nine millions of inhabitants, it has a population of barely three hundred thousand. Endowed with a fertile soil, suitable for all manner of agricultural enterprises, it only offers to view desultory and casual patches cultivated in the style of the aborigines at the beginning of the Spanish Conquest four centuries ago. With a mining region of exceptional richness, only one mine of importance is worked. With a seaboard of thirteen hundred miles on two of the largest oceans in the world—on one of which, the Pacific, are to be found harbors and natural docks, unexcelled on the continent—it may be affirmed that its maritime commerce is still in its incipient stage. There are no roads between its towns; there is not a bridge to cross even one of its 475 rivers.

Possessed of such a variety of natural treasures, the Isthmian people have, nevertheless, been plunged in misery; and, if statistical data were collected, it would become evident that the public wealth only reaches a low figure.

Under such circumstances, it was natural that the Isthmians

should have seen in the building of the Canal by the Panama route, a prospect of redemption for their industrial development and their material welfare; but the politicians at the centre of Colombia, for sundry reasons, thought proper to reject definitively the Herran-Hay treaty, and the hopes of the Isthmians were made abortive. The Isthmians saw once more that their interests were not taken into account, that their aspirations were not thought worthy of the attention of the nation in which they had of their own free will incorporated themselves; and, with an unanimous and irresistible impulse, they have broken the bond in which they beheld the cause of their actual decadence and their past misfortunes.

The foregoing remarks explain the motives actuating the Isthmian people in effecting the secession which has had for its result the founding of the Republic of Panama.

The Provisional Government of the Republic has been confided to three of the most notable citizens of the country, designated by the people in the most suitable manner, considering the rapidity of the movement and the gravity of the circumstances under which it was brought about. This Government is therefore democratic from its origin; and, pending the organization of the nation by a convention to be chosen by the suffrages of the people, the Government has assumed, provisionally and transitorily, all political powers.

In view of the magnitude of the labors devolving upon it, the Governmental Board has appointed six Ministers, who are now in the regular exercise of their functions. These are the following: the Ministers of State, of Foreign Affairs, of Justice, of Finance, of War and Marine, and of Public Instruction, and the portfolios pertaining to these Ministries have been given to persons who are capable of organizing and imparting stability to the new order established, and in a position to devote their labors to the welfare of the nation.

The Republic of Panama is, therefore, definitely established. Its entry into the family of sovereign, free and independent nations is an accomplished fact, and one of vast historical significance.

The internal policy of the new republic may be outlined as follows: to establish on a solid basis the public peace, for the attainment of which end the peaceful character of the people of the

Isthmus is a powerful factor; in the next place, to give an impulse to all branches of industry adapted to its soil, by the construction of public roads, the foundation of institutes for technical instruction, and by prudent protective measures; and by encouraging immigration, which is necessary to people our unoccupied territories and to exploit the unbounded natural wealth they contain.

The external policy of the Republic it is more difficult to determine; but no one can ignore the fact that in it the United States will have preponderating influence. The United States is the natural ally of the Republic of Panama by the force of events; and that alliance must, by the building of the Canal, become perpetual and indestructible. It is the interest of the United States to guarantee the sovereignty of the Republic in whose territory that nation is about to execute the most important work of the age; and Panama is in absolute need of its guarantee that the new nation will be safeguarded against aggression by any foreign Power. These interests harmonize one with the other; and the outcome must needs be beneficial to both, as promoting their mutual development.

As regards the obligations contracted by Colombia respecting the territory of the Isthmus and its interoceanic highways, the Republic of Panama will comply with them in perfect good faith, as it will also render effective the corresponding rights which belong to it as the successor of Colombia. All apprehension in regard to any conflict, on the ground of such rights and obligations, must be suppressed.

The Republic of Panama enters upon its life of independence under better auspices than have attended the birth of any other country on the globe; for it possesses inexhaustible elements of prosperity and wealth, it is favored with the friendship of the mighty nation that all the peoples of the earth honor and esteem, and it confides in the good sense of its citizens to insure that they shall dwell together in peace and concord, applying themselves diligently to those labors which make for the general welfare and exalt a nation.

EUSEBIO A. MORALES.

COLOMBIA'S LAST VISION OF ELDORADO.

BY MARRION WILCOX.

I.

In a small but very important volume entitled "*Canal de Panamá*" (Bogotá, 1903), which includes formal letters to Vice-President Marroquín written by several persons, a prominent Colombian expresses the opinion that the United States has evinced a disposition "to haggle about the price" to be paid for the use of the canal zone, "like a rich man taking advantage of the poverty of a harebrained blusterer *(atolondrado botarate)* to whom he proposes terms he would never dare to offer for the same property to another rich man, able to stand up for his own rights in the transaction." Again, a more outspoken critic asserts in response to a request from his government, that he does not share the conviction of those who say, "We Colombians may as well surrender, because in any event we shall be robbed." He does not think that "the fear of being trampled under foot" *(el temor de un atropello)* should be allowed to influence the decision; since "nothing and nobody can prevent the country from making use of all her forces as a sovereign entity; and, if some peril arises, she ought to accept the vicissitudes of resistance, rather than sacrifice her dignity and her interests."

The volume in which we read these striking passages was prepared by direction of the Colombian Executive, issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Colombian Government, and widely distributed with the aid of the Governors of departments.

Similar reproaches and threats were published just before the November revolution (but then without pretence of official sanction) in the United States, where influential journals maintained that the Bogotá politicians had discredited, not Colombia only, but all the Latin-American nations, by attempts to extort money.

It would be folly to ignore the growth of a sentiment among our people which can be expressed in a cool generalization, as follows: Having so thoroughly tested the quality of statesmanship in *one* of the Latin-American countries, we must decline, in future undertakings for the common interest, to divide authority and responsibility with *any* of those republics.

Appreciative words were, indeed, spoken and written in both countries during the earlier stages of the negotiations, and one or two of the contributions to "*Canal de Panamá*" are especially friendly; but, as the negotiations proceeded towards failure, accusation was matched with countercharge, and threat with threat.

Now, undoubtedly, the obligation resting upon Colombia to reach a wise decision in regard to the proposed convention created a situation which may be compared with a great emergency in the life of an individual, uncovering radical strength or weakness. It is, therefore, entirely proper to observe the conduct of Colombians in this crisis very attentively. This situation or emergency searches the depths of the Colombian national character, bringing to the surface, where they may be seen more plainly than ever before, the real, underlying, permanent national characteristics. But we should be sure that our conclusions are based upon traits which have actually been revealed, rather than upon imputed offences, and that we have, not a mere inkling, but the most reliable presentation which it is possible to secure, of the real motives for the Colombian policy of opposition.

Moreover, it is not too soon for us to reflect, that any generalization including all Latin-American communities in one sweeping charge must be somewhat exasperating to the more progressive nations of the South, whose efforts to live down evil reports deserve prompt and cordial recognition.

II.

In Colombia, the first shaping was given to that famous myth which lured adventurers to their destruction among the unexplored mountains and forests of South America; indeed, the home of the "Gilded Man" *(El Dorado)** has been definitely located by modern scholarship on the table-land of Bogotá. No

* Applicable only to a person—namely, one of the chieftains of the ancient village of Guatavitá, Colombia. For the mythical country, the form "Eldorado" is to be preferred.

myth ever died harder. Desperate attempts to reach the ever-receding land where boundless wealth was to be won by a single bold stroke, continued to be made in that part of the world during two centuries. And now in our own age, which will never seem quite prosaic to those who take Colombia into the reckoning, the old effort is renewed with unabated zest. During 1902, so long as it seemed probable to Colombians that the United States would pay any price demanded for the right to cut the canal, and for the incidental concessions, the Eldorado fever, breaking out once more, inflamed fancy, awoke credulity, in the old way; and in the old way chose its victims among the leading spirits. Colombians believed that the road to Eldorado had at last been discovered, and that it ran through their own territory; for was not the canal a mode of access to the resources of one of the richest countries in the world?

Obviously, we should consider for a moment Colombia's estimate of the value of the privileges to be sold or leased. We must do so if we are to appreciate the impoverished proprietor's difficulty in accepting our point of view.

Colombia's agent at Paris, representing the republic in the Administrative Council of the Canal Company, early in 1902 calculated that his Government should demand from the United States not less than $20,000,000 in gold immediately, this initial payment to be followed by an annuity of $2,000,000, increasing by $100,000 each year—which would make the annual payment $12,000,000 at the end of ninety-nine years. This calculation he based upon the present volume of the isthmian traffic and its probable increase, asserting that the revenue from the canal would, according to the figures of the French Company, reach $40,000,000 annually. Such a capital sum in hand, and such an assured income, would have made Colombia, at a single stroke, the richest country of her class. And she was the poorest.

Published far and wide, with the indorsement of leading financiers and of the Government, this cheerful estimate did not prepare Colombians to welcome the terms offered in 1903—namely, a cash payment of $10,000,000, with an annuity of $250,000, beginning nine years after the exchange of ratifications of the convention, and increasing not at all.

On the contrary, the calculation of the Colombian agent at Paris, Sr. Samper, made moderation appear inopportune. Things

feverishly imagined seemed normal. Listen to the words of the gravest men of the republic, selected by the Government as its special counsellors in this grave matter:

Sr. Francisco Groot, member of the Junta of February 13th, writes to his Government on February 19th, 1902, that, "if Colombia takes the first steps, which her historical antecedents and geographical position authorize her to take, to increase the intimacy of her union with the Great American Republic, she will regain on the instant the prestige lost through her frequent *trastornos* [topsy-turvy conditions] and through ineptitude in the management of her finances, since she will derive from a *perfect alliance with the United States an illustrious political position and an immense fortune.*" Again, commenting upon the ineffectual negotiations for a canal treaty that were begun about thirty-three years ago, he indorses the opinion of "prominent men of all parties," to the effect that "the Great Republic of North America is Colombia's *natural ally,*" and that the interoceanic canal is to be cut "principally for the benefit" of Colombia and the United States. Mexico is offered as an example of progress "accelerated by North-American enterprises," and Colombians are encouraged to expect still greater achievements in their own favored land, inasmuch as they possess "the immense advantage of never having waged war against the United States, or lost any part of their territory by so doing. They will, on the contrary, enjoy the "prestige consequent upon their ability to contribute to the further aggrandizement of the Colossus of the North, *without any diminution of the national sovereignty.*" In other words, there is to be immense gain on every side, and absolutely no sacrifice: the Eldorado idea exactly. The Vice-President is urged "to avail himself energetically of the brilliant opportunity, which Providence seems to have reserved" for him, "to vanquish every economic difficulty, insure the sovereignty of the nation over its most important part, and establish order in the country on the solid basis of the prosperity of its inhabitants."

The Colombian Minister at Washington, Sr. Carlos Martínez Silva, writes on January 8th, 1902, that the benefits of this conquest of Eldorado should be secured to future generations as well; that a fixed annuity should be secured from the United States, and used in redeeming Colombia's paper-money, paying interest on the national debt, and (among other things) "calming the

susceptibilities of the political parties." Nothing less than an Eldorado could supply resources adequate to the carrying out of this programme; for how great a "fixed annuity" would be required to "calm the susceptibilities of political parties" there, and yet leave a residue sufficient to take in hand the mounting debt of $15,000,000, and actually to restore value to the 350,000,000 *pesos* of worthless forced paper currency? But all this is not enough. Sr. Silva adds: "It seems to me to accord with strict justice that [the French Company] should pay a good round sum to the Government of Colombia, since they will lose everything if permission (to transfer the concession) is denied."

In a similar strain Sr. Clímaco Iriarte writes on February 15th, 1902: "The property to be ceded does not belong to the French Company exclusively. . . . The Colombian Government has a legal right to decide whether the cession shall take place or not. . . . Before definitive steps can be authorized, the Government and the company must reach an agreement as to the price to be paid for the transfer, and the quota to be assigned to each."

We see that Colombia was advised by her leading citizens to ask for everything—even to reserve absolute sovereignty over and exclusive jurisdiction within the canal zone; to transfer, at a price that only Eldorado could pay, the rights of which she herself could make no use: to sacrifice, therefore, practically nothing. The law of compensation is suspended in Eldorado, as in Utopia. We have already quoted one frank expression of this view; now let us turn to the report of the majority of the commission appointed by the Junta, dated at Bogotá, February 20th, 1902. "Panama"—thus the commissioners write to the Vice-President—"constitutes the most important part of Colombia's territory, her greatness and her future. To deliver it over into the keeping of a foreign government, to withdraw it from our own jurisdiction, would be suicidal, a betrayal of our country, a repudiation of the inheritance which our ancestors won by their blood and sacrifices, and bequeathed to us. . . . A *condominium* with a government holding the canal concession would be absurd on the part of Colombia. Our right cannot be effective unless this undertaking continues to be, as it is, subject to our own laws."

Such were the extravagant hopes cherished by Colombians. We shall trace rapidly the process of disillusionment.

III.

On April 18th, 1902, a "Memorandum of Points which should be Incorporated in the Convention" was presented by Sr. José Vicente Concha, the Colombian Minister who took up Sr. Silva's task at Washington. When this document was forwarded to Bogotá and submitted to the Government's advisers for their opinions, Sr. Iriarte protested (June 2nd, 1902), in the most vigorous language against the "points" in Article 2 of the memorandum. The right thereby granted exclusively to the Government of the United States to maintain, operate, *control, and protect* the canal would amount to "absorption of the Isthmus," he said; and inasmuch as the same rights were granted with respect to the auxiliary works, "without fixing or limiting the zone in which such works may be constructed, the Government enjoying this concession will be in fact, if not by right, the sovereign in the department of Panama." He added: "The duration of the concession must in no event exceed one hundred years; if made for a longer period it would amount to a sale." Nevertheless, the terms which seemed so objectionable were retained in the treaty.

The United States suggested, in the draft of the convention presented by the Department of State on July 7th, 1902, that the grant of exclusive rights should be perpetual; but, in a confidential communication to Secretary Hay, dated November 11th, Sr. Concha wrote: "Article 2. The introduction of the expression *á perpetuidad* in this article could not be accepted without changing completely the nature of the contract . . . necessitating an amendment of the Colombian Constitution." Accordingly, as a substitute for a grant in perpetuity of the rights relating to the canal and its auxiliary works, and of the use and control of a strip of territory along the route of the canal, the United States accepted, in a memorandum expressing the wish to reach an agreement with the utmost promptness, the words which appeared in Articles 2 and 3 of the convention concluded January 22nd, 1903, in behalf of Colombia, by Dr. Herrán, Chargé d'Affaires, namely: "the exclusive right *for the term of one hundred years, renewable, at the sole and absolute option of the United States, for periods of similar duration so long as the United States may desire.*" This was more than enough to intensify the fears of those who held that there might be a fatal sacrifice even under a temporary arrangement. To persons of Iriarte's way of think-

ing, the insertion of the words we have italicized amounted to a demand for the surrender of sovereignty.

Nevertheless, Article 4 of the convention provided that: "The rights and privileges granted to the United States . . . shall not affect the sovereignty of the Republic of Colombia over the territory within whose boundaries such rights and privileges are to be exercised. The United States freely acknowledges and recognizes this sovereignty and disavows any intention to impair it in any way whatever, or to increase its territory at the expense of Colombia or any of the sister republics in Central or South America, but, on the contrary, it desires to strengthen the power of the republics on this continent" (evidently meaning "hemisphere"), "and to promote, develop, and maintain their prosperity and independence."

Remember that Articles 2, 3, and 4, like all the rest of the treaty, received Vice-President Marroquín's approval; furthermore, that the approbation of almost any policy or course of action by one prominent Colombian politician insures its condemnation by associates and opponents alike. We need not point out more clearly the invaluable opportunity which was thus supplied to the Colombian Executive's enemies and friends. All his fellow citizens could hopefully undertake to thwart Vice-President Marroquín, by condemning the convention; for they had only to interpret with a little ingenious malice the unfortunate coupling of such a lease as was proposed in Articles 2 and 3 with such an assurance as Article 4 contained.

We may as well look steadily at the fact that a community which, like a weak man guarding his treasure, is suspicious of everybody, always gives heed to such questions as these: "If you deliver your great treasure—your Isthmus, for example—into the keeping of a foreign government, will you not be in danger of losing everything—all the money you receive in payment for the concession, and, through gradual encroachment, the best part of your territory and the independence of your nation?

"Doubtless, the Government of the United States intends to keep all its promises scrupulously, even chivalrously; but when the Government in that country changes, or some emergency arises there, will annual payments be made by the stronger nation to the weaker, or, rather, in some form of tribute more than offsetting the stipulated rental, by the weaker to the stronger? If

a great Power is allowed to take possession of a part of your domain under a lease running for periods of one hundred years, so long as that great Power may desire, can you believe that Colombia's sovereignty will remain actually unimpaired, forever? Do you realize that, in her desperate financial straits, Colombia is confronted with this extraordinary alternative: either to win so largely that her gain will be comparable with a conquest of Eldorado, or to be utterly ruined; and that utter ruin will come upon her if you surrender the Isthmus? In the words of Nicolás Esguerra, written at Bogotá, 'the canal is perhaps the only effective recourse'—the *only thing*—'that can rescue us from the chaos into which paper-money has plunged us'; but will you, then, knowing this, be deluded by an assurance and disavowal which so strongly resemble a mere equivocation at first sight, and in the end will surely be found inconsistent with the real situation which this treaty would create?" Enemies and friends of Dr. Marroquín, and a few persons unfriendly to the United States, asked such questions, made such suggestions.

Eldorado vanished; and, in the quarter where the Colombians had expected to find it, dire perils arose, like the incalculable dangers of an unexplored country. Patriots and selfish schemers were equally panic-stricken. To both, it seemed that only one hope was left: they must try to change the terms of the convention. But permission to do this was absolutely denied.

On August 5th, 1903, Mr. Beaupré, the American Minister at Bogotá, informed Sr. Luis Carlos Rico, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the canal treaty had been of such a nature that the United States would be justified in regarding any modification whatever of the conditions stipulated in the treaty as a violation of the agreement, jeopardizing the friendly relations which had existed theretofore between Colombia and the United States. Sr. Rico replied guardedly on August 8th, translating into Spanish the paragraph which contained this warning or threat, and seeking to learn whether "among the circumstances alluded to in that paragraph," there were some which had not been disclosed in the previous correspondence. The American Minister replied on the same day that the circumstances to which he referred were fully set forth in his earlier communications, and he reiterated the warning against attempts to modify the treaty or to delay its

ratification. Three days later, Sr. Rico replied, in substance, that he had analyzed the previous correspondence; that proof of the existence of an agreement to deprive Congress of its usual privileges was not adduced; and that his Government could not have promised to violate the Constitution of Colombia, which obliges the Executive to submit to Congress all treaties with foreign Powers. He again quoted the threatening words of Mr. Beaupré's notes of August 5th and 8th, and said that such a conception of the restrictions imposed upon Colombia was "not in accord with diplomatic usages, or with the express stipulation of Article 28 of the convention itself."

It would seem to be impossible for any honest student to reach conclusions radically different from those which Sr. Rico expressed, very courteously, in that letter, dated at Bogotá, 11th of August, 1903, published in the *Diario Oficial* on August 22nd, and in *La Estrella de Panamá* on September 23rd. Turning to the text of the Constitution of Colombia, we find that Title XI., Art. 120, X., authorizes the President to negotiate treaties and conventions with foreign Powers, but adds that "the treaties shall be submitted for the approval of Congress, and the conventions approved by the President when the Houses are not in session, provided that a favorable opinion of the ministers and council of state [has been obtained]." The language of the original, literally translated as above, is far from clear, but passages in other parts of the Constitution relating to the powers of the Legislature leave no doubt that the ratification by both Houses is requisite for the validity of an agreement such as that of January 22nd, 1903, whether it is called treaty or convention. Further, the right of the Legislature to introduce modifications into an international compact is shown by the practice of the Senate of the United States to be as legitimate as the right to approve or disapprove the treaty as a whole.

Can we believe, or could the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs, without offence, have assumed, lacking the clearest proof, that the United States had entered into a secret arrangement with Sr. Silva, Sr. Concha, Dr. Herrán, or Dr. Marroquín for the degradation of the Congress of a "sister" republic? Even if a President of Colombia, or a Vice-President wielding the Federal whip (appointing and removing Governors of departments, who in turn appoint the minor local officials), should attempt to dis-

pense with legislative approval and substitute an Executive decree, assuming for this purpose the dictatorial powers conferred by Article 121 of the Constitution, the United States would certainly refuse to sanction or to profit by such an outrageous attack upon the principles of popular government. The dictatorial powers in question were conferred with a wholly different object. They may be employed in time of war, or to suppress riots, but not to coerce the legislative branch of the Government.

Article 28 of the convention, which Sr. Rico cited, provides that "this convention, when signed by the contracting parties, shall be ratified *according to the laws of the respective countries*"—which, it could hardly be denied, was an "express stipulation," as he claimed. Article 4, also, we think, might have been cited to show that the United States could not consistently deny to the Colombian Legislature the free use of a faculty guaranteed by the Constitution; for how could a lesson of disrespect for the highest law of that republic, so inclined to "frequent *trastornos*," be brought into harmony with the declared policy of the Great Republic, the protecting country and the pattern, "to promote, develop, and maintain [the sister republics'] prosperity?" When South-American countries thoroughly respect the laws, they will all prosper—some moderately, others enormously; therefore, the friendly Colossus of the North must place above all the Latin-American virtues in embryo, to be developed and maintained, obedience to law generally, and especially devotion to the Constitutions modelled on our own.

Reflecting on these things we feel that it must have been impossible to place the United States in the attitude of denying to a Colombian Congress the right to consider, in turn and with care, every one of the twenty-eight articles—that is, to "delay" ratification, if that should seem unavoidable, and to "modify the conditions" which they might find unacceptable. But the United States was placed, so far, at least, as the politicians at Bogotá could see, in that position precisely. The interchange of diplomatic notes which we have outlined was complete on August 11th. On August 12th, 24 members of the Colombian Senate (the total membership being 27) voted to reject the treaty.

The next step was to frame a counter-proposition. On August 29th, commissioners appointed by the Senate to "study the manner to satisfy the vehement desire of the Colombian people touch-

ing the excavation of the Panama Canal," attached their signatures to the curious Project of Law, which provided that Colombia should receive at least $30,000,000 (*i.e.*, 50,000,000 francs from the Canal Company, and $20,000,000 or more from the United States) as soon as the ratifications of a new treaty should be exchanged; that, with regard to the Panama Railway, the United States might be allowed to succeed to the Railway Company's ample obligations and limited privileges, including the obligation to pay an annual rental of $250,000, and either surrender to Colombia absolute ownership of the enterprise at the end of 1967 or buy the line in that year at a price which should seem just to both parties—or to an arbitrator; that, with regard to the canal, an easement might be created in favor of the United States, for the sole purpose of cutting, maintaining, and exploiting the canal and its auxiliary works upon a zone of Colombian territory ten miles wide; that the said easement might continue in force for one hundred years, the concessionary paying therefor an annual *canon* (fee paid as a mark of acknowledgment of the superiority of a higher lord) of $150,000 until 1967, and of $400,000 from 1968 onward, this privilege being renewable on the basis of an increase in the maximum payment during the anterior period of twenty-five per cent in the annual amount of the *canon;* and, finally, that the negotiation might be effected, not with the United States at all, but, as the alternative of desperation, with some "private company or society."

The Project of Law had a very brief lease of life. It passed from the commission to Senator Rivas Groot, who presented it in secret session on October 6th, showing his apprehension of its wild extravagances by what he said publicly at the time about the treaty it was designed to displace. The Hay-Herrán treaty, he asserted, "was, indeed, unconstitutional, because it virtually ceded the sovereignty; but it would have been accepted with *slight* modifications if the notes of the American Minister, in which he stated that his Government would consent to no modification, had not occasioned its rejection." When the commission's Project collapsed, there was, strictly speaking, no proposition for a canal treaty which the Congress at Bogotá was at liberty to consider. The adjournment of that body, delayed until the end of October, was immediately followed by revolution, the people of Panama having, in the words of the explanation reported to

have been given by our Government to the press on November 6th, "prepared the machinery of revolution in advance."

IV.

Now, the success of the revolutionary movement prepared months in advance is not Colombia's death-blow: it is the beginning of her dismemberment. She had enough pride and savage strength to hide until then a mortal wound sustained last August, when her own children, in a moment of blind passion, rejected the canal treaty. It is not permissible for any one to judge a dying nation harshly. Least of all, should harsh judgments be expressed,—in this still doubtful matter, while the allotment of responsibility cannot be foreseen with absolute certainty,—here.

But, even aside from that consideration; even if our people assume, as they profoundly hope, that the outlook for Colombia may not be wholly tragical, and that our Government may be cleared of all blame; are the charges which are brought against our "sister republic" true? Is it true, as a great newspaper says, that the Project of Law was, or contained, a "cold, deliberate, impudent proposal of blackmail pure and simple?" No. It bears, if one reads it without prejudice, "coldly and deliberately," the plainest marks of that consternation which, in point of fact, prevailed at Bogotá, with curious marks of anger in one or two ill-chosen words. We have seen that it is virtually a recurrence, in a panic, to the old, wildly extravagant terms; a restatement of the hopes entertained in 1902; and its concluding part, which, misread, seems to convey a threat, is a wailing cry: "Surely *somebody* will finish the work, the United States refusing; we shall not lose it altogether—our only treasure and hope; *some* way there must be found to Eldorado!" Childish, even foolish and romantic, this document, the articles of which are not numbered, might be called; but if it, being the work of two men only, Sr. Ospina and Sr. Rodríguez, actually embodied a "proposal of blackmail, pure and simple," does the circumstance that it was riddled by the associates of those two men, in the Colombian Legislature and press, justify the charge published here that "the Colombian Congress adjourned, having indicated its disposition to levy blackmail to the amount of $10,000,000 on the French Company, and to the amount of $20,000,000 on the United States?" Again, is it true that Colombia was "an ob-

structionist for extortion," its Government "trying to block the mightiest enterprise ever undertaken for the common benefit of the globe's commerce"; that, having "repudiated her duty to the world," Colombia "is neither entitled to the sympathy and moral support of any great Power, nor likely to receive such sympathy and support"; that the "behavior of the Colombian Government has been most reprehensible and offensive"; and that the rejection of the treaty was "a breach of good faith toward the United States"—an offence which has "frequently caused war?" These quotations are from recent issues of prominent daily papers of New York and Chicago. A discussion of the problematic future "sympathy and support" of great Powers would take us far beyond the natural limits of our theme; the foregoing characterizations of motive and conduct belonging already to the past cannot, however, be overlooked.

On the 20th of last September, one of the Senators who declined to vote against the treaty in August, and who soon afterwards was appointed by Sr. Marroquín to be Governor of a Department, said in the course of an inaugural address: "It has been and is my opinion that the interests of mankind generally, which urgently demand the construction of a waterway uniting the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific, have a right to *(tienen derecho á)* our co-operation. We must not deny to civilization that which civilization needs on its victorious march." This is well, very well, indeed; but now let us place the speaker, not in Panama, among enthusiastic partizans, but in Bogotá, among his fellow Senators and Representatives. We must think of the Colombian Congress as a body largely composed of "hayseed" legislators. A majority of both Houses, realizing that their departments were remote, and not even connected by railways with the proposed canal, had gone up to Bogotá convinced that they would find it hard to secure for the departments which they represented a share in the benefits to come from the great work; they feared, moreover, lest the independence of the country as a whole should be put in jeopardy. A saying had been current in Latin-America for many years to the following effect: Wherever the canal is cut, there will be the southern boundary of the United States. A minority appreciated, as did Sr. de Obaldia, whose words we have just given, Colombia's duty to the world, in connection with an enterprise for the benefit of both hemispheres.

Met together in their little capital, with its stout, low house-walls, resistant to earthquakes—isolated, close to the equatorial line, far above the summits of high mountains, as we reckon such altitudes—the minority sought to overcome the narrow prejudices of the members from inland departments; and there were golden dreams, as we have said, and there was a flattering new sense of personal importance. Success was not improbable. Then all—both those who had seen one of the two oceans in question and the still more punctilious members who had not—felt that they had been insulted, and struck back quickly, only irritating their antagonist for a moment, while destroying their own nation.

We have not on this writing-table at the moment a transcript of a speech by Senator or Representative who shared de Obaldia's prepossessions; but some man among them must, very quickly, have spoken words which, in the English language, would mean: "The Government of the United States puts us in a position where we cannot act in accordance with our earnest wish, or perform the duty to civilization and progress which, as you know, I stand for. The Government of the United States, and our own Government through its agents at Washington, have inserted provisions making the treaty impossible under our Constitution. Yet, that one of the two governments which, throughout the American hemisphere, stands for civilization and progress, withholds permission to make the slightest change. We are trampled under foot now; nothing could be more insignificant than Colombia. But wait: presently we shall be conspicuous—as recipients of such reproaches as may be justly levelled at those who obstruct a short cut between factory and shop. A foreign Government strips from us the privileges with which the Colombian people clothed us. We offer our naked acknowledgment. We are sure the Senate of the United States would do no less, to please a foreign Government treating with the United States respecting concessions, and preferring to deal solely with Ambassador or President. The Senate of the United States, without 'delay,' gives up its privileges at the bidding of England or Germany. And the Great Republic is our model."

But we must turn sharply away from imagined rhetoric if we are to carry out the promise of the introductory paragraphs.

Unquestionably the Colombian character is essentially feminine. It requires guidance, considerate treatment, and the deft

hand. Even if our diplomacy had not driven the Colombians into a *cul-de-sac,* from which there was no way out but by return to the point of departure—the vision of Eldorado, a year old, four centuries old—they might have failed to appreciate the limitations imposed upon the generosity of our Government; they might have refused to enter into a reasonable agreement, despite such proof of good-will and confidence as the United States evinced, for example, by the complete acceptance of their wishes in regard to Article 23; they might, in short, have shown themselves incapable of rising to the height of the opportunity which was actually present, though not presented. But no man among us who loves justice will claim that we can now see clearly to pull out a mote from Colombia's eye. We did not give the politicians below the Isthmus a chance to demonstrate their incapacity.

Unquestionably, also, relations of protection and dependence might have been established between the United States and a country which had scarcely begun to learn how to keep peace within its borders, to develop its splendid natural resources, or to guard its finances from preposterous mismanagement. Colombians have no talent for sustained co-operation, either among themselves or with the United States—on quite equal terms. This must be gradually acquired, and, for a long time to come, a duty we cannot shirk will be, to supply all but a small fraction of the whole amount of concurrence required for every undertaking we engage in with them and a few other of the least progressive Latin-American nations. But no man among us who hates injustice will claim that our Government's diplomacy made it easy for the bitterly opposed factions in Colombia to sink their differences, unite in approval of a canal treaty, and strike hands with us in hearty acceptance of a good bargain.

Each Latin-American country must be studied as a separate problem: otherwise, we shall never put an end to mutual distrust, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation. We need not point to the achievements of remote Argentina and Chile, since, if we are at all willing to be convinced of the injustice of sweeping generalizations applied to Latin-America, we have only to study the little self-made republic of Costa Rica, which owns the most healthful and habitable part of the territory between the Panama and Nicaragua canal routes.

MARRION WILCOX.

THE TREACHEROUS TREATY: A COLOMBIAN PLEA.

BY RAÚL PÉREZ.

THE action of the United States Government in regard to Colombia is a new departure in more ways than one. In the presence of that action, there is no reason for anybody to show amazement at the course of the Colombian Government in appealing to the Senate and people of the United States with the same trustfulness with which the Treaty of 1846-48 was negotiated and agreed upon. As a Colombian who has lived for years in this country, and who has deep faith in the sound principles of the North-American nation, I will endeavor to present the merits of our case before the people of the United States.

Colombia, a weak republic, owns the Isthmus of Panama, a most valuable strip of land because of its location. All the great World Powers have coveted this heritage of my country.

Some fifty years ago, England's attitude toward the Mosquito Coast and the outlet of the San Juan River,—in fact, toward any Central-American territory considered then as a possible or probable terminal for the great water-way to be opened some day—was causing great uneasiness in Colombia (then New Granada), and also in the United States. Colombian statesmen, judging that the Isthmus of Panama would be better protected by one Power than by the mutual jealousies of all the great nations, and having absolute trust and faith in the Government and people of the United States, decided on the plan of placing that region under the guardianship of the great American Republic.

The North-American Government, on its side, desiring to obtain whatever advantage it might secure in the future canal, was eager to avail itself of any opportunity to that end.

The Treaty of 1846-48 between New Granada and the United

States was the natural result of these conditions. The thirty-fifth article of that treaty is the only one bearing on the matter under consideration, and is worded thus:

"The Government of New Granada (Colombia) guarantees to the Government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama, upon any modes of communication that now exist or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States; . . . . and in order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and for the favors they have acquired, by the fourth, fifth and sixth articles of this treaty, the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada, by the present stipulations, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists; and, in any consequence, the United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory."

Now, what was meant by "perfect neutrality"?

In the first place, only a large majority of the leading nations of the world, and not the United States nor any other World Power by itself, could either then or to-day guarantee positively and efficaciously the perfect neutrality of a region like the Isthmus. The true spirit of the treaty, and what both parties to it meant, was that the United States pledged itself to stand by and help the Colombians positively, and to the best of their ability to defend, guard and protect the Isthmus of Panama against foreign aggression. At any rate, to Colombian minds it is absolutely evident and always has been, that the thirty-fifth article of the Treaty of 1846-48 does not imply any right given to the United States to interfere in internal struggles in Colombia. This question has been exhaustively discussed in the Colombian press and by all the noted statesmen of our country; and no one, with the exceptions to be mentioned later, has ever taken the position that the treaty involved the giving to the United States any right of interference in the internal troubles of Colombia.

In order to afford the American reader the means of forming an approximate idea of the incalculable wrong that the interpretation of interference has worked on Colombia, I must give a brief sketch of our country's history during the past forty years.

In 1860, our two contending parties,—the Liberal and the Con-

servative—were at odds, and they were face to face on the field of battle. The questions at stake were not, as it is supposed in this country that they generally are, the personal ambitions of two or more petty leaders, but the gravest and most vital that have agitated humanity. The Liberal party was fighting, with enthusiasm, conviction and courage, for its ideals, namely: religious liberty; abolition of slavery; popular, compulsory and universal education; admission of foreign immigration; freedom of the press; good roads, and all the other sane principles on which modern civilization is established. The Conservative party was fighting, with stubborn determination, for the contrary principles and the preservation of the old colonial methods of government, which are bitterly opposed to progress.

With a lack of patriotism which has been severely condemned by Colombians, the Conservative government in 1862 appealed to Washington for support, maliciously interpreting for the first time the Treaty of 1846-48 as demanding the upholding of their faction in the Isthmus of Panama.

The American Government did not gratify the wishes of the Colombian Conservatives. Some time later, the Attorney-General of the United States declared that the guarantee of the United States referred only to foreign governments, and did not authorize the United States to take sides with one or the other party in the internal troubles of Colombia. Such is the true spirit of the treaty, as it is understood by all Colombians.

With the success of the Liberal party in 1863, the establishment of a true republican constitution and of a progressive government, an era of great prosperity began. Public education, being the paramount issue, received the most careful attention, and the results obtained in twenty years were such as to warrant the belief that in ten years more the absolute transformation of the country would be effected, and that the revolutionary era would cease through the mere enlightenment of the masses.

But it must not be thought that this work was carried on smoothly. It was a Herculean labor, and was prosecuted against appalling odds. Every agency was brought to bear against the public schools by the priests. These schools were excommunicated, and likewise the parents of the children attending them. Mothers, sisters, and all feminine relatives in general of the boys and girls heard of nothing else but the enormous risks they were running

of incurring eternal perdition by not preventing the children of their families from attending the ungodly schools.

At the confessionals, mothers were denied absolution if they did not abandon their husbands and families, rather than tolerate the sending of their children to the public schools.

The Government had decided that one hour should be set aside every alternate day for religious tuition, and the priests were asked to give that instruction to the children of the parents who so desired,—an advantage offered to all other creeds. The priests refused, alleging that they could not afford to become contaminated by passing the threshold of Satan's domain!

It is very difficult, perhaps impossible, for the American mind to realize the limitless influence that the priests exercise over the bigoted, fanatical population that they have for centuries successfully endeavored to keep under absolute control. For that reason, the American reader will scarcely be able to appreciate the value of the work done by the Colombian Liberal party with regard to popular education. In 1883, about one hundred thousand children were attending the schools, and one-fifth of the national revenues was spent in public instruction. The normal training-schools were furnishing a sufficient number of teachers of both sexes to supply schools for towns, villages, and even for rural districts. Such were the hopeful and encouraging conditions after twenty years of gigantic struggle.

At the advent of the Liberal Government in 1863, four-fifths of the national wealth was in possession of the religious orders. All such property was termed "mortmain," being in hands that could not alienate, that did not know how to develop, such immense estates in any profitable manner.

In Colombia, in 1863, almost the totality of the land, the houses, mines, etc., were mortmain. Radical measures had to be adopted to restore the wealth of the country to circulation by placing it in active hands that would attend to its development. The only way to accomplish the economical salvation of the country was to carry out the sweeping measures adopted by other nations in similar cases—that is, the confiscation of all such properties by the State, their sale at public auction, the abolition of convents and the non-recognition of religious corporations as "juridicial persons," or citizens that can acquire and alienate property, accept legacies or transact business.

Well can be imagined the clamor that was aroused by the friars. The air was so filled with excommunications that they lost much of their influence; but the men who carried out the measure of the economical rejuvenation of the country were even greater heroes than those who secured independence from Spain after seventeen years of hard fighting. These men were daily insulted on the streets; they received the most threatening letters; their offices were battle-fields; and, when they went to their homes for rest, the hardest of the conflict began for them, with the tears, the supplications, recriminations and appeals from all the feminine inmates of their households.

The establishment of the telegraphic system throughout the country met with as many difficulties as the other progressive measures introduced by the Liberals. The fanatics were sent to destroy the lines that "were worked by the evil spirit."

The banking industry, which had been absolutely unknown before 1863, was in the high tide of prosperity in 1883.

The foreign debt, which amounted to $33,000,000 in 1861, had been reduced in 1873 by the Perez-O'Leary agreement to $10,000,000, and the interest and the amortization fund were scrupulously paid. The internal debt was also decreased in a most satisfactory manner, the Government paying punctually during that period the pensions allotted to the monks, friars and nuns of the dispersed congregations.

What has been said may perhaps be sufficient to give some idea of the work done in twenty years, and of the readiness of the country in 1883 to begin reaping the harvest of the seeds that had been sown. The Conservatives, in 1876, had fully realized that their time had come to make a desperate effort to regain their hold on the country by force of arms. They saw that Colombia was surely slipping from their control, and that five or ten years more of Liberal rule would mean their total elimination as a political factor. They had been preparing, with the aid of foreign colleagues for a great revolution. This had been done openly, for they controlled two of the nine States of the Union, and the laws guaranteed the free trade in arms and ammunition. In that great struggle, they were completely crushed, and people began to consider them as a thing of the past and to look upon that conflict as the last with the old Spanish colonial aspirations.

During the Conservative revolution of 1876 and other minor

troubles, the Isthmus of Panama was disturbed as was the rest of the country, but the Liberal Government never thought of appealing to Washington under the Treaty of 1846-48, having never accepted the intervention interpretation; nor did the Washington Cabinet take the slightest measures to interfere. The opinion of the Attorney-General of the United States had been considered as final on the subject, and one or two of the Colombian ministers to Washington had officially informed the American Government of the views held by Colombia with regard to the interpretation of the treaty.

In 1880, Colombia fell into the hands of a most dangerous man. Rafael Nuñez, a Liberal, a brilliant writer and one who had taken an active and important part in rescuing the mortmain property, became a second time a candidate for the Presidency. He had been defeated in 1875, the Liberal party (extremely Puritanical in principles) dreading his absolute lack of moral sense and his unscrupulous methods in politics.

Nuñez succeeded in organizing a new party of his own, attracting to his side a great number of young men, fresh from the universities, by persuading them that what existed in the country was nothing but oligarchy, and that the leaders and veterans who had established the true Republic were nothing but old-fashioned, narrow-minded men. He told them that, in organizing the new party, he had in view the opening of more ample chances for young men, who were receiving an education at the expense of the Liberal Government; he flattered them by personal promises; telling them that portfolios, governorships, senatorships, and other high official positions were awaiting them.

He was elected in 1880, and from the first day of his first administration, the period of corruption, pillage and demoralization that has brought Colombia into its present plight has to be dated. The first ruin wrought was that of the national credit, when Nuñez refused to pay another cent of the foreign debt. His financial principles may be condensed into two of his sayings which became famous: "Living comes before paying," and "Whosoever pays a debt, unless to escape the gallows, is an idiot."

In order to procure abundant resources to carry out his plan of buying all those whose consciences were in the market, or corrupting all those whom he expected to be able to tempt, Nuñez created a national bank issuing paper money of compulsory acceptance

as the only legal tender. All contracts stipulating another kind of money than the national paper currency were illegal, and consequently null and void. The flourishing banking industry received a deadly blow, and the results of that financial scheme need no other description or comment than that the Colombian legal tender is to-day so low in value that it is necessary to pay $250 in paper for one American gold dollar.

The scheme, though ruinous for the country, worked wonders for the schemer, enabling him to enrich the disreputable throng which surrounded him.

In the election of 1882, the Liberal party made a supreme effort against Nuñez. A genuine Liberal was elected to the Presidency; but, unfortunately, he was nearly eighty years of age, and delicate of constitution. An anomalous condition of affairs soon became evident. Nuñez had the control of both Houses, and the President could not organize a cabinet because the men appointed for secretaryships were rejected by Congress. According to the constitution, there was no Vice-President elected by the people, but a "First Designate" elected by Congress. The man chosen as Designate was, of course, one of Nuñez's creatures. The aged President could not withstand the violent strain of such a political situation. It became absolutely necessary for his health that he should have a change of climate, but the national constitution did not permit the absence of the President from the capital without the consent of Congress, and this consent was denied. The departure of the President would leave the place to Nuñez and his clique, which meant the giving up of all hope of salvation for the Liberal ideals. The President did his duty by remaining at his post, and by so doing lost his life, which he could have prolonged by a change of climate as ordered by his doctors.

The Liberal President being out of the way, Nuñez's sinister influence was supreme in all matters political; for, although the First Designate—who was now President—tried to show some independence of spirit in favor of Liberal policy, he was promptly checked and reduced to obedience. Nuñez again became candidate, but he lost a large majority of his Liberal partisans; those who understood that the man desired a Dictatorship, and realized that their leader had abandoned Liberal traditions and the sound principles in which they had been reared.

Feeling the loss of their support, Nuñez entered into secret

dealings with the Conservatives, promising to turn the government over to them in exchange for their unconditional support. His second administration was inaugurated by several acts implying a total disregard of the constitution and of the laws, and by the installation of the Conservatives in all important positions.

The Liberal party, realizing that the titanic labor of twenty years was about to be reduced to nothingness, appealed to arms, determining to force the Dictator to conform to the constitution. Nuñez threw his power entirely on the side of the Conservatives. This struggle was the revolution of 1885. The Liberals were successful on the Atlantic coast, and they also held the Magdalena River, the only entrance to the interior and the capital.

At this juncture, Nuñez bethought himself of the Treaty of 1846-48, of the interpretation of interference, and probably also of the marked views held by Mr. Blaine with regard to such matters. The Colombian Minister at Washington—a Liberal renegade like Nuñez—eager to show his adherence to his new party and having no love of country, served well the Dictator's wishes. Minister Becerra begged for the intervention of the United States; and the Washington Cabinet, anxious to proclaim before the world its control over the Isthmus of Panama, and not taking into consideration the nature of the struggle in Colombia, ordered the North-Atlantic Squadron down to the Isthmus.

The American marines landed in Colon just at the time when a battle was in progress, and took sides with the Dictator's troops. During the battle, a few houses caught fire and the Liberals were accused of incendiarism. The American Admiral, following instructions from Washington, demanded that the Liberal leader should be given up to him to be executed; but the accused man succeeded in making his escape to Cartagena, a strongly fortified town on the Colombian Atlantic coast.

This man was a prominent lawyer in Colon, the owner of valuable buildings near the Panama Railway station, and was, besides, the legal attorney for other owners of real estate on both sides of his property. For several years the Panama Railway Company had been trying to purchase this ground, which was much needed, owing to limited space and increasing traffic. It happened that those very houses were the ones burned, and the flames started in the two owned by the man who was accused of setting Colon on fire.

On the arrival of the Colon Liberal General at Cartagena Bay—where one of our armies was besieging the city, and where news had come that Prestan, an outlaw, had set Colon on fire and had committed all sorts of atrocities—our Commander-in-Chief gave the order for Prestan's arrest, the writer being the officer who carried out the order, taking Prestan to a dungeon in one of the several castles which surround Cartagena, and which our armies had won from the enemy in the course of the two months' daily fighting. An investigation of Prestan's conduct was ordered, and, had the constitutional party been successful, the man would have been tried in accordance with the laws of the country.

At that time, in the Bay of Cartagena, more than five hundred miles from the Isthmus of Panama, and consequently in a territory where the Treaty of 1846-48 had no application, the United States vessel "Powhatan" was interfering in our domestic troubles, and openly aiding the besieged dictatorial army. Several notes were then written by our Chief General of Staff, and I had the honor of presenting them to Captain Beardsley and of acting as interpreter between the two sides. The notes had some effect, and Captain Beardsley withdrew his ship from the place it had occupied in protecting the city from our fire; but he continued to send provisions to the besieged city, on the pretext that the provisions were for the sustenance of the American Consul and of American citizens. The truth was, that there were no American citizens within the walls of Cartagena; and the American Consul there was a Colombian and a Conservative, who had refused to abandon the city. Soon afterwards the whole North-Atlantic squadron, under Admiral Jouett, put in its appearance in Cartagena Bay. The first demand of the Admiral was, that Prestan, our General who had been accused of setting Colon on fire, should be given up to him to be hung without trial as an example, and also—as we then understood and with good reason—to establish a precedent, by an unmistakable act of sovereignty, as a declaration before the world.

I was again the bearer of another note to Admiral Jouett, in which it was stated that Colombia was an independent nation having a constitution and regular laws; that, if Prestan had been guilty of any crime, he would be tried in accordance with those laws, and sentenced to the legal penalty should he be found guilty; but that in no case would he be put to death, for our Constitu-

tional Charter had abolished the death penalty. The Admiral was greatly incensed; but, having been commissioned to explain the situation to him, I succeeded, after a very long conversation, in causing him to see matters in another light, although, having special orders from his Government, he was naturally obliged to carry them out.

A general and final assault on the besieged city had been decided upon some short time after Admiral Jouett's arrival. As the United States ships were in our way, it was necessary to inform the squadron of our plans and to ask from Admiral Jouett the withdrawal of his ships to some place outside the range of fire. To a great extent the assault had been decided upon in consideration of the fact that the United States squadron was against us, and that if we succeeded in taking the city, the American fleet would have no dictatorial army to protect. The plans for the assault were of a nature to insure success, provided, however, that the besieged had not the faintest inkling of what was going to take place. The assault was delivered, and we found the enemy perfectly well prepared to receive us. We were repulsed, and there was nothing left to do but to raise the siege. When our fleet was leaving, it was found that chains had been laid across the entrance by the American marines, so as to entrap us within the Bay. Our generals made a strong representation to Admiral Jouett, and informed him that our fleet would attempt to cross the entrance and that the responsibility for what happened would all be his. The chains were removed and our ships proceeded to Savanilla, another port on the Atlantic.

The outcome of the assault on Cartagena was a deadly blow to the Constitutional arms, and it resulted in the enthronement of Nuñez as Dictator until the end of his life, ten years later. He killed the constitution by simply appearing at one of the windows of the palace, and saying, "The Constitution of 1863 has ceased to exist." The country which would have been to-day the most advanced in South America, and would have exerted, under such conditions, a decided influence towards ending the revolutions in the neighboring countries, was set back centuries, and placed in a worse situation than before it won independence from Spain. It is probable that much of the present century will elapse before Colombia will regain the prosperous conditions of 1880.

So, then, the first practical result of the Treaty of 1846-48 was the ruination of Colombia, unconsciously brought about by the republic that was to protect the Isthmus of Panama against the greed of all World Powers. How little knew the Colombians, who prepared and sanctioned that treaty, what its workings would be!

I must add here that, later, when Admiral Jouett came to Savanilla Bay, he understood the political situation of Colombia much better after we had enjoyed many a long conversation with him. Being an American citizen, a righteous man and a great Liberal himself, all his sympathies were on our side, as is invariably the case with every American familiar with our affairs. He then tried to have the two parties agree and sign a peace treaty to save the constitution, but his efforts failed.

Prestan, the man accused of having set Colon on fire, fell into the hands of his enemies; and, under American pressure, was put to death in Colon in front of the place where his property had once stood, and after the Panama Railroad had enlarged its tracks without paying a cent for Prestan's lots.

Notwithstanding the incalculable wrong done to Colombia and to the Colombian Liberals by the United States, and notwithstanding our realization that without the intervention of the United States these eighteen years of fanaticism, degradation, pillage, darkness and misrule of our country would have been an impossibility, there has been no ill-feeling in our hearts. We have continued to love our great sister republic and to wish that we could imitate her in many ways, because we attributed her mistakes in her dealings with us to ignorance of the true conditions.

During the last Colombian revolution, which continued for three years, the Government again solicited the intervention of the United States in our domestic troubles. The events are so recent that every one remembers the active part taken by the American ships in the struggle on the Isthmus. It must be said that all efforts were made at Washington to render such intervention as impartial as possible, although the fact remains that it favored in a decisive way the party in power.

At the time when the last struggle was in progress in Colombia, the Washington government became anxious to have a treaty negotiated with our country for the cutting of the Panama canal. The occasion could not have been more ill-suited for the purpose. The "*de facto*" government in Colombia in those days had

sprung out of a *coup d'état,* and its authority and existence were seriously menaced by several strong Liberal armies. The extension of time granted to the *Compagnie Universelle du Canal de Panamá*—the third party to the negotiation—was absolutely illegal, as it was granted by the tottering Sanclemente administration against the formal prohibition of the previous Congress—a fact of which the Washington Cabinet was perfectly aware, having been notified of it by the Confidential Agent for the Revolution in the United States. But the Colombian ministers to Washington, overanxious to please the Washington officials, fearing for the existence of their party, acceded readily to the wishes of the United States Government. It seems, however, that Minister Martinez Silva and subsequently Minister Concha, on becoming acquainted with the exacting stipulations of the proposed treaty, and understanding that no Congress in Colombia would ratify them, withdrew from the post, or were removed on account of their refusal to assent to such conditions. Mr. Herrán showed himself docile and willing to follow the instructions given him by the Marroquín government. Under those conditions, the Hay-Herrán treaty was agreed upon in Washington, no consideration being given to the fact that there was an immense disparity between a private corporation doing business in Panama under Colombian laws and a great World Power, that demanded an impossible cession of territory forbidden by the constitution.

The Marroquín government knew so well that Congress and Colombia at large would not sanction the Hay-Herrán treaty, that the document was kept secret as long as possible and first became known by translations made from American papers.

Adding insult to injury, a part of the press in this country has cruelly vilified Colombia, attributing the most shameful motives for our non-acceptance of the treaty. The reasons for the rejection of the Hay-Herrán treaty were, chiefly, the following:

1. The impossibility of having a World Power substituted for a private corporation;

2. The necessity of granting an entirely new concession, or making a contract, perfectly defined in all particulars, with the new builder of the canal, which would take into account the nature and the magnitude of the new contractor;

3. The illegality of the treaty, as being in direct opposition to the constitution of the country;

4. The illegality of the extension of time granted to the *Compagnie Universelle du Canal de Panama,* which was granted against the express wishes of the Colombian Congress;

5. The reluctance that a large majority of the Colombians had to see $10,000,000 squandered by officials they did not trust, without the slightest benefit to the nation;

6. The repugnance, (illusory, perhaps, but sincere), that many felt against selling their fellow countrymen on the Isthmus;

7. The smallness of the sum offered, which was not even enough to pay for the share in the Panama Railroad reverting entirely to Colombia at the close of the franchise.

Any unbiased mind cannot fail to see in the above-mentioned reasons sufficiently powerful motives for rejecting the Hay-Herrán treaty, and for expecting that all concerned would be desirous that the whole matter should be dealt with anew, so as to prevent difficulties and entanglements in the future by giving every one a clear and sound title.

Everybody in Colombia was in favor of the cutting of the Canal by the United States, provided that all matters connected with the enterprise were legally established, and that each party to it should have his just due.

The Colombian Congress was ready to approve a basis for a new proposition to the United States, when a note from the American Minister to Bogotá informed the Government there, in a tone deeply resented by all members of Congress and by all Colombians, that outside of the stipulations of the Hay-Herrán treaty the American Government would not consider any other. That act of the American Minister, according to all reports, was the real cause for the abstention of the Colombian Congress from further action on the subject for the time being.

Now the Treaty of 1846-48 has been made the occasion for the dismemberment of Colombia, and that country, bewildered in the presence of what has taken place, and unable to believe that she has been deluded by the guardian of her birthright, has no other course left but to appeal to the people of the United States and to their undoubted sense of honesty.

RAÚL PÉREZ.

THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART XII.

XXXI.

STRETHER couldn't have said he had during the previous hours definitely expected it; yet when, later on, that morning—though no later indeed than for his coming forth at ten o'clock—he saw the *concierge* produce, on his approach, a *petit bleu* delivered since his letters had been sent up, he recognized the appearance as the first symptom of a sequel. He then knew he had been thinking of some early sign from Chad as more likely, after all, than not; and this would be, precisely, the early sign. He took it so for granted that he opened the *petit bleu* just where he had stopped, in the pleasant cool draught of the *porte-cochère*—only curious to see where the young man would, at such a juncture, break out. His curiosity, however, was more than gratified; the small missive, whose gummed edge he had detached without attention to the address, not being from the young man at all, but from the person whom the case gave him, on the spot, as still more worth while. Worth while or not, he went round to the nearest telegraph-office, the big one on the Boulevard, with a directness that almost confessed to a fear of the danger of delay. He might have been thinking that if he didn't go before he *could* think, he wouldn't perhaps go at all. He at any rate kept, in the lower side-pocket of his morning coat, a very deliberate hand on his blue missive, crumpling it up rather tenderly than harshly. He wrote a reply, on the Boulevard, also in the form of a *petit bleu* —which was quickly done, under pressure of the place, inasmuch as, like Mme. de Vionnet's own communication, it consisted of the fewest words. She had asked him if he could do her the very great kindness of coming to see her that evening at half past nine, and he answered, as if nothing were easier, that he would present himself at the hour she named. She had added a line of postscript, to the effect that she would come to him elsewhere and at his own hour if he preferred; but he took no notice of this, feeling that if he saw her at all half the value of it would be in seeing her where he had already seen her best. He mightn't see her at all; that was one of the reflections he made after writing and before he dropped his

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closed card into the box; he mightn't see any one at all any more at all; he might make an end as well now as ever, leaving things as they were, since he was doubtless not to leave them better, and taking his way home so far as should appear that a home remained to him. This alternative was for a few minutes so sharp that if he at last did deposit his missive it was perhaps because the pressure of the place had an effect.

There was none other, however, than the common and constant pressure, familiar to our friend under the rubric of *Postes et Télégraphes*—the something in the air of these establishments; the vibration of the vast, strange life of the town, the influence of the types, the performers concocting their messages; the little prompt Paris women, arranging, pretexting goodness knew what, driving the dreadful needle-pointed public pen at the dreadful sand-strewn public table: implements that symbolized for Strether's too interpretative innocence something more acute in manners, more sinister in morals, more fierce in the national life. After he had put in his paper, he had ranged himself, he was really amused to think, on the side of the fierce, the sinister, the acute. He was carrying on a correspondence, across the great city, quite in the key of the *Postes et Télégraphes* in general; and it was fairly as if the acceptance of that fact had come from something in his state that sorted with the occupation of his neighbors. He was mixed up with the typical tale of Paris, and so were they, poor things—how could they all together help being? They were no worse than he, in short, and he no worse than they—if, queerly enough, no better; and at all events he had settled his hash, so that he went out to begin, from that moment, his day of waiting. The great settlement was, as he felt, in his preference for seeing his correspondent in her own best conditions. *That* was part of the typical tale, the part most significant in respect to himself. He liked the place she lived in, the picture that, each time, squared itself, large and high and clear, around her: every occasion of seeing it was a pleasure of a different shade. Yet what, precisely, was he doing with shades of pleasure now, and why hadn't he, properly and logically, compelled her to commit herself to whatever of disadvantage and penalty the situation might throw up? He might have proposed, as for Sarah Pocock, the cold hospitality of his own *salon de lecture,* in which the chill of Sarah's visit seemed still to abide and shades of pleasure were dim; he might have suggested a stone bench in the dusty Tuileries or a penny chair at the back part of the Champs Elysées. These things would have been a trifle stern, and sternness alone now wouldn't be sinister. An instinct in him cast about for some form of discipline in which they might meet—some awkwardness they would suffer from, some danger, or at least some grave inconvenience, they would incur. This would give a sense—which the spirit required, rather ached and sighed in the absence of—that somebody was paying something somewhere and somehow, that they were at least not all floating to-

gether on the silver stream of impunity. Just, instead of that, to go and see her late in the evening, as if, for all the world—well, as if he were as much in the swim as anybody else: this had as little as possible in common with the disciplinary form.

Even when he had felt that objection melt away, however, the practical difference was small; the long stretch of his interval took the color it would, and if he lived on thus with the sinister from hour to hour it proved an easier thing than one might have supposed in advance. He reverted in thought to his old tradition, the one he had been brought up on and which even so many years of life had but little worn away; the notion that the state of the wrongdoer, or at least this person's happiness, presented some special difficulty. What struck him now, rather, was the ease of it—for nothing, in truth, appeared easier. It was an ease he himself fairly tasted of for the rest of the day; giving himself quite up; not so much as trying to dress it out, in any particular whatever, as a difficulty; not, after all, going to see Maria—which would have been, in a manner, a result of such dressing; only idling, lounging, smoking, sitting in the shade, drinking lemonade and consuming ices. The day had turned to heat and eventual thunder, and he now and again went back to his hotel to find that Chad had not been there. He had not yet struck himself, since leaving Woollett, so much as a loafer, though there had been times when he believed himself touching bottom. This was a deeper depth than any, and with no foresight, scarcely with a care, as to what he should bring up. He almost wondered if he didn't *look* demoralized and disreputable; he had the fanciful vision, as he sat and smoked, of some accidental, some motived, return of the Pococks, who would be passing along the Boulevard and would catch this view of him. They would have distinctly, on his appearance, every ground for scandal. But fate failed to administer even *that* sternness; the Pococks never passed and Chad made no sign. Strether meanwhile continued to hold off from Miss Gostrey, keeping her till to-morrow; so that by evening his irresponsibility, his impunity, his luxury, had become—there was no other word for them—immense.

Between nine and ten, at last, in the high, clear picture—he was moving in these days, as in a gallery, from clever canvas to clever canvas—he drew a long breath: it was so presented to him from the first that the spell of his luxury wouldn't be broken. He wouldn't have, that is, to become responsible—this was, admirably, in the air: she had sent for him, precisely, to let him feel it, so that he might go on with his comfort—comfort already established, hadn't it been?—of regarding his ordeal, the ordeal of the weeks of Sarah's stay and of their climax, as safely traversed and left behind him. Didn't she just wish to assure him that *she* now took it all and so kept it; that he was absolutely not to worry any more, was only to rest on his laurels and continue generously to help her? The light in her beautiful, formal room was dim, though it would do, as

everything would always do; the hot night had kept out lamps, but there was a pair of clusters of candles that glimmered over the chimney-piece like the tall tapers of an altar. The windows were all open, their redundant hangings swaying a little, and he heard once more, from the empty court, the small plash of the fountain. From beyond this, and as from a great distance—beyond the court, beyond the *corps de logis* forming the front—came, as if excited and exciting, the vague voice of Paris. Strether had all along been subject to sudden gusts of fancy in connection with such matters as these—odd starts of the historic sense, suppositions and divinations with no warrant but their intensity. Thus and so, on the eve of the great recorded dates, the days and nights of revolution, the sounds had come in, the omens, the beginnings broken out. They were the smell of revolution, the smell of the public temper—or perhaps simply the smell of blood.

It was at present queer beyond words, "subtle," he would have risked saying, that such suggestions should keep crossing the scene; but it was doubtless the effect of the thunder in the air, which had hung about all day without release. His hostess was dressed as for thunderous times, and it fell in with the kind of imagination we have just attributed to him that she should be in simplest, coolest white, of a character so old-fashioned, if he were not mistaken, that Madame Roland, on the scaffold, must have worn something like it. This effect was enhanced by a small black fichu, or scarf, of crape or gauze, disposed quaintly round her bosom and now completing, as by a mystic touch, the pathetic, the noble analogy. Poor Strether in fact scarce knew what analogy was evoked for him as the charming woman, receiving him and making him, as she could do such things, at once familiarly and gravely welcome, moved over her great room with her image almost repeated in its polished floor, which had been fully bared for summer. The associations of the place, all felt again; the gleam here and there, in the subdued light, of glass and gilt and parquet, with the quietness of her own note as the centre—these things were at first as delicate as if they had been ghostly, and he was sure in a moment that, whatever he should find he had come for, it wouldn't be for an impression that had previously failed him. That conviction came to him at the outset, and, seeming singularly to simplify, certified to him that the objects about would help him, would really help them both. No, he might never see them again—this was only too probably the last time; and he should certainly see nothing in the least degree like them. He should soon be going to where such things were not, and it would be a small mercy for memory, for fancy, to have, in that stress, a loaf on the shelf. He knew in advance he should look back on the perception actually sharpest with him as on the view of something old, old, old, the oldest thing he had ever personally touched; and he also knew, even while he took his companion in as the feature among features, that memory and fancy couldn't help being

enlisted for her. She might intend what she would, but this was beyond anything she could intend, with things from far back—tyrannies of history, facts of type, values, as the painters said, of expression—all working for her and giving her the supreme chance, the chance of the happy, the really luxurious few, the chance, on a great occasion, to be natural and simple. She had never, with him, been more so; or if it was the perfection of art it would never—and that came to the same thing—be proved against her.

What was truly wonderful was her way of differing so from time to time without detriment to her simplicity. Caprices, he was sure she felt, were before anything else bad manners, and that judgment in her was by itself a thing making more for safety of intercourse than anything that, in his various own past intercourses, he had had to reckon on. If therefore her presence was now quite other than the one she had shown him the night before, there was nothing of violence in the change—it was all harmony and reason. It gave him a mild, deep person, whereas he had had, on the occasion to which their interview was a direct reference, a person committed to movement and surface and abounding in them; but she was, in either character, more remarkable for nothing than for her bridging of intervals, and this now fell in with what he understood he was to leave to her. The only thing was that, if he was to leave it *all* to her, why, exactly, had she sent for him? He had had, vaguely, in advance, his explanation, his view of the probability of her wishing to set something right, to deal in some way with the fraud so lately practised on his presumed credulity. Would she attempt to carry it further, or would she blot it out? Would she throw over it some more or less happy color, or would she do nothing about it at all? He perceived soon enough at least that, however reasonable she might be, she was not vulgarly confused, and it herewith pressed upon him that their eminent "lie," Chad's and hers, was simply, after all, such an inevitable tribute to good taste as he couldn't have wished them not to render. Away from them, during his vigil, he had seemed to wince at the amount of comedy involved; whereas in his present posture he could only ask himself how he should enjoy any attempt from her to take the comedy back. He shouldn't enjoy it at all—but, once more and yet once more, he could trust her. That is he could trust her to make deception right. As she presented things the ugliness—goodness knew why—went out of them; none the less too that she could present them, with an art of her own, by not so much as touching them. She let the matter, at all events, lie where it was—where the previous twenty-four hours had placed it; appearing merely to circle about it respectfully, tenderly, almost piously, while she took up another question.

She knew she hadn't really thrown dust in his eyes; this, the previous night, before they separated, had practically passed between them; and, as she had sent for him to see what the difference thus made for him might amount to, so he was conscious at the end of

five minutes that he had been tried and tested. She had settled with Chad after he left them that she would, for her satisfaction, assure herself of this quantity, and Chad had, as usual, let her have her way. Chad was always letting people have their way when he felt that it would somehow turn his wheel for him; it somehow always did turn his wheel. Strether felt, oddly enough, before these facts, freshly and consentingly passive; they again so rubbed it into him that the couple thus fixing his attention were intimate, that his intervention had absolutely aided and intensified their intimacy, and that, in fine, he must accept the consequence of that. He had absolutely become, himself, with his perceptions and his mistakes, his concessions and his reserves, the funny mixture, as it must seem to them, of his braveries and his fears, the general spectacle of his art and his innocence, almost an added link and certainly a common, priceless ground for them to meet upon. It was as if he had been hearing their very tone when she brought out a reference that was comparatively straight. "The last twice that you've been here, you know, I never asked you," she said with an abrupt transition—they had been pretending, before this, to talk simply of the charm of the day before and of the interest of the country they had seen. The effort was confessedly vain; not for such talk had she invited him; and her impatient reminder was of their having done for it all the needful of his coming to her after Sarah's flight. What she hadn't asked him then was to state to her where and how he stood for her; she had been resting on Chad's report of their midnight hour together in the Boulevard Malesherbes. The thing, therefore, she at present desired was ushered in by this recall of the two occasions on which, disinterested and merciful, she had not worried him. To-night, truly, she *would* worry him, and this was her appeal to him to let her risk it. He was not to mind if she bored him a little: she had behaved, after all, hadn't she? so awfully, awfully well.

XXXII.

"Oh, you're all right, you're all right," he almost impatiently declared; his impatience being moreover not for her pressure, but for her scruple. More and more distinct to him was the tune to which she would have had the matter out with Chad; more and more vivid for him the idea that she had been nervous as to what he could "stand." Yes, it had been a question if he could stand what the scene on the river had given him, and, though the young man had doubtless opined in favor of his recuperation, her own last word had been that she should feel easier in seeing for herself. That was it, unmistakably; she *was* seeing for herself; what he could stand was, in these moments, in the balance for Strether, who reflected, as he became fully aware of it, that he must pull himself up. He wanted fully to appear to stand all he *could* stand; and there was a certain command of the situation for him in this very wish

not to look too much at sea. She was ready with everything, but so, sufficiently, was he; that is he was at one point the more prepared of the two, inasmuch as, for all her cleverness, she couldn't produce on the spot—and it was surprising—an account of the motive of her note. He had the advantage that his pronouncing her "all right" gave him for an inquiry. "May I ask, delighted as I've been to come, if you've wished to say something special?" He spoke as if she might have seen he had been waiting for it—not indeed with discomfort, but with natural interest. Then he saw that she was a little taken aback, was even surprised herself at the detail she had neglected—the only one ever yet; having somehow assumed he would know, would recognize, would leave some things not to be said. She looked at him, however, an instant as if to convey that if he wanted them *all—!*

"Selfish and vulgar—that's what I must seem to you. You've done everything for me, and here I am as if I were asking for more. But it isn't," she declared, "because I'm afraid—though I *am* of course afraid, as a woman in my position always is. I mean it isn't because one lives in terror—it isn't because of *that* one is selfish, for I'm ready to give you my word to-night that I don't care; don't care what still may happen and what I may lose. I don't ask you to raise your little finger for me again, nor do I wish so much as to mention to you what we've talked of before, either my danger or my safety, or his mother, or his sister, or the girl he may marry, or the fortune he may make, or miss, or the right or the wrong, of any kind, he may do. If after the help one has had from you one can't either take care of oneself or simply hold one's tongue, one must renounce all claim to be an object of interest. It's in the name of what I *do* care about that I've tried still to keep hold of you. How can I be indifferent," she asked, "to how I appear to you?" And as he found himself unable immediately to say: "Why, if you're going, *need* you, after all? Is it impossible you should keep on—so that one mayn't lose you?"

"Impossible I should stay with you here instead of going home?"

"Not 'with' us, if you object to that, but near enough to us, somewhere, for us to see you—well," she beautifully brought out, "when we feel we *must*. How shall we not sometimes feel it? I've wanted to see you often when I couldn't," she pursued, "all these last weeks. How sha'n't I then miss you now, with the sense of your being gone forever?" Then as if the straightness of this appeal, taking him unprepared, had visibly left him wondering: "Where *is* your 'home'; moreover, now—what has become of it? I've made a change in your life, I know I have; I've upset everything in your mind as well; in your sense of—what shall I call it?—all the decencies and possibilities. It gives me a kind of detestation—" She pulled up short.

Oh, but he wanted to hear. "Detestation of what?"

"Of everything—of life."

"Ah, that's too much," he laughed—"or too little!"

"Too little, precisely"—she was eager. "What I hate is myself—when I think that one has to take so much, to be happy, out of the lives of others, and that one isn't happy even then. One does it to cheat oneself and to stop one's mouth—but that is only, at the best, for a little. The wretched self is always there, always making one somehow a fresh anxiety. What it comes to is that it's not a happiness, any happiness at all, to take. The only safe thing is to give. It's what plays you least false." Interesting, touching, strikingly sincere as she let these things come from her, she yet puzzled and troubled him—so fine was the quaver of her quietness. He felt what he had felt before with her, that there was always more behind what she showed, and more and more again behind that. "You know so, at least," she added, "where you are!"

"*You* ought to know it indeed then; for isn't what you've been giving exactly what has brought us together this way? You've been making, as I've so fully let you know I've felt," Strether said, "the most precious present I've ever seen made, and if you can't sit down peacefully on that performance, you *are,* no doubt, born to torment yourself. But you ought," he wound up, "to be easy."

"And not trouble you any more, no doubt—not thrust on you even the wonder and the beauty of my achievement; only let you regard our business as done, and well done, and let you depart in a peace that matches my own! No doubt, no doubt, no doubt," she nervously repeated—"all the more that I don't really pretend I believe you couldn't, for yourself, *not* have done what you have. I don't pretend you feel yourself victimized, for this evidently is the way you live, and it's what—we're agreed—is the best way. Yes, as you say," she continued after a moment, "I ought to be easy and rest on my laurels. Well then, here I am, doing so. I *am* easy. You will have it for your last impression. When is it you say you go?" she asked with a quick change.

He took some time to reply—his last impression was, more and more, so mixed a one. It produced in him a vague disappointment, a drop that was deeper even than the fall of his elation the previous night. The good of what he had done, if he had done so much, wasn't there to enliven him quite to the point that would have been ideal for a grand gay finale. Women were thus endlessly absorbent, and to deal with them was to walk on water. What was at bottom the matter with her, embroider as she might and disclaim as she might—what was at bottom the matter with her was simply Chad himself. It was of Chad she was, after all, renewedly afraid; the strange strength of her passion was the very strength of her fear; she clung to *him,* Lambert Strether, as to a source of safety she had tested, and, generous, graceful, truthful as she might try to be, exquisite as she was, she dreaded the term of his being within reach. With this sharpest perception yet, it was like a chill in the air to him, it was almost appalling, that a creature so fine could be, by

mysterious forces, a creature so exploited. For, at the end of all things, they *were* mysterious: she had but made Chad what he was—so why could she think she had made him infinite? She had made him better, she had made him best, she had made him anything one would; but it came to our friend with supreme queerness that he was none the less only Chad. Strether had the sense that *he,* a little, had made him too; his high appreciation had, as it were, consecrated her work. The work, however admirable, was nevertheless of the strict human order, and in short it was marvellous that the companion of mere earthly joys, of comforts, aberrations—however one classed them—within the common experience, should be so transcendently prized. It might have made Strether hot or shy, as such secrets of others, brought home, sometimes do make us; but he was held there by something so hard that it was fairly grim. This was not the discomposure of last night; that had quite passed—such discomposures were a detail; the real coercion was to see a man ineffably adored. There it was again—it took women, it took women; if to deal with them was to walk on water, what wonder that the water rose? And it had never, surely, risen higher than in this woman. He presently found himself taking a long look from her, and the next thing he knew he had uttered all his thought. "You're afraid for your life!"

It drew out her long look, and he soon enough saw why. A spasm came into her face, the tears she had already been unable to hide overflowed at first in silence, and then, as the sound suddenly comes from a child, quickened to gasps, to sobs. She sat and covered her face with her hands, giving up all attempt at a manner. "It's how you see me, it's how you see me"—she caught her breath with it—"and it's as I *am,* and as I must take myself, and of course it's no matter." Her emotion was at first so incoherent that he could only stand there at a loss, stand with his sense of having upset her, though of having done it by the truth. He had to listen to her in a silence that he made no immediate effort to attenuate, feeling her doubly woful amid all her dim, diffused elegance; consenting to it as he had consented to the rest, and even conscious of some vague inward irony in the presence of such a fine, free range of bliss and bale. He couldn't say it was *not* no matter; for he was serving her to the end, he now knew, anyway—quite as if what he thought of her had nothing to do with it. It was actually, moreover, as if he didn't think of her at all, as if he could think of nothing but the passion, mature, abysmal, pitiful, she represented, and the possibilities she betrayed. She was older for him to-night, visibly less exempt from the touch of time; but she was as much as ever the finest and subtlest creature, the happiest apparition, it had been given him, in all his years, to meet; and yet he could see her there as vulgarly troubled, in very truth, as a maidservant crying for her young man. The only thing was that she judged herself as the maidservant wouldn't; the weakness of which wisdom too, the dis-

honor of which judgment, seemed but to sink her lower. Her collapse, however, no doubt, was briefer and she had in a manner recovered herself before he intervened. "Of course, I'm afraid for my life. But that's nothing. It isn't that."

He was silent a little longer, as if thinking what it might be. "There's something I have in mind that I can still do."

But she threw off at last, with a sharp, sad headshake, drying her eyes, what he could still do. "I don't care for that. Of course, as I've said, you're acting, in your wonderful way, for yourself; and what's for yourself is no more my business—though I may reach out unholy hands so clumsily to touch it—than if it were something in Timbuctoo. It's only that you don't snub me, as you've had fifty chances to do—it's only your beautiful patience that makes one forget one's manners. In spite of your patience, all the same," she went on, "you'd do anything rather than be with us here, even if that were possible. You'd do everything for us but be mixed up with us—which is a statement you can easily answer to the advantage of your own manners. You can say 'What's the use of talking of things that at the best are impossible?' What *is,* of course, the use? It's only my little madness. You'd talk if you were tormented. And I don't mean now about *him.* Oh, for him—!" Positively, strangely, bitterly, as it seemed to Strether, she gave "him," for the moment, away. "You don't care what I think of you; but I happen to care what you think of me. And what you *might,*" she added. "What you perhaps even did."

He gained time. "What I did—"

"Did think before. Before this. *Didn't* you think—?"

But he had already stopped her. "I didn't think anything. I never think a step further than I'm obliged to."

"That's perfectly false, I believe," she returned—"except that you may, no doubt, often pull up when things become *too* ugly; or even, I'll say, to save you a protest, too beautiful. At any rate, even so far as it's true, we've thrust on you appearances that you've had to see and that have therefore made your obligation. Ugly or beautiful—it doesn't matter what we call them—you were getting on without them, and that's where we're detestable. We bore you—that's where we are. And we may well—for what we've cost you. All you can do *now* is not to think at all. And I who should have liked to seem to you—well, sublime!"

He could only, after a moment, re-echo Miss Barrace. "You're wonderful!"

"I'm old and abject and hideous"—she went on as without hearing him. "Abject above all. Or old above all. It's when one's old that it's worst. I don't care what becomes of it—let what *will;* there it is. It's a doom—I know it; you can't see it more than I do myself. Things have to happen as they will." With which she came back again to what, face to face with him, had so quite broken down. "Of course you wouldn't, even if possible, and no matter

what may happen to you, be near us. But think of me, think of me—!" She exhaled it into air.

He took refuge in repeating something he had already said and that she had made nothing of. "There's something I believe I can still do. And he put out his hand for good-by.

She again made nothing of it; she went on with her insistence. "That won't help you. There's nothing to help you."

"Well, it may help *you*," he said.

She shook her head. "There's not a grain of certainty in my future; for the only certainty is that I shall be the loser in the end."

She hadn't taken his hand, but she moved with him to the door. "That's cheerful," he laughed, "for your benefactor!"

"What's cheerful for *me*," she replied, "is that we might, you and I, have been friends. That's it—that's it. You see how, as I say, I want everything. I've wanted you too."

"Ah, but you've *had* me!" he declared, at the door, with an emphasis that made an end.

XXXIII.

His purpose had been to see Chad the next day, and he had prefigured seeing him by an early call; having, in general, never stood on ceremony in respect to visits in the Boulevard Malesherbes. It had been more often natural for him to go there than for Chad to come to the small hotel, the attractions of which were scant; yet it nevertheless, at present, at the eleventh hour, did suggest itself to Strether to begin by giving the young man a chance. It struck him that, in the inevitable course, Chad would be "round," as Waymarsh used to say—Waymarsh who already, somehow, seemed long ago. He hadn't come the day before, because it had been arranged between them that Mme. de Vionnet should see their friend first; but now that this passage had taken place he would present himself, and their friend wouldn't have long to wait. Strether assumed, he became aware, on this reasoning, that the interesting parties to the arrangement would have met betimes, and that the more interesting of the two—as she was after all—would have communicated to the other the issue of her appeal. Chad would know without delay that his mother's messenger had been with her, and, though it was perhaps not quite easy to see how she could qualify what had occurred, he would at least have been sufficiently advised to feel he could go on. The day, however, brought, early or late, no word from him, and Strether felt, as a result of this, that a change had practically come over their intercourse. It was perhaps a premature judgment; or it only meant perhaps—how could he tell?—that the wonderful pair he protected had taken up again together the excursion he had accidentally checked. They might have gone back to the country, and gone back but with a long breath drawn; that indeed would best mark Chad's sense that violence had not awaited the presentation of Mme. de Vionnet's plea. At the

end of the twenty-four hours, at the end of the forty-eight, there was still no demonstration; so that Strether filled up the time, as he had so often filled it before, by going to see Miss Gostrey.

He proposed amusements to her; he felt expert now in proposing amusements; and he had thus, for several days, an odd sense of leading her about Paris, of driving her in the Bois, of showing her the penny steamboats—those from which the breeze of the Seine was to be best enjoyed—that might have belonged to a kindly uncle doing the honors of the capital to an intelligent niece from the country. He found means even to take her to shops she didn't know, or that she pretended she didn't; while she, on her side, was, like the country maiden, all passive, modest and grateful—going in fact so far as to emulate rusticity in occasional fatigues and bewilderments. Strether described these vague proceedings to himself, described them even to her, as a happy interlude; the sign of which was that the companions said for the time no further word about the matter they had talked of to satiety. He proclaimed satiety at the outset, and she quickly took the hint, as docile both in this and in everything else as the intelligent, obedient niece. He told her as yet nothing of his late adventure—for as an adventure it now ranked with him; he pushed the whole business temporarily aside and found his interest in the fact of her beautiful assent. She left questions unasked—she who for so long had been all questions; she gave herself up to him with an understanding of which mere mute gentleness might have seemed the sufficient expression. She knew his sense of his situation had taken still another step—of that he was quite aware; but she conveyed that, whatever had thus happened for him, it was thrown into the shade by what was happening for herself. This—though it mightn't to a detached spirit have seemed much—was the major interest, and she met it with a new directness of response, measuring it from hour to hour with her grave hush of acceptance. Touched as he had so often been by her before, he was, for his part too, touched afresh; all the more that, though he could be duly aware of the principle of his own mood, he couldn't be equally so of the principle of hers. He knew, that is, in a manner—knew roughly and resignedly—what he himself was hatching; whereas he had to take the chance of what he called to himself Maria's calculations. It was all he needed that she liked him enough for what they were doing, and even should they do a good deal more would still like him enough for that; the essential freshness of a relation so simple was a cool bath to the soreness produced by other relations. These others appeared to him now horribly complex; they bristled with fine points, points all unimaginable beforehand, points that pricked and drew blood; a fact that gave to an hour with his present friend on a *bateau-mouche,* or in the afternoon shade of the Champs Elysées, something of the innocent pleasure of handling rounded ivory. His relation with Chad personally—from the moment he had got his point of view—had been of the simplest; yet

this also struck him as bristling after a third and a fourth blank day had passed. It was as if, at last, however, his care for such indications had dropped; there came a fifth blank day, and he ceased to inquire or to heed.

They now took on to his fancy, Miss Gostrey and he, the image of the Babes in the Wood; they could trust the merciful elements to let them continue at peace. He had been great already, as he knew, at postponements; but he had only to get afresh into the rhythm of one to feel its fine attraction. It amused him to say to himself that he might, for all the world, have been going to die—die resignedly; the scene was filled for him with so deep a death-bed hush, so melancholy a charm. That meant the postponement of everything else—which made so for the quiet lapse of life; and the postponement in especial of the reckoning to come—unless indeed the reckoning to come were to be one and the same thing with extinction. It faced him, the reckoning, over the shoulder of much interposing experience—which also faced him; and one would float to it, doubtless, duly, through these caverns of Kublai Khan. It was really behind everything; it hadn't merged in what he had done; his final appreciation of what he had done—his appreciation on the spot—would provide it with its main sharpness. The spot, so focussed, was of course Woollett, and he was to see, at the best, what Woollett would be with everything there changed for him. Wouldn't *that* revelation practically amount to the wind-up of his career? Well, the summer's end would show; his suspense had meanwhile exactly the sweetness of vain delay; and he had with it, we should mention, other pastimes than Maria's company—plenty of separate musings in which his luxury failed him but at one point. He was well in port, the outer sea behind him, and it was only a matter of going ashore; there was a question that came and went for him, however, as he rested against the side of his ship, and it was a little to get rid of the obsession that he prolonged his hours with Miss Gostrey. It was a question about himself, but it could only be settled by seeing Chad again; it was indeed his principal reason for wanting to see Chad. After that it wouldn't signify—it was a ghost that certain words would easily lay to rest. Only the young man must be there to take the words. Once they were taken, he wouldn't have a question left; none, that is, in connection with this particular affair. It wouldn't then matter even to himself that he might now have been guilty of speaking *because* of what he had forfeited. That was the refinement of his supreme scruple—he wished so to leave what he had forfeited out of account. He wished not to do anything because he had missed something else, because he was sore or sorry or impoverished, because he was maltreated or desperate; he wished to do everything because he was lucid and quiet, just the same for himself on all essential points as he had ever been. Thus it was that, while he virtually hung about for Chad, he kept mutely putting it, "You've been chucked, old boy;

but what has that to do with it?" It would have sickened him to feel vindictive.

These shades indeed were doubtless but the iridescence of his idleness, and they were presently lost in a new light from Maria. She had a fresh fact for him before the week was out, and she practically met him with it on his appearing one night. He had not on this day seen her, but had planned presenting himself in due course to ask her to dine with him somewhere out-of-doors. It had then come on to rain, so that, disconcerted, he changed his mind; dining alone at home, a little stuffily and stupidly, and waiting on her afterwards to make up his loss. He was sure within a minute that something had happened; it was so in the air of the rich little room that he had scarcely to name his thought. Softly lighted, the whole color of the place, with its vague values, was in cool fusion—an effect that made the visitor stand for a little agaze. It was as if in doing so now he had felt a recent presence—his recognition of the passage of which his hostess in turn divined. She had scarcely to say it—"Yes, she has been here, and this time I received her." It was not till a minute later that she added: "There being, as I understand you, no reason *now*—!"

"None for your refusing?"

"No—if you've done what you've had to do."

"I've certainly so far done it," Strether said, "as that you needn't fear the effect, or the appearance, of coming between us. There's nothing between us now but what we ourselves have put there, and not an inch of room for anything else whatever. Therefore you're only beautifully *with* us as always—though doubtless now, if she has talked to you, rather more with us than less. Of course if she came," he added, "it was to talk to you."

"It was to talk to me," Maria returned; on which he was further sure that she was practically in possession of what he himself had not yet told her. He was even sure she was in possession of things he himself couldn't have told; for the consciousness of them was now all in her face and accompanied there with a shade of sadness that marked in her the close of all uncertainties. It came out for him more than ever yet that she had had from the first a knowledge she believed him not to have had, a knowledge the sharp acquisition of which might be destined to make a difference for him. The difference for him might not inconceivably be an arrest of his independence and a chance in his attitude—in other words, a revulsion in favor of the principles of Woollett. She had really prefigured the possibility of a shock that would send him swinging back to Mrs. Newsome. He had not, it was true, week after week, shown signs of receiving it, but the possibility had been none the less in the air. What Maria, accordingly, had had now to take in was that the shock had descended, and that he hadn't, all the same, swung back. He had grown clear, in a flash, on a point long since settled for herself; but no reapproximation to Mrs. Newsome had occurred in conse-

quence. Mme. de Vionnet had by her visit held up the torch to these truths, and what now lingered in poor Maria's face was the somewhat smoky light of the scene between them. If the light, however, was not, as we have hinted, the glow of joy, the reasons for this also were perhaps discernible to Strether even through the blur cast over them by his natural modesty. She had held herself for months with a firm hand; she had not interfered on any chance —and chances were specious enough—that she might interfere to her profit. She had turned her back on the dream that Mrs. Newsome's rupture, their friend's forfeiture—the engagement, the relation itself, broken beyond all mending—might furnish forth her advantage; and, to stay her hand from promoting these things, she had, on private, passionate lines, played strictly fair. She couldn't therefore but feel that, though, as the end of all, the facts in question had been stoutly confirmed, her ground for personal, for what might have been called interested, elation remained rather vague. Strether might easily have made out that she had been asking herself, in the hours she had just sat through, if there were still for her, or were only not, a fair shade of uncertainty. Let us hasten to add, however, that what he at first made out on this occasion he also at first kept to himself. He only asked what in particular Mme. de Vionnet had come for; and as to this his companion was ready.

"She wants tidings of Mr. Newsome, whom she appears not to have seen for some days."

"Then she has not been away with him again?"

"She seemed to think," Maria answered, "that he might have gone away with *you*."

"And did you tell her I know nothing of him?"

She had her indulgent headshake. "I've known nothing of what you know. I could only tell her I would ask you."

"Then I've not seen him for a week—and of course I've wondered." His wonderment showed at this moment as confirmed, but he presently went on. "Still, I dare say I can put my hand on him. Did she strike you," he asked, "as anxious?"

"She's always anxious."

"After all I've done for her?" And he had one of the last flickers of his occasional mild mirth. "To think that that was just what I came out to prevent!"

She took it up but to reply. "You don't regard him then as safe?"

"I was just going to ask you how, in that respect, you regard Mme. de Vionnet."

She looked at him a little. "What woman was *ever* safe? She told me," she added—and it was as if at the touch of the connection—"of your extraordinary meeting in the country. After that *à quoi se fier?*"

"It was, as an accident, in all the possible or impossible chapter," Strether conceded, "amazing enough. But still, but still—"

"But still she didn't mind?"

"She doesn't mind anything."

"Well then, as you don't either, we may all sink to rest!"

He appeared to agree with her, but he had his reservation. "I do mind Chad's disappearance."

"Oh, you'll get him back. But now you know," she said, "why I went to Mentone." He had sufficiently let her see that he had by this time gathered things together, but there was nature in her wish to make them clearer still. "I didn't want you to put it to me."

"To put it to you—?"

"The question of what you were at last—a week ago—to see for yourself. I didn't want to have to lie for her. I felt that to be too much for me. A man of course is always expected to do it—to do it, I mean, for a woman; but not a woman for another woman; unless perhaps on the tit-for-tat principle, as an indirect way of protecting herself. I don't need protection, so that I was free to 'funk' you—simply to dodge your test. The responsibility was too much for me. I gained time, and when I came back the need of a test had blown over."

Strether serenely recovered it. "Yes; when you came back little Bilham had shown me what's expected of a man. Little Bilham had lied like one."

"And like what had you believed him?"

"Well," said Strether, "it was but a technical lie—he classed the attachment as virtuous. That was a view for which there was much to be said—and the virtue came out for me hugely. There was of course a great deal. I got it full in the face, and I haven't, you see, done with it yet."

"What I see, what I saw," Maria returned, "is that you dressed up even the virtue. You were wonderful—you were beautiful, as I've had the honor of telling you before; but, if you wish really to know," she sadly confessed, "I never quite knew *where* you were. There were moments," she explained, "when you struck me as superbly cynical; there were others when you struck me as sublimely vague."

Her friend considered. "I had phases. I had flights."

"Yes, but things must have a basis."

"A basis seemed to me just what her beauty supplied."

"Her beauty—?"

"Well, I can't call it anything else. The impression she makes. She has such variety, and yet such harmony."

She considered him with one of her deep returns of indulgence—returns out of all proportion to the irritations they flooded over. "You're magnificent."

"You're always too personal," he good-humoredly said; "but that then is where I was."

"If you mean," she went on, "that she was, from the first, for

you, the most charming woman in the world, nothing is more simple. Only that was an odd foundation."

"For what I reared on it?"

"For what you didn't!"

"Well, it was all not a fixed quantity. And it had for me—it has still—such elements of strangeness. Her greater age than his, her different world, traditions, associations; her other opportunities, liabilities, standards."

His friend listened with respect to his enumeration of these disparities; then she disposed of them at a stroke. "Those things are nothing when a woman is taken. And she was taken."

Strether, on his side, did justice to that plea. "Oh, of course I saw she was taken. That she was taken was what we were busy with; that she was taken was our great affair. But somehow I couldn't think of her as down in the dust. And as put there by Chad!"

"Yet wasn't Chad just your miracle?"

Strether admitted it. "Of course I moved among miracles. It was all phantasmagoric. But the great fact was that so much of it was none of my business—as I saw my business. It isn't even now."

His companion turned away on this, and it might well have been yet again with the sharpness of a fear of how little his philosophy could bring her personally. "I wish *she* could hear you!"

"Mrs. Newsome?"

"No—not Mrs. Newsome; since I understand you that it doesn't matter now what Mrs. Newsome hears. Hasn't she heard everything?"

"Practically—yes." He had thought a moment, but he went on. "You wish Mme. de Vionnet could hear me?"

"Mme. de Vionnet." She had come back to him. "She thinks just the contrary of what you say. That you judge her."

He turned over the scene as the two women thus placed together for him seemed to give it. "She might have known—!"

"Might have known you don't?" Miss Gostrey asked as he let it drop. "She was sure of it at first," she pursued as he said nothing; "she took it for granted, at least, as any woman in her position would. But after that she changed her mind; she believed you believed—"

"Well?"—he was curious.

"Why, in her sublimity. And that belief had remained with her, I make out, till the accident of the other day opened your eyes. For that it did," said Maria, "open them—"

"She can't help"—he had taken it up—"being aware? No," he mused, "I suppose she thinks of that even yet."

"Then they *were* closed? There you are! However, if you still see her as the most charming woman in the world, it comes to the same thing. And if you'd like me to tell her that you do still so see

her—!" Miss Gostrey, in short, offered herself for service to the end.

It was an offer he could weigh; but he decided. "She knows perfectly how I see her."

"Not favorably enough, she mentioned to me, to wish ever to see her again. She told me you had taken a final leave of her. She says you've done with her."

"So I have."

Maria had a pause; then she spoke as if for conscience. "She wouldn't have done with *you*. She feels she has lost you—yet that she might have been better for you."

"Oh, she has been quite good enough!" Strether laughed.

"She thinks you and she might at any rate have been friends."

"We might certainly. That's just"—he continued to laugh—"why I'm going."

It was as if Maria could feel with this then, at last, that she had done her best for each. But she had still an idea. "Shall I tell her that?"

"No. Tell her nothing."

"Very well, then." To which, in the next breath, Miss Gostrey added: "Poor dear thing!"

Her friend wondered; then with raised eyebrows: "Me?"

"Oh, no. Marie."

He accepted the correction, but he wondered still. "Are you so sorry for her as that?"

It made her think a moment—made her even speak with a smile. But she didn't really retract. "I'm sorry for us all!"

XXXIV.

He had, however, within two days, another report to make. He had sent her a word early, by hand, to ask if he might come to breakfast; in consequence of which, at noon, she awaited him in the cool shade of her little Dutch-looking dining-room. This retreat was at the back of the house, with a view of a scrap of old garden that had been saved from modern ravage; and though he had on more than one other occasion had his legs under its small and peculiarly polished table of hospitality, the place had never before struck him as so sacred to pleasant knowledge, to intimate charm, to antique order, to a neatness that was almost august. To sit there was, as he had told her before, to see life reflected for the time in ideally kept pewter; which was somehow becoming, improving to life, so that one's eyes were held and comforted. Strether's were comforted, at all events, now—and the more that it was the last time—with the charming effect, on the board bare of a cloth and proud of its perfect surface, of the small old crockery and old silver, matched by the more substantial pieces happily disposed about the room. The specimens of vivid Delf, in particular, had the dignity

of family portraits; and it was in the midst of them that our friend resignedly expressed himself. He spoke even with a certain philosophic humor. "There's nothing more to wait for; I seem to have done a good day's work. I've let them have it all round. I've seen Chad, who has been to London and come back. He tells me I'm 'exciting,' and I seem indeed pretty well to have upset every one. I've at any rate excited *him*. He's distinctly restless."

"You've excited *me*," Miss Gostrey smiled. "*I'm* distinctly restless."

"Oh, you were that when I found you. It seems to me I've rather got you out of it. What's this," he asked as he looked about him, "but perfect peace?"

"I wish with all my heart," she presently replied, "I could make you find it so"; and they faced each other on it, across the table, as if things unuttered were in the air.

Strether seemed, in his way, when he next spoke, to take some of them up. "It wouldn't give me—that would be the trouble—what it will, no doubt, still give you. I'm not," he explained, leaning back in his chair, but with his eyes on a small ripe round melon—"in real harmony with what surrounds me. You *are*. I take it too hard. You *don't*. It makes—that's what it comes to in the end—a fool of me." Then at a tangent, "What has he been doing in London?" he demanded.

"Ah, one may go to London," Maria laughed. "You know *I* did."

"Yes"—he took the reminder. "And you brought *me* back." He brooded there opposite to her, but without gloom. "Whom has Chad brought? He's full of ideas. And I wrote to Sarah," he added, "the first thing this morning. So I'm square. I'm ready for them."

She neglected certain parts of this speech in the interest of others. "She said to me the other day that she felt him to have the makings of an immense man of business."

"There it is. He's the son of his father!"

"But *such* a father!"

"Ah, just the right one, from that point of view! But it isn't his father in him," Strether added, "that troubles me."

"What is it then?" He came back to his breakfast; he partook presently of the charming melon, which she liberally cut for him; and it was only after this that he met her question. Then, moreover, it was but to remark that he would answer her presently. She waited, she watched, she served him and amused him, and it was perhaps with this last idea that she soon reminded him of his having never even yet named to her the article produced at Woollett. "Do you remember our talking of it in London—that night at the play?" Before he could say yes, however, she had put it to him for other matters. Did he remember, did he remember—this and that of their first days? He remembered everything, bringing up with humor even things of which she professed no recollection,

things she vehemently denied; and falling back above all on the great interest of their early time, the curiosity felt by both of them as to where he would "come out." They had so assumed it was to be in some wonderful place—they had thought of it as so very *much* out. Well, that was doubtless what it had been—since he had come out just there. He was out, in truth, as far as it was possible to be, and must now rather bethink himself of getting in again. He found on the spot the image of his recent history; he was like one of the figures of the old clock at Berne. *They* came out, on one side, at their hour, jigged along their little course in the public eye, and went in on the other side. He too had jigged his little course—him too a modest retreat awaited. He offered now, should she really like to know, to name the great product of Woollett. It would be a great commentary on everything. At this she stopped him off; she not only had no wish to know, but she wouldn't know for the world. She had done with the products of Woollett—for all the good she had got from them. She desired no further news of them, and she mentioned that Mme. de Vionnet herself had, to her knowledge, lived exempt from the information he was ready to supply. She had never consented to receive it, though she would have taken it, under stress, from Mrs. Pocock. But it was a matter about which Mrs. Pocock appeared to have had little to say—never sounding the word—and it didn't signify now. There was nothing, clearly, for Maria Gostrey that signified now—save one sharp point, that is, to which she came in time. "I don't know whether it's before you as a possibility that, left to himself, Mr. Chad may, after all, go back. I judge that it *is* more or less so before you, from what you just now said of him."

Her guest had his eyes on her, kindly but attentively, as if foreseeing what was to follow this. "I don't think it will be for the money." And then as she seemed uncertain: "I mean that he'll give her up."

"Then he *will* give her up?"

Strether waited a moment, rather slow and deliberate now, drawing out a little this last soft stage, pleading with her in various suggestive and unspoken ways for patience and understanding. "What were you just about to ask me?"

"Is there anything he can do that would make you patch it up?"

"With Mrs. Newsome?"

Her assent, as if she had had a delicacy about sounding the name, was only in her face; but she added with it: "Or is there anything he can do that would make *her* try it?"

"To patch it up with me?" His answer came at last in a conclusive headshake. "There's nothing any one can do. It's over. Over for both of us."

Maria wondered, seemed a little to doubt. "Are you so sure for her?"

"Oh yes—sure now. Too much has happened. I'm different for her."

"I see. So that as she's different for *you*—"

"Ah, but," he interrupted, "she's not." And as Miss Gostrey wondered again: "She's the same. She's more than ever the same. But I do what I didn't before—I *see* her."

He spoke gravely and as if responsibly—since he had to pronounce; and the effect of it was slightly solemn, so that she simply exclaimed "Oh!" Satisfied and grateful, however, she showed in her own next words an acceptance of his statement. "What then do you go home to?"

He had pushed his plate a little away, occupied with another side of the matter; taking refuge, in fact, in that side and feeling so moved that he soon found himself on his feet. He was affected in advance by what he believed might come from her, and he would have liked to forestall it and deal with it tenderly; yet in the presence of it he wished still more to be—though as smoothly as possible—deterrent and conclusive. He put her question by for the moment; he told her more about Chad. "It would have been impossible to meet me more than he did last night on the question of the infamy of not sticking to her."

"Is that what you called it for him—'infamy'?"

"Oh, rather! I described to him in detail the base creature he'd be, and he quite agrees with me about it."

"So that it's really as if you had nailed him?"

"Quite really as if—! I told him I should curse him."

"Oh," she smiled, "you *have* done it." And then having thought again: "You *can't* after that propose—!" Yet she scanned his face.

"Propose again to Mrs. Newsome?"

She hesitated afresh, but she brought it out. "I've never believed, you know, that you did propose. I always believed it was really she—and, so far as that goes, I can understand it. What I mean is," she explained, "that with such a spirit—the spirit of curses!—your breach is past mending. She has only to know what you've done to him never again to raise a finger."

"I've done," said Strether, "what I could—one can't do more. He protests his devotion and his horror. But I'm not sure I've saved him. He protests too much. He asks how one can dream of his being tired. But he has all life before him."

Maria saw what he meant. "He's formed to please."

"And it's our friend who has formed him." Strether felt in it the strange irony.

"So it's scarcely his fault!"

"It's at any rate his danger. I mean," said Strether, "it's hers. But she knows it."

"Yes, she knows it. And is your idea," Miss Gostrey asked, "that there was some other woman in London?"

"Yes. No. That is I *have* no ideas. I'm afraid of them. I've done with them." And he put out his hand to her. "Good-by."

It brought her back to her unanswered question. "To what do you go home?"

"I don't know. There will always be something."

"To a great difference," she said as she kept his hand.

"No doubt. But I shall see what I can make of it."

"Shall you make anything so good—?" As if remembering what Mrs. Newsome had done, it was as far as she went.

But he had sufficiently understood. "So good as this place at this moment? So good as what *you* make of everything you touch?" He took a minute to say, for, really and truly, what stood about him there in her offer—which was as the offer of exquisite service, of lightened care, for the rest of his days—might well have tempted. It built him softly round, it roofed him warmly over, it rested, all so firm, on selection. And what ruled selection was beauty and knowledge. It was awkward, it was almost stupid, not to seem to prize such things; yet, none the less, so far as they made his opportunity, they made it only for a moment. She would moreover understand—she always understood.

That indeed might be, but meanwhile she was going on. "There's nothing, you know, I wouldn't do for you."

"Oh yes—I know."

"There's nothing," she repeated, "in all the world."

"I know. I know. But all the same I must go." He had got it at last. "To be right."

"To be right?"

She had echoed it in vague deprecation, but he felt it already clear for her. "That, you see, is my only logic. Not, out of the whole affair, to have got anything for myself."

She thought. "But, with your wonderful impressions, you'll have got a great deal."

"A great deal"—he agreed. "But nothing like *you*. It's you who would make me wrong!"

Honest and fine, she couldn't pretend she didn't see it. Still, she could pretend a little. "But why should you be so dreadfully right?"

"That's the way that—if I must go—you yourself would be the first to want me. And I can't do anything else."

So then she had to take it, though still with her defeated protest. "It isn't so much your *being* 'right'—it's your horrible sharp eye for what makes you so."

"Oh, but you're just as bad yourself. You can't resist me when I point that out."

She sighed it at last all comically, all tragically, away. "I can't indeed resist you."

"Then, there we are!" said Strether.

THE END.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

THE RT. HON. SIR JOHN E. GORST, M.P.,
has represented Cambridge University in Parliament for a number of years. He has long been prominent in British politics and has filled with distinction important positions in the public service. He was educated at Cambridge University and became barrister of the Inner Temple in 1865. In 1885-86, he was Solicitor-General, from 1886 to 1891 Under-Secretary for India, and in 1891-92 Financial Secretary to the Treasury. From 1888 to 1891, he was Deputy Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons, and from 1895 to 1902, he was Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. He was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow for the term 1893-94. He was the British Plenipotentiary at the Labor Conference in Berlin in 1890.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN
has travelled in almost every quarter of the globe and given to the world the results of his observations and his reflections in a goodly library of most interesting and instructive volumes. In 1871, in his twenty-third year, he obtained an appointment in the Indian Public Works Department, and in 1879 he became secretary and second in command of the Government Mission to Siam and the Siamese Shan States. In 1881-82 he was engaged in exploring the region between Canton and Bhamo with a view to determining the best route for connecting Burmah and China by railway, and he was correspondent for *The Times* during the Franco-Chinese war in 1883-84. From 1885 to 1889, he was Deputy-Commissioner of Upper Burmah, and in 1890 he became Administrator of Mashonaland. In 1895, he visited Central America to examine the Nicaragua and Panama canal routes, and he went to China in the following year in connection with negotiations for railways. In 1898-99, he travelled through Siberia, Eastern Mongolia, and traversed China from north to south, and a year later he journeyed through the Dutch East Indies, Borneo, the Philippines, and Japan,

returning to England by way of Siberia. Among Mr. Colquhoun's writings are "Across Chrysê," "Amongst the Shans," "China in Transformation," "The Mastery of the Pacific," "The Renascence of South Africa," and "Russia against India."

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON

is David A. Wells Professor of Political Science in Williams College, where he received his education. He was admitted to the bar in 1869. In 1878 he went to Washington as correspondent of the *Boston Post,* and after serving that paper in that capacity for seven years, he became its editor-in-chief. From 1894 to 1898 he edited *Harper's Weekly.* He is the author of a number of well-known books, including "Our Unjust Tariff Law" and "The Money we Need."

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND,

a member of a distinguished German family, was born in Dresden in 1851. Having served in the German army throughout the Franco-German war, he came to the United States in 1872 and applied himself to journalistic work, in the course of which he formed connections with a number of prominent papers in New York, St. Louis and Chicago. In 1886, he went to Teheran, as secretary to General F. H. Winston, who had been appointed United States Minister to Persia. From 1894 to 1901, he was chief correspondent in Berlin for the Associated Press.

R. H. STODDARD,

who died only a few weeks ago, was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1825. He began life as an iron-moulder, but his taste for literary work soon asserted itself and he became a contributor to papers and periodicals. He held a position in the Custom-house in New York from 1853 to 1870, and during the last ten years of that period he was literary reviewer for the New York *World.* In 1880 he was appointed literary editor of the *Mail and Express.* His poems include "Songs in Summer," "The King's Bell," "The Book of the East," and "Lion's Cub."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. H. CARTER, U.S.A.,

was born in Nashville, Tennessee. For twenty-four years after graduating at the United States Military Academy, he was in active service on the frontier. His first experience was with the 8th Infantry, which he joined, as second lieutenant, in 1873. In 1874 he was transferred to the 6th

Cavalry, and in 1879 he was promoted to be first lieutenant and regimental quartermaster. He was advanced to the command of a company in the 6th Cavalry in 1889, and he received his majority in 1897, when he was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of the United States Army. Colonel Carter holds a medal of honor which was awarded to him for distinguished bravery in action against the Apache Indians at Cibicu Creek, Arizona, on the 30th of August, 1881. He is the author of "Horses, Saddles and Bridles," "An Historical Sketch of the 6th United States Cavalry" and "From Yorktown to Santiago."

JAMES P. KIMBALL

was educated at the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard, at the University of Berlin and Göttingen, and at the Freiburg School of Mining. He was geologist to the Wisconsin and Illinois State Geological Surveys, and after a short tenure of the chair of Chemistry and Economic Geology in the New York Agricultural College at Ovid, he resigned it in 1862 to take command of a company in a regiment of volunteers. On his return from the front, he resumed his mining practice in New York. For eleven years, 1874-1885, he was Honorary Professor of Geology in Lehigh University, and from 1885 to 1888 he was Director of the Mint. With his sons he has a large ranch and stock interests adjacent to the recently created Yellowstone Forest Reserve in Big Horn County, Wyoming. He has had wide experience in forestry reservation matters.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD

is an English writer who has made a special study of national and international naval affairs.

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.,

was born in Scotland in 1856 of working-class parents. He worked in the mines from his seventh to his twenty-fourth year, when he was elected Secretary to the Lanarkshire Miners' Union. From 1882 to 1886 he edited the *Cumnock News*. In 1888 he made an unsuccessful attempt to enter Parliament, but he was elected in 1892. He has represented Merthyr Tydvil in the House of Commons since 1900.

MRS. KATE TRIMBLE WOOLSEY

belongs to an old and distinguished family of Kentucky, many members of which served their State and nation acceptably in positions of honor and responsibility.

Luigi Luzzatti

is a Deputy of the Italian Chamber. Since 1869, when he became General Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, he has been the leading spirit in all Italian fiscal reforms, and the principal negotiator of treaties of commerce. To him is due the commercial convention of 1898 between Italy and France which put an end to years of friction and prepared the way for a political peace between these two nations. He was Minister of the Treasury from February, 1891, to March, 1892, and from July, 1896, to June, 1898.

Lord North,

the great-grandson of the statesman who was Prime Minister of England when the American Colonies declared their independence of the British Crown, was born in 1836, and was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. In his biographical sketch of his famous ancestor, he inserts a number of letters from Lord North to his father, the Earl of Guilford, which have never before been given to the public.

Lieut.-Colonel James Parker, U.S.A.,

was born in 1854 and graduated from West Point in 1876. He served with the Fourth Cavalry, in the Indian country, until 1894, when he became Instructor of Cavalry at West Point. He served as Lieut.-Colonel of the 12th New York Volunteers at Chickamauga, and Cuba in 1898 and 1899, and as Lieut.-Colonel of the 45th United States Volunteers in the Philippines from 1899 to 1901, being on the staff of Major-General Young in the pursuit of Aguinaldo. He was recommended for brevet for gallantry in action at San Mateo, August 12th, 1899, at Manaog, November 14th, 1899, and at Vigan, December 4th, 1899, receiving a Medal of Honor for bravery in the last-named action. Since 1901, he has been on duty in the Adjutant-General's Office, being now in charge of the Division of Militia Affairs.

John J. Esch

represents the seventh district of Wisconsin in Congress. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1882, and took his degree in law in 1887. He has been personally interested for years in the affairs of the National Guard. For some time he commanded a company in the third regiment of the Wisconsin National Guard, and in 1894 he was appointed Judge-Advocate-General.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

WILLIAM A. NASH,

began to work in the Corn Exchange Bank, New York, of which he is now President, forty-eight years ago. He has served several times as Chairman of the Clearing-House Committee, and he was President of the Clearing-House in 1895. He holds a foremost place in conservative banking, but does not lack originality, one evidence of which has been the development of the branch banking system, of which his institution is now the most successful exponent.

JAMES H. ECKELS,

who has been President of the Commercial National Bank of Chicago since the beginning of 1898, was born in Princeton, Illinois. He was originally educated for the law, which he studied in the Albany (New York) Law School and practised in Ottawa, Illinois, from 1891 to 1893. In the latter year he was appointed by President Cleveland Controller of the Currency. In the discussion on the currency question which preceded and followed the nomination of Mr. Bryan by the Democratic Convention in 1896, he became prominent as an advocate of the gold standard.

STEPHEN BONSAL

was born in the Old Dominion. He was educated at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, and at Göttingen and Heidelberg in Germany. He served as special correspondent for *The New York Herald* in Venezuela during the recent blockade of that country, in the Bulgarian-Servian war, also in Macedonia, in Morocco, in Cuba, and in the Far East.

HENDERSON M. SOMERVILLE

is a native of Virginia, and a graduate of the University of Alabama and of the Cumberland Law School. He has received the honorary degree of LL.D. from a number of the Southern universities. He edited the *Memphis* (Tennessee) *Appeal* from 1859 to 1862, and from 1862 to 1865 was Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Languages in the University of Alabama. When a law school was established in that institution in 1873, he was appointed Professor of Constitutional, Common, and Statute Law, and he occupied that chair until 1880, when he was elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court of the State. For several years he has

been Chairman of the National Board of Customs Appraisers.

EDITH WHARTON,

the successful novelist, was born in New York City. She comes of Revolutionary stock, being descended from General Ebenezer Stevens, who was one of the "Boston Tea Party," fought throughout the War of the Revolution, and was in command of the American artillery during the siege of Yorktown. Her first book, "The Greater Inclination," appeared in 1899, and since then she has published "The Touchstone," "Crucial Instances," and "The Valley of Decision."

J. R. BURTON

was educated in Franklin College and De Pauw University, and was admitted to the bar in 1875. He served three terms in the Kansas Legislature, and was a member of the Kansas Commission to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. He was elected a member of the United States Senate in 1901.

EUGENE T. CHAMBERLAIN,

a native of Albany, New York, and a graduate of Harvard, was engaged for a number of years in newspaper work, as associate-editor of the *Albany Journal*, editor of the *Albany Argus*, and political correspondent at Albany for Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington papers. In December, 1893, he was appointed United States Commissioner of Navigation, and he has published a number of important reports on navigation and shipping legislation.

FANNIE H. GAFFNEY

has travelled extensively in Europe and America. She was a representative from the United States at the International Congress of Women which was held in London in June, 1899. She has long been interested in matters pertaining to the advancement and higher education of women, on which she has written for some of the leading English and American periodicals. Since 1899, she has been president of the National Council of Women of the United States.

CHARLES JOHNSTON

was born in Ballykilbeg, County Down, Ireland, in 1867, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. For several years he was Assistant and, later, Deputy Magistrate at Murshidabad, in Lower Bengal, and afterwards at Cuttack, in the District of Orissa. In 1891, he returned to England from India, and

spent the subsequent four years on the Continent, travelling in Belgium, Holland, Germany, Russia, Austria, and France. Since 1896, he has resided in the United States. Mr. Johnston is the author of a large number of works on many subjects, among them being a volume entitled "Ireland, Historical and Picturesque." He was recently elected first President of the Irish Literary Society of New York.

ALFRED G. MAYER

received the degree of Mechanical Engineer from Stevens Institute of Technology in 1889, and Doctor of Science from Harvard University in 1897. He was assistant in charge of Corals, Echinoderms, etc., at the Museum of Comparative Zoology in Harvard University from 1895 to 1900, and since the latter year he has been Curator of Natural Sciences in the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. He accompanied Dr. Alexander Agassiz upon several expeditions for the study of the coral reefs of Australia, Fiji, the tropical Pacific islands, and the Bahamas.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD

is an English writer who has made a special study of national and international naval affairs. For ten years he resided in Plymouth, during which he was intimately associated with the fleet. For six years he was in editorial control of the *Naval and Military Record*, the weekly paper most widely read on the ships of the British navy. While travelling in Europe and during the stay of foreign ships in British waters, he has seen much of other fleets, especially those of Germany, Japan, Russia, and the United States.

FRANK B. TRACY

is a journalist, who was born and educated in Iowa. He has been led by circumstances to make a study of sociological and political movements, especially of such aspects of them as Socialism and Populism. He was located for some time in the northern part of North Dakota near the Manitoba line, and there he came into contact with the American-Canadian question in various phases. He also got glimpses of pioneer life which he has embodied in a number of stories published from time to time in the magazines. He is now a member of the staff of the *Boston Transcript*.

C. F. THWING

is a native of New Sharon, in the State of Maine. After preparatory studies at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., he went to Harvard, where he graduated in 1876, and, having

completed a theological course at the Andover Theological Seminary, which subsequently conferred upon him the degrees of D.D. and LL.D., he was ordained to the ministry of the Congregational Church, in whose service he occupied pastorates in Cambridge, Mass., and Minneapolis, Minn. In 1890 he was appointed President of the Western Reserve University and Adelbert College, in Cleveland, Ohio. Dr. Thwing has published a large number of works on subjects connected with college education, among them being "American Colleges: Their Students and Work," "Within College Walls," "The College Woman," "The American College in American Life," and "College Administration."

James Gustavus Whiteley

has made a specialty of international law and diplomatic history, and has contributed articles, chiefly on those subjects, to the American magazines and newspapers, as well as to English, French, and Belgian reviews. In 1897, upon nomination by the late Duc de Broglie, he was elected a member of *La Société d'Histoire Diplomatique*. He was one of the few foreigners honored by an invitation to the coronation of Queen Wilhelmina. On several occasions Mr. Whiteley has been appointed official delegate of this Government to attend international congresses, such as the Congress of Diplomatic History at The Hague in 1898, and the Historical Congress in Paris in 1900. He is a member of a number of learned societies, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, and an Associate of the Institute of International Law. This body of jurists is limited to a membership of one hundred and twenty, and comprises the chief authorities on international law of every country.

Wilbur Larremore

is a practising lawyer in New York City largely engaged in the trial of cases as Referee. Since 1890, he has been editor of the *New York Law Journal*, the official legal paper of New York City, which, besides publishing matters of legal information, reports judicial opinions in important cases, and discusses editorially topics of legal and professional interest. He has delivered addresses before a number of Bar Associations. He has been a frequent contributor to the legal periodicals, and he has written on literary and miscellaneous subjects for the magazines.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

ANGLO-AMERICAN
: is an Englishman, whose name is well known to the reading public and who is deeply interested in political and sociological subjects. A few years ago, he paid a visit to the United States for the purpose of learning, from personal observation, something of the manner of life on the American side of the Atlantic.

JOHN I. WATERBURY,
: the eminent financier, is President of the Manhattan Trust Company of New York. When the German Emperor invited the nations to take part in an International Preliminary Conference to formulate regulations governing wireless telegraphy, to meet in Berlin in August of this year, Mr. Waterbury was appointed delegate for the United States to represent the Department of Commerce and Labor. The other members of the delegation were Brigadier-General A. W. Greely, Chief Signal Officer of the United States Army, representing the War Department, and Commander F. M. Barber, U. S. N., retired, representing the Navy Department.

R. P. ROBLIN,
: Premier of Manitoba and also Minister of Agriculture and Railway Commissioner for that province, is of German descent. He was born and educated in Ontario, but he removed to Manitoba in 1880. There he has farmed on a large scale, and conducted an extensive business as a grain-dealer.

VERNON LEE
: is the pen-name of Miss Violet Paget, an English writer and critic who has lived for a number of years in Italy. She has written much on the history of the arts, literature and drama of Italy. Among her published works are "Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy," "Belcaro" (essays on various æsthetical questions), "Ottilie, an Eighteenth Century Idyl," "Euphorion" (a collection of essays), "Miss Brown," "The Phantom Lover," "Hauntings," and "Althea."

CHARLES A. CONANT,

Treasurer of the Morton Trust Company, has long been a student of monetary and economic problems, and has written several books on such subjects, including "A History of Modern Banks of Issue, with an Account of the Economic Crises of the Present Century," "The United States in the Orient: the Nature of the Economic Problem," etc. In 1901, Mr. Conant was appointed by Secretary Root Special Commissioner to the Philippines, to investigate coinage and banking conditions there. His report in favor of a gold exchange standard was adopted in principle in the Philippine Coinage Act. At the invitation of the Mexican government, Mr. Conant visited Mexico last March, with Professor Jenks of Cornell and Mr. Edward Brush of New York, to confer with a committee on the reform of the currency and the best means of securing the co-operation of other Powers in giving stability to the currency of the silver-using countries. His appointment on the American Commission was in part an outgrowth of his familiarity with the subject thus gained.

SAMUEL J. BARROWS

was born in the city of New York in 1845. In 1867, he became stenographic secretary to William H. Seward, who was then Secretary of State, and he remained in the Department of State until 1871. After completing courses of study at the Harvard Divinity School and the University of Leipzig, he was called, in 1876, to the pastorate of the First Unitarian Church of Dorchester (Boston), Massachusetts, which he filled for five years, when he became editor of "The Christian Register," a position which he held for sixteen years. He was a member of the Fifty-fifth Congress. He is the author of a volume entitled "The Isles and Shrines of Greece" and of various historical monographs.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE

is no stranger to the readers of the REVIEW, to which he has been a contributor, on questions of international import, for many years. Mr. Hazeltine studied at Harvard and at Oxford, and he is recognized as the scholar among American journalists.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ

was born in New York. The foundations of his artistic education were laid in the architectural office of McKim, Mead & White, and his studies have been further pursued in

Europe, especially in France and Italy. He is now the Literary Editor and Art Critic of the New York *Tribune*. He has contributed many essays on literary and artistic subjects to the leading magazines.

MUHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH

comes of an ancient and distinguished family of northern Hindostan. He was born and brought up in Bhopal, where he completed his education in Oriental literature, philosophy, theology and law. He acquired his English education in Bombay. For a number of years, he was Principal of the Oriental Academy in London, where he trained candidates for the Indian Civil Service examinations in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages and literature. He was the secretary of the Muslim Patriotic League in London.

HENRY MICHELSEN,

born in Rendsburg, Schleswig-Holstein, became a citizen of the United States in 1869, and in the same year he entered the railway service, in which he remained, in various capacities, for thirty years. He is an authority on forestry and lumbering in the Rocky Mountains, and he has written much on subjects of national economy, agriculture and geology. Mr. Michelsen is Vice-President of the American Forestry Association, of the Colorado Forestry Association, of the National Irrigation Association, a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and of the National Geographical Society.

G. E. MERRILL

graduated from Harvard in 1869 and from Newton Theological Institute in 1872. He has held ministerial charges in the Baptist denomination in various sections: in Springfield, Massachusetts, from 1872 to 1877; then in Salem, Massachusetts, till 1885; then in Colorado Springs, Colorado, till 1887. He was pastor of the Immanuel Church in Newton, Massachusetts, from 1890 to 1899. In the latter year, he was appointed President of Colby University. He is the author of a number of works, including "The Story of the Manuscripts," "Crusaders and Captives," "The Reasonable Christ," and "The Parchments of the Faith."

FRANCES WESTON CARRUTH

was born in Newton, Massachusetts. She is of New England revolutionary stock, being descended from General Artemas Ward, who was Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the

Massachusetts Bay Colony prior to the arrival in Cambridge of General Washington. She is a resident of New York city. Her first book, "Those Dale Girls," appeared in 1899. Since then, she has published "The Way of Belinda" and "Fictional Rambles in and about Boston."

THOMAS HARDY,

one of the foremost as well as most popular novelists of the time, was originally intended for a different career from that of letters. In 1858, he was articled to an ecclesiastical architect and spent several years in equipping himself for the duties of that profession. He practised Gothic architecture under Sir A. Blomfield, A. R. A., and gained some notable prizes and medals for design drawing. About thirty-five years ago, he relinquished architecture for literature, in which he has greatly distinguished himself as novelist, poet and dramatist. Among his best-known works may be mentioned "Far from the Madding Crowd," "Tess of the d'Urbervilles," "Jude the Obscure," "The Well-Beloved," "The Return of the Native," "The Mayor of Casterbridge" and "The Woodlanders."

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

WAYNE MCVEAGH

has been for many years a conspicuous figure in American public life. In 1863, he was chairman of the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania, his native State. In 1870-71, he represented the United States at Constantinople, and in 1872 he was appointed a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention. He presided over the commission which was sent to Louisiana by President Hayes in 1877 for the purpose of amicably adjusting the disputes of the contending parties there. He sat in the Cabinet of President Garfield as Attorney-General, but on the accession of President Arthur he resigned his portfolio and resumed his law practice in Philadelphia. Mr. McVeagh was United States Ambassador to Italy from 1893 to 1897, and he was one of the counsel who contested the claims of the Allied Powers before the Hague Tribunal in the Venezuelan arbitration.

GOLDWIN SMITH,

the venerable scholar, historian, critic and publicist, has enriched the pages of the REVIEW, at intervals, for many years, by contributions embodying his views and reflections upon subjects of public interest. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and he acted for some time as tutor in University College, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1847. In 1858 he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and his tenure of that chair, which terminated in 1866, was distinguished by the delivery of a large number of lectures of extraordinary brilliancy which attracted the widest attention. On the opening of Cornell University, in 1868, having accepted the invitation tendered to him, he settled in the United States as Professor of English and Constitutional History in that institution. In 1871, he exchanged this post for that of a non-resident professorship. Among his works are: "Irish History and Irish Character," "Lectures on Modern History," "Three English Statesmen, Cromwell, Pitt and Pym," and "A Short History of England Down to the Reformation."

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER

has paid much attention to the foreign interests of Great

Britain as these come into rivalry with the political or commercial plans of other peoples. He has contributed to all the leading journals on questions connected with the British Indian Empire, China, Egypt and Turkey since 1876. He has also closely studied military questions, particularly those bearing upon the French frontiers and the position of Belgium. Among the works he has published may be mentioned "The Life of Yakoob Bey of Kashgar," "England and Russia in Central Asia," "Central Asian Portraits," "The History of China," "Armies of the Native States of India," and "Central Asian Questions."

W. L. Scruggs

was admitted to the bar of his native State, Tennessee, in 1860, in his twenty-sixth year. He was attracted to journalism, and between 1862 and 1871 he edited *The Daily Sun,* of Columbus, Ga., and *The New Era,* of Atlanta, Ga. He was United States Minister to Colombia from 1871 to 1877, and again from 1881 to 1887, and during the four years between these two terms he was United States Consul at Chin-Kiang, and Canton in China. From 1889 to 1893, he was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Venezuela. During the Anglo-Venezuelan boundary dispute, he was the legal adviser and special agent of the Venezuelan government. Among the volumes which have proceeded from his pen are "The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics," "British Aggressions in Venezuela," etc.

The Rev. H. A. Stimson, D.D.,

is a prominent clergyman of the Congregational Church. After concluding his secular course at Yale, he studied at Union and Andover Theological Seminaries. He has filled the pulpits of Plymouth Church, Minneapolis; of Union Church, Worcester, Massachusetts; of Plymouth Church, St. Louis; of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, and he is now pastor of the Manhattan Congregational Church in the last-named city. He is recording secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, vice-president of the American Missionary Association, trustee of Mount Holyoke College, member of the board of visitors of Andover Theological Seminary, and lecturer in the Chicago Theological Seminary. Among his published works are "Religion and Business," "Questions of Modern Inquiry," and "The Apostles' Creed."

Colonel W. C. Church,

the veteran journalist, began his career in 1855, when he engaged with his father in editing and publishing the *New York Chronicle*. He became the publisher of the New York *Sun* in 1860, and in the following year he went to Washington as the correspondent of the *New York Times*, in which capacity he served that paper until he was appointed, in 1862, Captain of United States Volunteers. For distinguished service, he received the brevets of major and lieutenant-colonel. With his brother, Francis P. Church, he established, in 1863, the *Army and Navy Journal*, which he still edits, and he also established, in 1866, the "Galaxy" magazine. On January 19th, 1903, a dinner was given to Colonel Church by leading officers of the Army and Navy and prominent civilians, in recognition of the valuable service rendered to the country by the *Army and Navy Journal*, under his management, during the forty years of its existence.

Ernest Crosby

was born and educated in New York. He was elected a member of the New York Assembly in 1887. In 1889, he was nominated by President Harrison, and appointed by the Khedive, judge of the international court at Alexandria in Egypt. This position he resigned in 1894, and he returned to New York, on his way home visiting Count Tolstoi in Russia. Under the influence of Tolstoi's writings, he has since devoted attention to social reform. He was one of the founders of the Social Reform Club, and he is president of the New York Anti-Imperialist League.

P. T. McGrath

is widely known as a forceful and intelligent champion of the interests of Newfoundland, on which he has from time to time addressed the readers of the Review and of some of the leading periodicals of Great Britain. He is the editor of the "Evening Herald," of St. John's, one of the most prominent journals published on the island.

Sylvester Baxter,

a native of Massachusetts, received his academic education at Leipzig and Berlin. At various times, he was engaged on the reporting and editorial staffs of the *Boston Advertiser* and the *Boston Herald*, and in editing the "Mexican Financier" and the "Outing" magazine. He first suggested the organization of Greater Boston and of the Boston Metro-

politan Park system. Mr. Baxter has been a frequent contributor to the leading magazines, and he has published a number of books on various subjects.

DEFENSOR,

like "Anglo-American," to whose indictment of the British Monarchy he makes reply, is an Englishman, well and favorably known to the world. Those who are interested in this discussion are fortunate in that he has been prevailed upon to take part in it, for he is in a position to speak with the very highest authority.

EUSEBIO A. MORALES

has been for years one of the recognized leaders of the bar in the city of Panama, and he has been a close and interested observer of the course of political and economical affairs in that part of the world. He took a prominent part in the movement which resulted in the secession of the Department of Panama from Colombia, and he is now Minister of State in the Provisional Government of the new republic.

MARRION WILCOX,

after graduating at Yale in 1878, crossed the Atlantic to pursue special studies at Oxford, Heidelberg, Jena and Berlin universities. He originally chose the profession of law, but he has given himself to literary work, in which he has been engaged, as writer and editor, since 1893. Mr. Wilcox has made a special study of the conditions which prevail in the Latin-American republics.

RAÚL PÉREZ

is a Colombian, of pure Indian ancestry. His family is one of the most distinguished in South America, and has a notable record for its literary attainments. His uncle was Santiago Pérez, President of Colombia when the republic was in its days of prosperity, and his father was the late Felipe Pérez, the patriot statesman, and *littérateur,* and the greatest leader of the Liberals. Señor Pérez was educated in Europe and early developed exceptional linguistic powers, speaking many languages and having a wide knowledge of literature. He was the owner and publisher of the leading newspaper of Colombia, and was engaged in the campaign of 1885, when his party fought in defence of the Constitution. For the past four years he has lived in the United States.

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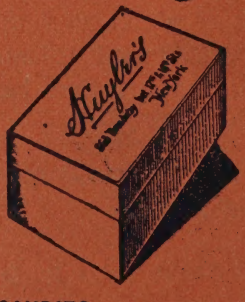

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